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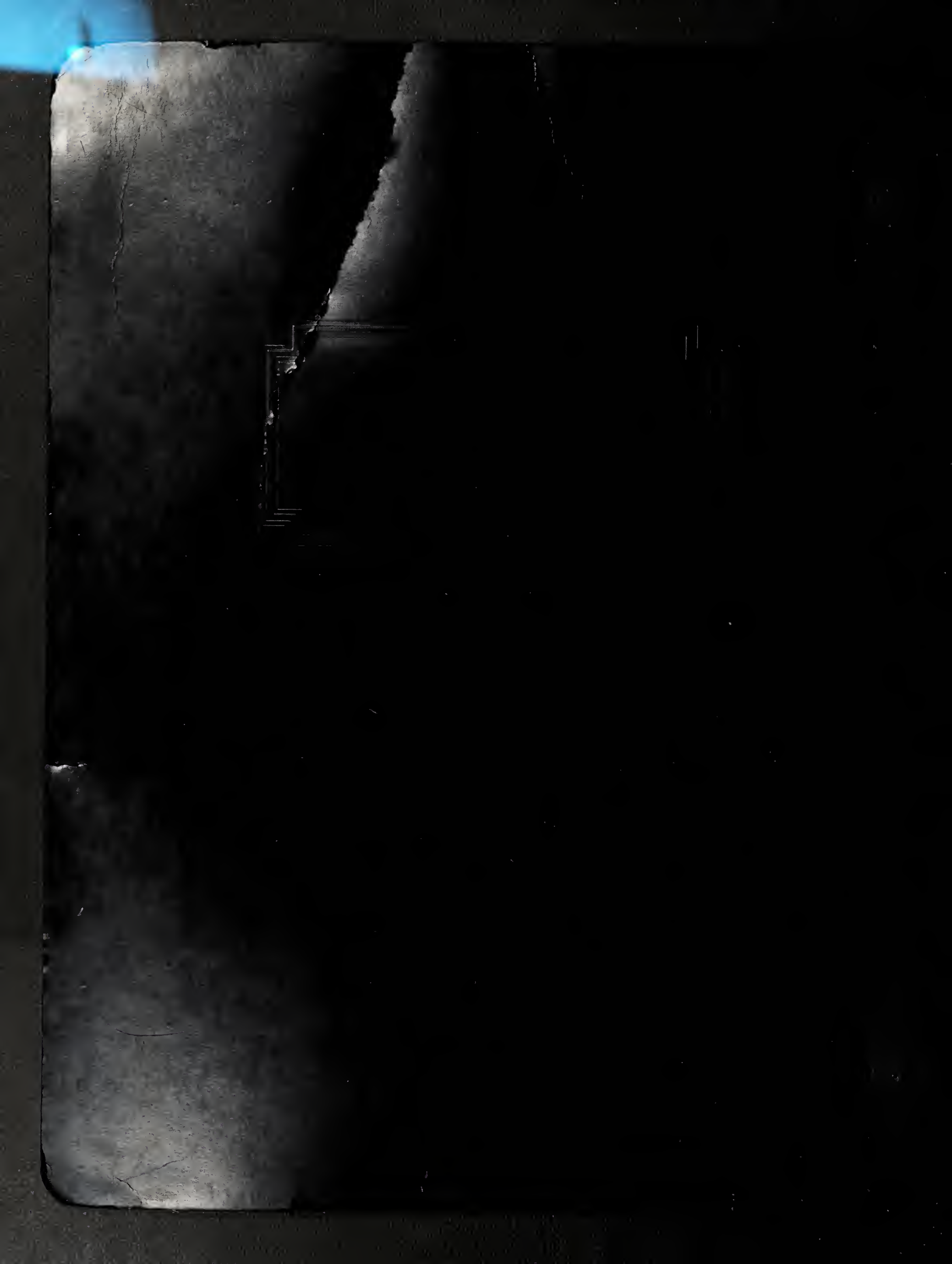

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

JAN 1-15, 1952 ★ No. 1

GUATEMALA: T.U. UNITY ACHIEVED

SMALL COUNTRY—SIGNIFICANT EXAMPLE · VICTOR GUTIERREZ

ORGANISATIONAL TASKS FOR 1952 • *Louis Saillant*

AN AUSTRALIAN WORKER IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA • *Fred Wells*

NEED FOR REAL TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY • *Lucien Molino*

PRODUCTIVITY RAMP EXPOSED • *Henri Jourdain*

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. denounces to the whole world the methods of savage repression which the colonial regime is seeking to establish to an increasing extent in North Africa against the peoples and workers of these countries who are demanding their just right to freedom from their oppressors and to better living and working conditions.

Resolution on North Africa (W.F.T.U. General Council—Berlin, November 21, 1951).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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EDITORIAL

Organisational Tasks For 1952

Some Aims to be Considered

THE month of December 1951 brought to a close a year which was remarkable for its intensive international trade union activity.

Then in the last weeks of 1951 began the immediate application of the decisions of the 5th Session of the W.F.T.U. General Council in Berlin. The important work accomplished in December 1951 enables us to foresee for this new year of 1952 a strong development of all the activities of the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated trade union organisations.

This optimistic estimate is supported by the following facts:

Directly after the closing session of the W.F.T.U. General Council, special international meetings immediately situated the resolutions and recommendations drawn up in Berlin within the daily activities already in hand or to be undertaken by the trade unions.

The Administrative Committee of the Trade Unions International of Agricultural and Forestry Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) met in Vienna, and that of the Leather, Shoe, Fur and Leather-Products Workers' T.U.I. in Budapest. The W.F.T.U. Trade Unions International of Postal, Telegraph, Telephone and Radio Workers met in Bucharest. The Textile and Clothing T.U.I.'s Bureau held discussions in Warsaw. The Administrative Committee of the T.U.I. of Workers in the Chemical and Allied Industries held its annual meeting in Vienna at W.F.T.U. headquarters. The Preparatory Committee of the trade union conference of the Metal and Engineering Workers of European countries set up by this industrial group's Trade Department of the W.F.T.U., also met for several days in Vienna.

These six meetings, each one within the framework of a given industry, allowed us to see the continuous progress in these W.F.T.U. Trade Departments. They have drawn up a balance sheet of their present situation in several countries from their direct contacts with the workers in these respective groupings. The work schedules for 1952 have been drawn up with a view to increasing international

solidarity and mutual assistance, thus ensuring the successful fulfilment of the immediate economic and social claims of the workers in all the capitalist and colonial countries.

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DURING this same period other meetings have been held at W.F.T.U. headquarters. These dealt with the regional and inter-occupational work of the W.F.T.U.

The conference of the General Council delegates from 14 Latin American countries took useful decisions with regard to the distribution of W.F.T.U. publications in the Spanish language in Latin America. This same conference studied the programme of work to be carried out in the enterprises within each country, and for preparing the Conference of Workers in the Metallurgical and Mining Industries of the American Countries and the Fourth Congress of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.).

The meeting of delegates from North, West, Equatorial and South Africa, made it possible to organise participation by the workers from these countries in the International Conference on Social Security agreed upon by the General Council of the W.F.T.U. It also led to the setting up of a Trade Union Committee of African Countries, a working and co-ordinating body called upon to co-operate permanently with the Secretariat of the W.F.T.U.

The delegates from the Near and Middle Eastern countries present at the General Council also met in a special committee which had joint meetings with the W.F.T.U. Secretariat. These delegates sought the aid of the W.F.T.U. in helping them to establish constant co-operation between all the trade union organisations of the Near and Middle East for the defence of the vital and common interests of the manual and intellectual workers in these countries. They established a programme of action directed towards these objectives.

Similar meetings took place with delegates from Japan and Australia.

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THE growing struggle of the workers against the consequences of war economy, against the deterioration of their living standards and working conditions, was at the centre of these discussions. At each meeting, one concern predominated : each delegate was mainly pre-occupied with establishing new methods which would permit the trade unions to fulfil their role as the normal, voluntary assistants of the workers in their daily struggle against exploitation.

The workers expect to receive assistance and support from their trade union organisations in winning satisfaction for their urgent social and economic needs and in fighting for decent living conditions. This declaration of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau at its Vienna Session (July 1951) is still, six months afterwards, a valuable pointer for all militant workers playing an active part in the trade unions.

The trade unions should be in a position to give this help and support to the workers. The popularity, authority and numerical strength of the trade unions

depends upon the rapidity and efficiency with which this help and support are given.

The meetings which followed the W.F.T.U. General Council had another merit which should be pointed out, because the trade union organisations which were not able to participate in them can benefit from the results of these working sessions.

The merit of these meetings was that they showed and convinced those who took part, that the best writings on the direction of trade union activities may lose all value if they are not followed by strong resolutions on organisational work.

To believe that assurance in the direction of ideas, in the interpretation of events can be achieved through spontaneous trade union work or by improvising the struggles of the working class is to disregard the lessons of the long years of experience of the workers' movement throughout the world.

The detailed study of economic and social events, the examination of their content and political meaning, in the countries of Latin America, Africa, the Near and Middle East, and the examination of the special work of the Trade Departments carried out by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat in December 1951 in the light of the resolutions passed by the General Council, have revealed the following obligations, among others, for our trade union movement :

—to give more importance to organisational work, and improve the fighting potential of the trade unions;

—to check up continually on the application of decisions taken at trade union meetings at all levels of the trade union movement;

—to emphasise the organic link with the working masses by the introduction of democratic methods of work in the trade unions and in general trade union work.

In the countries where these obligations have been accepted by the trade union organisations, important successes have been gained and struggles backing up the workers' claims have increased in effectiveness. The re-grouping of working class forces can be seen there.

Where these obligations have been either partially or totally ignored the trade unions are held up in their work and the working masses are still seeking real success in their conditions.

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THE content of trade union life is very varied. Each country brings its own individual contribution to international trade union life. The examination of the trade union situation in each country should be based on a knowledge of the political and economic problems of each. *But the strength, and we can say the originality of our World Federation of Trade Unions, is the knowledge of how to appreciate the common features of these diverse situations and to draw from them lessons valid on the international level for all workers and all trade union organisations.*

One of the great successes of the Fifth Session of the W.F.T.U. General Council was the considerable increase in the W.F.T.U.'s ability to determine a correct and acceptable common position for all the trade unions in the world. For example, Brother Benoit Frachon's report on unity and on the workers' struggles against the

economic consequences of war and in support of the economic and social demands of the workers, is a powerful analysis of the multiple experiences of the international working class as well as a document giving precious guidance to all militants. Certainly during the year 1952 and even afterwards, in all the capitalist and colonial countries militants will use Benoit Frachon's report as an indispensable tool in the orientation of their work.

But the work correctly oriented in this way must be backed up by carrying out organisational tasks, and the responsibility for this falls on the thousands and thousands of militants and workers who have jobs to perform within the trade unions.

Now it is a fact that in the present social and political struggles, with unending reactionary offensives against the workers' interests and political and trade union rights, the internal strength of trade union organisations, their democratic functioning, and their ties with the masses are obstacles which break, stop, or limit reaction's offensives.

It is equally true that the internal strength of a trade union organisation allows it to pass, with the united workers, from the defensive to the offensive against reaction and the imperialist policy led by the American monopolists in many capitalist and colonial countries.

How can we explain, for example, that the disrupter Irving Brown, who busies himself every day in Western Europe on behalf of the A.F.L., is continually enraged at the Italian and French C.G.T.s? He comes up against these two most representative trade union organisations of France and Italy. Why? Because these two national trade union centres with their thousands of branches have an internal organisational strength against which the agent of treason to the working class is powerless.

Those responsible for the trade union organisations of Latin America, Africa, the Near and Middle East and of South East Asia, should draw positive conclusions from their daily struggle against attempts by disruptive agents and imperialism's right-hand men to split their trade unions, by keeping before them the essential and valid example of the C.G.T. and the C.G.I.L., who follow a correct trade union line in their unceasing work of consolidating the forms and methods of organisational work in the trade unions.

This is said publicly because it is in this direction that, in accordance with the W.F.T.U. General Council's policy, we shall openly make our efforts. The workers are invited to unite their efforts with those of the W.F.T.U. They will do this in order to guarantee the successful accomplishment of these important trade union tasks, and this success will be firstly theirs and consequently ours.

We are at the dawn of the new year. We send our greetings and we wish success to all those who, in the U.S.S.R., country of socialism, in the People's Democracies, in the countries of dying capitalism, and in the colonial and dependent countries, will increase the influence of the W.F.T.U. in 1952.

Let us repeat that the end of the year 1951 was marked by intense activity on the part of the W.F.T.U.

In the year 1952 we will make the W.F.T.U. a more vital and fighting organisation than ever.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

In the Marshallised Countries

INTENSIVE EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS CAMOUFLAGED AS "PRODUCTIVITY"

by HENRI JOURDAIN

Secretary of the Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the WFTU)

LAST July, the American directors of the Marshall Plan announced their intention of raising the level of "productivity" by 5 per cent per year in the "Atlantic" countries which come under the Marshall and Schuman Plans.

For this purpose, the Marshall Plan Administration in the different countries will, with the agreement of the Governments, select a number of firms to which it will give direct "assistance" to develop this experiment in "productivity." The "assistance" will take the form of an allocation of funds, raw materials and orders.

American Sponsorship of Capitalist Productivity

RECENTLY the political representative of the Washington Government, Averell Harriman, has been working on the final draft of a new scheme for a "productivity" fund, aimed at subsidising industrialists who agree to apply American "productivity" methods.

The firms would be sponsored by corresponding American firms, and American technicians would be placed in more or less direct control of them in order to apply the methods which the many productivity missions from different capitalist countries have had the opportunity of studying in the U.S.A., that is to say, methods of intensifying the exploitation of the workers mainly by speed-up.

These firms will be selected because they hold a key position within a particular industry and are best equipped for both war production and a high return on capital.

Thus, this means a new effort to place the main industries under the central direction of a number of big trusts or cartels in which "productivity" would be pushed to the extreme in order to increase unemployment and exert pressure on the workers' wages by wiping out medium-sized and small firms.

This also means the reappearance of the American productivity crusade inaugurated in 1947 by the Marshall Plan to cover the entire capitalist world, including colonial and semi-colonial countries coming under Truman's Point 4.

An important part of the activities of the I.C.F.T.U. has for a long time been directed along these lines. And the last I.L.O. International Labour Conference devoted the main part of its work to this question.

In his "speech from the throne," the King of England, expressing the aims of Churchill, recently appealed for a spirit of co-operation between employers and workers to raise the level of industrial productivity.

Under the sponsorship of the E.C.A. and the reactionary trade union leaders controlling the unions affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., plans are being made to send 2,000 skilled and semi-skilled workers from Marshallised European countries to universities and factories in the United States for training periods lasting several months. They will assimilate there not only American methods of super-production, but also the myth of the "high and unsurpassable American technique" and the advantages of the "American way of life" based on free enterprise.

The American productivity campaign, therefore, has a foremost place in the American multi-millionaires' plans for the practical and ideological preparation of war.

The Bait of Linking Wages and Capitalist Productivity

THE main theme put before the workers in the capitalist world is as follows :

It is possible that improved productivity raises the profits of the trusts, but it is certain that it will bring you well-being through a simultaneous rise in wages and fall in prices.

Furthermore; by voluntarily working for improved productivity, by accepting the need to work faster and longer, you can both carry out the arms production plans and maintain or even raise your living standards.

In equally deceitful words, they go on to say : "productivity" will guarantee you butter for better living and guns for more effective defence. Yet the entire burden of a "productivity" programme is borne by the workers.

In each individual factory, the intention is to get the workers to accept the idea that the bigger the profits made by the firm, the bigger their earnings, and that their interests are therefore very closely identified with those of their exploiters.

All this irrefutably proves that the productivity effort, in its essentials, must be obtained from the workers either by persuasion or by force, since there is obviously no hope of getting the workers to accept this of their own free will.

For this reason it should be emphasised that, while speculating on poverty, division, corruption and repression, the main tool which the heads of the trusts intend to use to make the workers bear the burden of the entire "productivity" drive will be the form applying formulas which make the *entire* wage-packet dependent on "productivity," disregarding the rise in prices and the cost of living.

The general aim sought after is to introduce wage scales so that everyone in every firm is directly concerned in "productivity," that is to say, in raising output.

At the 34th International Labour Conference, the American Director-General of the I.L.O., David Morse, concluded his report (devoted exclusively to this question) by advocating "as a possible basis for a satisfactory wage policy" the raising of wages in proportion to the rise in the general level of productivity, considering it wise to add that this was to take place within the framework of a *policy of stabilising prices and of full employment.*

The *Wall Street Journal* of October 19, 1951, declared that the experts of the Wage Stabilisation Board are preparing a new wage-freeze formula tying all wage increases above the present ceiling to increased productivity.

Walter Reuther, anti-labour President of the United Automobile Workers' Union (C.I.O.), has already signed a contract binding the wages of 470,000 General Motors employees to productivity for a period of 5 years (a contract against which the rank and file workers are waging an energetic fight).

Senator Benton, Truman's personal envoy to Europe to "stimulate free enterprise," is now seeking means of eliminating from collective agreements all clauses which might impede "productivity."

Thus the American multi-millionaires and their agents have set the general line and wages must now be frozen to the productivity level.

The proposal made by ex-Minister Gaitskell to the recent British T.U.C. Congress in Blackpool, calling on the workers to participate in the profits of enterprises instead of pressing for an increase in wages, stems from this policy.

The same applies to France with regard to the projects of the Gaullist association of Capital and Labour and the attempts of the head of the Government to refuse all future wage increases without a preliminary increase in production.

It must be noted :

(1) That this policy of making the rate of wages dependent on productivity indices, tends to challenge the very principle of a guaranteed minimum wage;

(2) That this policy is assuming its definite form at a time when, owing to the development of war economy, the cost of living is rising at an infinitely faster rate than capitalist productivity could rise, based as it essentially is on the super-exploitation of the workers.

Finally, if we compare the variations in wages, production and prices in the capitalist countries as a whole, between the end of the first world war and the present day, we can see that the level of the workers' real wages in these countries would be much lower than it is at present if these workers had allowed their wages to be governed exclusively by "productivity."

We must not lose sight of the fact that the rise in productivity—which must not be confused with the rise in production—is on the average only between 1.5 to 3 per cent per year in the capitalist countries, including the United States.

These factors are drawing the attention of our world trade union movement to the general policy of wages in the capitalist countries. They underline the present importance of systematic action for higher nominal wages and the search for methods of defending purchasing power. In stating this, we are thinking mainly of the sliding scale of wages related to prices.

The exploiters are using devious means in their vain bid to tie wages to productivity.

They proceed by dividing wages into different bonuses. These bonuses, which do not, at first sight, seeem to be in direct relation to output, are precisely aimed at developing this link to the utmost, by means of inhuman and unjust iron discipline which the conditions of remuneration impose on the workers. These bonuses, in fact, re-introduce fines and penalties on wages in the most developed capitalist countries.

In order to obtain the bonus, a worker would have to renounce the permanent defence of his wages, working conditions and convictions. The drastic conditions for the payment of these bonuses in actual fact compromise the most elementary of trade union rights, particularly the right to strike.

The conditions of payment, which are being applied along with the policy of deepening poverty and

intensifying the rate and lengthening the hours of work, are having the grave effect of decimating the workers' ranks through dismissals, the spread of sickness, increased accidents at work, and demotion.

In the SIMCA automobile factory in France, where American productivity methods are being tried out, in 2 months 1,600 men and women workers out of 7,000 were forced to break their work-contracts themselves and leave the factory because they were physically unable to endure the pace of work or the environment to which they were subjected.

This fact gives an idea of the intensive overwork and distressing poverty which these conditions of unbounded speed-up are imposing on the workers.

The Need to Fight for a Real Wage Increase

WE believe that the time has come for all trade union forces in the capitalist world to launch a fight against this "productivity" campaign which forms an integral part of the American multi-millionaires' plans for enslavement and war and which tends to worsen still further the conditions of the victims of the Marshall Plan.

The first job consists in enlightening the working people on this problem which is obscured by reactionary trade union leaders, particularly in Great Britain, the U.S.A. and Scandinavia.

We must take as a starting point that productivity or any other procedure of this type, cannot reconcile the irreconcilable interests of the exploiters and exploited, nor can it solve the contradictions of war economy.

In May 1950, the Administrative Committee of our Trade Unions International, meeting in Berlin, decided to "*promote on an international scale a plan of action against speed-up in metal and engineering factories in the capitalist world.*"

In May 1951, our Trade Department called an International Conference in Paris against super-exploitation, speed-up, overtime, accidents and illness, in which delegates from the main Marshallised countries of Western Europe took part.

The resolution adopted by this Conference laid down specific objectives. It called for the formation of broad United Action Committees on the basis of the following main slogans:

for better guaranteed wages without any restrictive conditions; for the workers' right to discuss time and piece rates, output and production rates; to ensure that piece and production rates are at least equal to the additional output; for better health and safety conditions at work.

On this basis, the Administrative Committee of our Trade Unions International, meeting in Vienna last July, decided to organise an International Action Week.

These Action Weeks, successfully organised since the end of October in Finland, France, Belgium and Holland, continued to the end of December in the different countries concerned.

In organising this International Week, our Trade Department issued an Appeal and several publications with the aim of making known in all countries the experiences and demands of each country.

American *productivity* experiments can be more easily applied under conditions of mass production, primarily in the metal and engineering industry. But, in fact, they are intended for all large scale industry, such as the larger mines, public services and big commercial enterprises.

For this reason, we appealed to the National Centres affiliated to the W.F.T.U., and to all forces friendly to the W.F.T.U. in non-affiliated countries, to contribute as effectively as possible to the success of the Metalworkers' International Action Week against Speed-Up and Longer Working Hours.

This International Action Week is based on many positive activities at present being waged with increasing energy by men and women workers in most of the main capitalist countries where large scale metal and engineering industries exist.

In opposition to their reactionary top-level trade union leaders and in spite of savage repression, the American workers are in the front ranks of this international battle. Not a single work-stoppage takes place today in metal and engineering plants in the U.S.A. that is not caused, in part, by the fight against speed-up and the resulting dismissals.

Tens of thousands of automobile, aviation, steel and electrical workers in the U.S.A. have voted 90 per cent in favour of strike action against speed-up and against wage rates based on productivity. All trade union leaders in the Ford plant in Detroit have openly appealed to the workers to fight against speed-up. Those who quote the example of the "high living standard in America" as the outcome of continuously improving "productivity" should be made aware of the stubborn struggles of the American workers.

The Correct Attitude to the Problem of Productivity

WE must state clearly that we are not against productivity in general, but that on the contrary we defend all real productivity which, in its principles and methods, is in line with general social progress.

We must, however, adopt a resolute fighting attitude, and see that we do not isolate ourselves by merely taking up a negative position against the kind of *productivity* understood today by the American leaders, who disguise the reactionary reality behind the speeding up and intensification of exploitation of the working class.

If these conditions are observed this fight presents a most excellent platform for united action.

Starting particularly from the standpoint of defending industries and national independence, it would not necessarily be against the workers' principles to support the renovation of machines, tools and

equipment in any given factory. In such a case the interest and duty of the workers would be to strengthen agitation for the manufacture of goods for peace. However, as the improvement of machines, tools and equipment results in dismissals of workers while the same level of production is maintained, the workers must act for a reduction in working hours without loss of wages.

Moreover, to the extent by which these modernisations—or other means—raise the index of productivity, the workers in the factory concerned should not hesitate to demand wage increases on the basis of this index. It is equally important to proceed from these questions facing the capitalist countries to the subject of productivity in the Soviet Union and in the Peoples' Democracies.

We must show that on the basis of Socialism already achieved or on the way to being achieved, the workers no longer produce for capitalist profit, and that their living standards are constantly improving due to their success in increasing real productivity which rests principally on perfecting technique, the opposite to what takes place in the capitalist countries.

If we crown our fight in this sphere with success the working conditions of the workers in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries will be preserved, the right wing trade union leaders will be still more dishonoured, the W.F.T.U. will become more influential, working class international unity of action will be strengthened and the plans of the warmongers will be frustrated.

From "Western Democracy" to True Trade Union Democracy

By
LUCIEN MOLINO
Secretary of the French C.G.T.

THE concept of democracy is among those most distorted by the ideologists of the bourgeoisie. They talk a lot about it in general but are careful to eliminate all questions of class.

Every day, we see fresh evidence of the fact that democracy in the capitalist countries subservient to the war policy of the American rulers is nothing more than "democracy for the minority," that is to say, democracy in the interests of those who own the means of production and who rule to the detriment of the majority, which is composed of men and women who live by their labour.

In these circumstances it is necessary to throw some light on the question of democracy, both in order to guide the action of the masses against the trend towards fascism and to wage the fight for bread and peace on the ideological level.

The Swindle of "American Democracy"

OVER the past few years, those who acclaim the joys of Western Democracy have been subjecting the working class to extreme police dictatorship.

Under the direction of American imperialism, the trusts in France, as in all capitalist countries, form the basis of fascism; it is they who by their very nature and their imperialist tendencies are at the origin of all international difficulties over the establishment of peace and the development of democracy in the capitalist countries.

They are the ones who oppose the people's right to self-determination in Viet Nam, Korea, Iran, Egypt, India and Indonesia.

Once convinced of this, it is clear that to guarantee trade union rights, including the right to strike and the right of assembly, means in fact to contribute to undermining the basis of fascism and strengthening the basis of democracy and to help the struggle for the reconquest of national independence.

In France, the rulers endeavour to make it believed that the people of our country enjoy extremely extensive rights. But sophistry is powerless to conceal the actual facts.

In France, the government used decrees issued by Pétain to ban the activity of the great international organisations which had their headquarters in Paris: the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Maritime Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) and, recently, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions.

The French Constitution guarantees the right to work and the right to strike, but when the workers demand bread, police forces are unleashed against them. When 80% of the workers vote for strike action, as was true of the miners, illegal requisitioning notices are issued. The flouting of democracy in this way represents one step further along the path of anti-worker reaction.

In France, the social legislation guaranteeing the workers their hard-won rights is being violated; this is true of family allowances, the Miners' Charter and the Civil Servants' Charter.

Since the 28th Congress of the C.G.T. in May 1951, the French working class has taken an active part in the fight for peace and very important wage increases have been won in the economic struggle, ranging from 12% to 25% and in some cases even 30%.

Seized with fear, the employers and government are forced to give way before the powerful unity movement among the workers which their usual manoeuvres are unable to impede.

The weakening and destruction of the C.G.T., which represents one of the main obstacles to the application of the war policy of

poverty and reaction, has become a paramount aim for the employers and the government, aided by their agents in the trade union movement—particularly by the splitters in the Jouhaux gang.

De Gaulle, who has ambitions of power, has shown his desire to smash the trade unions and to replace them by a system identical with that operating under Mussolini, Hitler, Franco or Pétain, camouflaged under the title of "Labour Front," "Labour Charter," or "Association of Capital and Labour."

Victory Must Be Won by Guaranteeing Trade Union Democracy

THE agents of the trusts are spreading lies and slanders about the C.G.T. According to them, there is no liberty, independence or trade union democracy in our organisations.

It is easy to answer such lies. One has only to refer to the Constitution of our C.G.T.

The Preamble reads as follows:

"The statutory assemblies and congresses are alone competent to take decisions. Trade union democracy guarantees each trade unionist the right freely to defend his point of view within the trade union on all questions affecting the life and development of the organisation; since the trade unions cover wage-earners of all opinions, none of their members may be reproached for the expression of his opinions outside the trade union organisation.

"Freedom of expression and the exercise of democracy provided for and ensured by the fundamental principles of trade unionism cannot justify or tolerate the formation of groups acting within the trade unions as fractions for the purpose of influencing or distorting the normal exercise of democracy."

At all congresses of our organisations, the attention of active members is drawn to the need to respect democracy at all levels, from the confederal leadership down to the trade union branch.

But certain leaders are still too often not concerned with respect for the Constitution, which is the rule common to all members of an organisation.

It is clear that if we wish to carry out the tasks set by our 28th Congress, that is to say, to make effective preparation for the great battles against the employers and the government, and if we wish to recruit thousands and thousands of new members in order to wipe out the evil effects of the split and to regain and even exceed our pre-1947 strength, we must make our great organisation more solid and eliminate the defects which exist in our ranks.

We shall succeed in doing this by ensuring the proper functioning of our organisations and the exercise of true trade union democracy.

Our C.G.T. organisations, namely the Federations, Regional and local Trades Councils, local unions and trade union branches, must call regular meetings of their executive committees and boards.

"This rule is too often neglected through routine or habit. One is so sure of oneself that it is considered that decisions can be taken on one's own. Apart from the fact that this shows a singular pretentiousness, this usually leads to gross mistakes," Benoit Frachon declared to the 28th Congress.

The employers and the govern-

The governments of Italy and France defend their "democracy" with police clubs and machine guns. Left: The police of Scelba, Italian Minister of the Interior, attacks striking clerical workers. Right: In Marseilles police try to disperse workers demonstrating to enforce their demands.

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RIGHT:

New York police try to break the longshoremen's picket line during the recent strike. The attempt failed.

BELOW:

Western "democracy" in Australia.

ment are doing everything possible to prevent the free activity of our organisations. We lack meeting-places in sufficient number and size for the holding of our essential meetings and general assemblies. Thus the demand for the use of meeting-places in the factories is of great importance.

Meanwhile, it is essential to get the largest possible number of workers to meetings. They must be allowed to discuss the problems which concern them at attractive and interesting meetings.

Our unions must organise regular meetings at which every member can express his opinion and at which all decisions are taken by the majority of those present.

At trade union assemblies and congresses, it is the right of the trade union members, and *their right alone* to express their wishes regarding their leadership. We can have confidence in them to select leaders from among the most militant, courageous and worthy elements.

It is necessary to ensure that the leaders elected at all levels make regular reports on their activity and that they maintain living contact with the workers.

Their task will be made easier, for the solution of the most crucial problems is to be found in the hands of the working class. For this reason, our leaders must take account of all suggestions and observations made by the workers. This is an important aspect of trade union democracy.

A leader always has something to learn. Criticism helps him and he must not react in a rude manner which would prevent the workers from putting forward their point of view.

Criticism plays an important part in the defence of the demands formulated by the workers themselves as well as in the development of membership.

Thus it is true that some workers leave their trade union organisation because, during general meetings, it has not been possible for them to express themselves as they wished. In this way, not only is an obstacle placed in the way of the free exercise of trade union democracy, but the constitution of the C.G.T. is violated and considerable harm results in the development of the trade union organisation concerned.

Very often when a criticism is justified, its basis is not discussed, but we protest against its form. The workers express themselves in the only way they know, and we must first of all examine how to correct the mistake which has been pointed out.

It is certain that if the Belins, Dumoulins, Froidevals, Bards and other traitors had been submitted to the judgement of trade unionists in 1939, they would never have been raised to the positions which they occupied, and which enabled them to carry out the orders of their bosses, the trusts.

It is also certain that if Jouhaux, Bothereau and Lafond, leaders of the breakaway centre, "Force Ouvrière," as well as the leaders of some other centres, were to apply proletarian trade union democracy instead of defending the Western democracy of the trusts, they would achieve the trade union unity which their members and all workers desire.

Section of a meeting of thousands of Paris Metro and bus workers to organise their strike committee.

What needs to be done—and it is indispensable—is to listen to the workers, to let every trade unionist give his opinion frankly. This is the best way of getting to know what everyone is thinking, to refute or to convince with serious arguments, all those who have been misled by enemy propaganda by press or radio.

The exercise of trade union democracy implies also an improvement in the activity of our organisations at all levels, from the factory right up to the top. We must make every trade unionist an active and militant participant in the formulation of a programme of demands and the work of the organisation both within the factory and in the locality.

Is it not a fact that when a programme of demands is drawn up with the participation of all the workers in a factory it is of far more value? When demands are decided upon by the workers, the forms of action to be undertaken for their achievement are easily found, the chances of success are twice as great, for the fact of having helped to decide upon the demands, and having decided upon the forms of struggle, pledges everyone to do everything possible to win victory.

The scrupulous application of trade union democracy is not only indispensible for the development of our movement, but likewise for its independence.

The C.G.T. decides the line of its policy in complete independence of the employers, of political parties, of the government, without, however, losing sight of the fact, when deciding on a course of action, that the working class is not alone in the nation.

The Workers Go Beyond Western Trade Union Freedom

IN the light of the facts we can say that this is not the only way in which the leaders of the reactionary "free" trade unions

One of many meetings of workers of the Renault automobile plant in Paris to plan future activities round their demands.

become accomplices of the warmongers.

Let us take the example of the United States, where in many unions trade union democracy is no more than a caricature, the aim being to use the labour movement as the rearguard of capitalism.

In many American trade unions it is the national leadership which controls the election of officers at all levels, by means of what they call "organisers," by blackmail, etc. These "permanent officials" are real professionals of trade unionism, who depend completely on the trade union bosses who appoint them.

In theory the national leaderships of the trade unions are subject to the authority of their congresses. But if we look at the 70th Congress of the A.F.L., which took place last September, we see that among the 600 delegates there was *only one* from the rank and file, which shows the anti-democratic character of these elections.

The rank-and-file militants thus find it practically impossible for them to act, thanks to a trade union democracy based completely on the national leaderships; and their only resort is to revolt against these leaderships.

A new and typical example is that of the recent New York longshoremen's strike by members of the International Longshoremen's Association (A.F.L.). This organisation has a lifetime President—Joseph Ryan—who signed on his own authority a new collective agreement with the shipowners granting an increase of ten cents an hour. The dockers, who considered this increase quite inadequate, had no other way out than to go on strike against the orders of their own president and to organise an unofficial strike committee, which succeeded in paralysing the port of New York for 25 days.

In order to understand better the functioning of this "free" trade union, let us have a look at some of the officers whom Ryan placed at the head of some of the local branches in the port of New York. These names are given by the *Citizen's Anti-Crime Committee of the State of New York.*

One of the "organisers" for the Cunard Line piers, and an officer of the trade union, is Harold Bowers, formerly a member of the gang of bank-robbers run by Micky Bowers.

Alex Di Brizzi, who is the union leader at the Staten Island piers, has been arrested more than twenty times as a bookmaker and professional gambler.

The trade union organiser on the New Jersey side is the habitual criminal Ed Florio, who has been convicted for bootlegging.

The Brooklyn organiser is the gangster Anthony Anastasia, brother of Albert Anastasia, leader of the New York gang which is commonly known as "Murder Inc."

Let us add that during the dock strike, Ryan, the president of the union, recruited gangs of strike-breakers in the underworld to try and smash the picket lines which the strikers placed at the entrance to every pier.

Nothing is easier in the United States than to be classified as a subversive element. It is only necessary to be active in putting forward such a seditious idea as the payment of unemployment benefits to be treated as a "red," to be taken off the lists of the employment agencies, to be brought to trial and thrown into prison. That is the "democracy" which the United States is exporting so freely to other capitalist countries.

It is, in fact, a complete camouflage of democracy and workers' unity.

Democracy Strengthens Unity

IN Great Britain also, the anti-democratic character of certain trade union leaderships as, for example, that of the Transport and General Workers' Union led by Arthur Deakin, has already given rise to serious conflicts. Thus, the dockers of the Port of London were forced to undertake "unofficial" strikes to fight against the leadership of this union, which was betraying their interests and refused to present their demands to the Port of London Authority.

In Western Germany, as in Great Britain, the dockers belong to the Transport Workers' Federation, whose leaders, like Ryan in New York, have signed an agreement with the shipowners which is far from meeting the dockers' demands.

The right-wing leaders of the West German trade unions have introduced a clause into the trade union by-laws stipulating that any agreement signed with the employers can only be withdrawn by the basic organisations of the rank and file *if three-quarters of the members vote against such an agreement.*

So the strike of metal workers which took place a short time ago in Hesse, as well as the Hamburg dockers' strike, were broken by the right-wing leadership of their respective trade unions, who maintained that, even though the majority of the workers rejected the agreements signed by their leaders, the majority did not amount to the "statutory" 75 per cent.

In Greece, the monarcho-fascist regime and its agents within the labour movement are proceeding even more openly. The democratic and independent trade unions formed after the liberation of the country have been dissolved and their leaders murdered, imprisoned or exiled.

Let us remember that Paparigas, the former General Secretary of the Greek national trade union centre at the time when it was really an independent trade union centre was found to have "committed suicide" in his cell.

And that Ambatielos, former General Secretary of the Greek Seamen's Union, is kept in prison under sentence of death even though he was elected a member of Parliament during the last general election.

In Spain, trade unionism, as understood by Franco's fascist regime, is of the kind whose "benefits" De Gaulle would like to introduce into France.

According to the Labour Charter in operation in Spain, only "vertical" trade unions exist. That means including in the same trade union all who work in the same branch of industry, the workers as well as the employers. They are thus "corporate trade unions" as invented by Mussolini and Salazar.

This Franco Labour Charter further requires that the general secretaries of trade unions, who are appointed by the authorities, must belong to the Falange. The leadership at each level appoints the leadership next below it. There is no difference between Franco's Labour Charter and the rule of notorious gangsters in many U.S. trade unions as far as the results accruing to the workers and the abrogation of democracy is concerned.

The ever-increasing war preparations of the imperialist circles go side by side with the lowering of the living standards of the working class and the violation of its democratic rights.

In order to wage successfully the fight for the workers' welfare, for freedom and peace, *we must develop unity of action which is the most effective means of achieving trade union unity and international solidarity.*

The free exercise of democracy at all levels will allow us to advance more rapidly towards the achievement of working class unity.

Background to the International Conference on Social Security

BY JAN DESSAU

ACCORDING to the Constitution of the W.F.T.U., adopted in London in 1945, one of the objects of the W.F.T.U. is "to organise the common fight of the trade unions of all countries for complete and adequate social legislation with a view to protecting the workers and their families against the risks of unemployment, illness, serious accidents and old age."

The W.F.T.U. and Social Security

THE World Trade Union Congress in Paris in 1945, the General Council meeting in Prague in 1947, the Second World Trade Union Congress in Milan in 1949, the Executive Bureau meetings held in Peking in 1949 and in Vienna in 1951, and finally the General Council meeting in Berlin in 1951 have developed these principles which have determined the practical action of the W.F.T.U.

In its capacity as a consultative organisation of the United Nations, the W.F.T.U. has participated in several U.N. meetings on social security.

At the 9th session of the Economic and Social Council (January 1949) the W.F.T.U. demanded "the introduction of a full system of *unemployment insurance* for all wage-earners from the first day and throughout their unemployment, thus guaranteeing all workers who are fully or partially unemployed a fair and decent standard of living."

At the 10th session of the Economic and Social Council (February 1950) the W.F.T.U. proposed a series of measures for the abolition of *racial discrimination* in the field of social security.

At the 12th session of the Council (January 1951) the W.F.T.U. proposed a one-third reduction in military expenditure, to be devoted to social expenditure.

The W.F.T.U. has likewise supported, particularly within the Industrial Commissions of the I.L.O., the demands of certain occupational groups: mining, transport, textiles. It has also taken part in such activities as those of the Commission of Experts on the re-education and re-employment of the disabled.

The W.F.T.U. and its affiliated organisations are pursuing a common objective, in line with the desires of the workers: to obtain unified systems of social security which shall be compulsory and free and shall include the active and effective participation of trade union organisations in their administration. The general lines of this objective take into account the social security situation in the various countries.

Workers Face Problems of Social Security

THE country in which social security is most complete is certainly the Soviet Union. The general system of free social security and insurance has been constantly applied and developed since 1917, for more than 34 years. The simple fact that the social insurance budget has increased from 10.4 thousand million rubles during the first Five Year Plan to 21.1 thousand million rubles for the year 1951 speaks for itself.

Social security is also very advanced in the People's Democracies, all of which have free overall services which have considerable and increasing funds at their disposal.

In these countries all social security payments are made by the government and industry, no fees being paid by the workers.

In this group of countries, as well as in China and in the German Democratic Republic, social security is considered as a fundamental right of the workers and is written into the Constitution and guaranteed by a constant increase in social expenditure, based on the certain growth of the national income. The future perspective is one of continuous progress.

In the Soviet Union (since 1933), in Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania and in the German Democratic Republic, the administration of social security from the collection of contributions to the operation of rest homes is carried out by the trade unions. They administer social security with the participation of the mass of the workers. For example, in 1945 more than a million workers were carrying out elected functions in the management and control of social security in the Soviet Union, particularly in the Social Security Commissions which work alongside the trade union factory committees.

The activity of the trade unions in these countries is directed towards *the improvement and extension of social security.*

In the more developed capitalist countries, thanks to the great struggles carried on by the workers from the end of the 19th century, social insurance legislation reached a relatively advanced position before the war.

Further progress was achieved after the war, thanks to united action by the workers. In France and Great Britain, for example, general compulsory social security systems have been instituted.

An important exception is the United States, where social insurance laws exist only with regard to maternity and illness in four of the forty-eight states, together with a Federal system of old age pensions and unemployment insurance, the benefits of which are very inadequate.

In these countries social security is one of the most treasured victories of the workers. It must be defended constantly against the attacks of the big employers and the governments, who are attempting to destroy present achievements or to operate them against the interests of the workers.

The prospects opening up at present for social security in the capitalist countries are unfavourable. In 1951 cuts were carried out on medical and social services in Great Britain. In France, the government and the employers have launched a campaign against social security, and serious reductions were made in sickness allowances and in the repayment of medical and maternity charges in 1950. In 1951, the conditions for payment of unemployment allowances and pensions were made much stricter in Austria and Belgium. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the extension and improvement of social security which were planned for 1951 have been postponed. The principal cause of these setbacks is to be found in the growth of military expenditure in the government budgets, leading to a reduction in social expenditure.

In all countries, the effects of inflation on the real value of social security benefits, especially on pensions, have been even more serious than the direct restrictions resulting from changes in the laws or regulations.

In the capitalist countries, the action of the workers and of their organisations is carried on *for the defence and improvement of social security.*

A recent example is the National Conference for the Defence and Improvement of Social Security which was held in France on December 8th and 9th, 1951. The French C.G.T. took the initiative of calling this conference, forming a broad Organising Committee with a number of leaders and organisations, representing all viewpoints, who were in agreement on the urgent need for action in defence of social security. The National Conference took place after many Departmental conferences. This is an excellent example of unity on the basis of a precise programme, leading to the effective defence of social security.

In the under-developed countries, although there are varying degrees of development, the achievements of social security are infinitesimal compared with the tremendous needs of the population, particularly among the rural population, who constitute the great majority.

Some Latin-American countries have fairly complete systems, limited in their application, however, to certain categories of workers. The trade unions are actively interested in social security. Two trade union conferences on social security have been held in Ecuador, one in 1946 and the other in 1951. In Chile, in 1951, the Workers' Confederation of Chile presented and supported a draft law for the reform of social security.

Finally, the colonial countries either have no social security at all, or at best have a few laws on labour accidents, medical care or old age pensions, which are quite insufficient and limited to certain restricted categories of workers. Racial discrimination is the rule. Threatened by poverty and illness, the workers live in the greatest insecurity.

In these countries the workers are acting *to win social security.*

International Action for Social Security

SOCIAL security is affected by the same international political and economic forces which operate on other aspects of living standards, as for example the cost of living and wages.

Thus it is in the interests of the champions of social security to be aware of the situation in all countries, to exchange experiences, to plan joint activity and to work out common programmes.

For a long time problems of social security have been the subject of international discussions.

Two international organisations concern themselves with social security. They are the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), and the International Association for Social Security (I.A.S.S.), which is linked to the I.L.O. The publications of these two organisations supply useful information. These, however, are generally of a theoretical character and are concerned too much with describing, analysing and comparing the legislation of various countries, while neglecting the way in which these laws are applied in practice.

International conventions on social security have contributed to progress, particularly the Philadelphia Convention adopted in 1944, which expressed the

desire of the workers for progress. But its application has been inadequate in the capitalist countries, and non-existent in the colonial territories.

The action of these two international organisations can in no way be compared with that of the workers acting through their trade union organisations.

It is, in fact, the workers who have the greatest need for social security, and who are thus its most consistent and energetic champions. It is the workers who are in most direct contact with social security, and who best know its practical aspects and the possibilities of improving it. The international trade union movement can therefore make a unique contribution to the progress of social security in the world.

The interests of the workers in taking action for social security is, however, in line with the general interests of all. That is why trade union organisations have no interest in standing alone in this fight, but on the contrary, should rally all those who agree with their aims.

For this reason, at the meeting of its Executive Bureau in Vienna in July 1951, the W.F.T.U. proposed the calling of an International Conference on Social Security for 1952. And the General Council approved this decision at its meeting in Berlin in November 1951.

The International Conference on Social Security

THIS Conference is of interest not only to workers of all political opinions or trade union affiliations, but also, for example, to members of Friendly Societies, organisations of the sick and infirm, youth and old people, to Social Service employees, doctors, experts on social questions, etc. It is of interest generally to all men and women who are concerned with social progress and general well-being.

The Conference will have as one of its aims a broad exchange of experience and information. It will teach and guide the trade union organisations about their participation in insurance and social security organisations. It will study the situation in different countries—which workers are insured and what risks are covered. It will study the organisation of the various branches of social security—sickness, disability, old age, etc.—as well as questions of finance and administration. It will carefully analyse recent developments, attacks made on social security, and progress achieved. It will give special attention to the development of social legislation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It will draw conclusions from the action taken for social security, and especially the activities of the workers for their demands.

The Conference must draw up a common programme of demands and a programme of action for social security.

Its chief strength is that it will express the aspirations of movements existing in all countries, and that it will provide a general strengthening of activity for social security under various forms: workers' activities, agitation for social legislation, national conferences, occupational conferences, and the drawing up of programmes for improving and extending social security schemes.

The International Conference, expressing the desire of the mass of the workers to act in unity for their common interests, will make an important and effective contribution to the progress of social security in all countries.

The Road to Uni

The Workers Form A Ur

by VICTOR EMA

General Secretar

Guatemala—A Small Country, A Significant Example

GUATEMALA is a small Latin-American country, situated in Central America. It has an area of 109,704 square kilometres and a population of 2,787,090 inhabitants, of whom 90% are of Indian origin.

Its economy is basically agricultural, the principal crops being coffee, bananas and sugar-cane. In this country there are large estates belonging to large native landowners and, above all, to the American imperialist United Fruit Company. Feudal or semi-feudal methods of exploitation in the countryside and the terribly low living standard of the population are the characteristic conditions of the life of the people.

In spite of this, Guatemala is the only Central American country, and one of the few in the whole of Latin America, which has at present a democratically elected government. Practically surrounded by dictatorships of feudal or imperialist-sponsored regimes, Guatemala is a democratic oasis in the middle of a region within the Yankee orbit. For this reason the American imperialists are increasingly threatening the present regime.

The powerful American monopoly, the United Fruit Company, which dominates the political and economic life of Central America, controls considerable areas of land in Guatemala devoted to the cultivation of bananas. This company owns the only railway in the country, and the principal Atlantic seaport, Puerto Barrios, through which nearly all of Guatemala's export and import trade passes. The company also owns the Flota Blanca, the only regular steamship line connecting the country with the outside world.

In 1944, after nearly a century of dictatorship, the people of Guatemala succeeded for the first time in establishing a democratic regime. But the United States imperialists are making stupendous efforts to prevent the economic, political and social development of the country. They encourage and support reactionary forces within the country and exercise the most brutal pressure from outside; they have stirred up all kinds of conspiracies and attacks against the government, and have even gone so far as to threaten a complete economic blockade in order to force Guatemala to accede to their demands.

The people of Guatemala are fighting resolutely against reaction and facing up to all obstacles and difficulties. The unity of the workers and of the other democratic and progressive sections of the people is the main support of the government of President Arbens, and makes this small country an example of the power of the resolute will of the people and the workers.

The unity of the Guatemalan workers, within a single trade union federation, exasperates the imperialists and their lackeys. This explains why Serafino Romualdi, Vice-President of the I.C.F.T.U. and agent of the U.S. State Department, declared at the A.F.L. Convention in San Francisco that Guatemala is a "black spot" on Latin America—in the eyes of the splitters, it goes without saying.

ty in Guatemala

ited Trade Union Centre

NUEL GUTIERREZ
of the C.G.T.G.

AFTER years of struggle to develop campaigns in support of the demands of the workers and peasants, a Trade Union Unity Congress was held during the latter half of October 1951. At this Congress was born a single trade union centre for the country, the C.G.T.G. (General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala).*

175,000 Workers Represented

The formation of the new united trade union centre brought together the General Confederation of Guatemala (Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala) and the Trade Union Federation of Guatemala (Federacion Sindical de Guatemala), both of which are affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and to the C.T.A.L., the independent trade union centres, the Central Regional Federation of Workers (Federacion Regional Central de Trabajadores) and the Autonomous Federation of Labour (Federacion Laboral Autonoma), as well as a large number of trade unions which were not affiliated to any of the above national centres or which had seceded from one or the other of them. Among these was the Railwaymen's Union (Sindicato de Accion y Mejoramiento Ferrocarrilero), one of the most important unions in the country.

The National Peasants' Confederation of Guatemala took part in the forging of unity and gave valuable help at the Congress, and is maintaining organic links with the new C.G.T.G., while still keeping its own organisational structure.

Altogether 262 trade unions representing 175,000 organised workers and peasants participated in the Trade Union Unity Congress.

The holding of the Congress and the achievement of organic trade union unity were preceded by continuous efforts and persevering action which had been carried on since October 1944, when the mighty popular movement overthrew the military dictatorship and made possible the establishment of a government which was elected by the will of the people, and respected trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

First Moves for Unity

The first attempt at unity was made in December 1946, with the formation of the National Committee for Trade Union Unity (C.N.U.S.). a body for co-ordinating the various trade union centres, in which the Chilean workers' leader, Juan Vargas Pueblo, took part as the representative of the C.T.A.L.

The National Committee for Trade Union Unity made possible the establishment of better relations among the different centres and trade unions without. however, setting itself the immediate objective of bringing about organic trade union unity.

The C.N.U.S. carried out an important task. organising joint action to obtain the enactment of progressive social legislation, as well as leading the fight and organising solidarity with movements of a national character, such as the fight of the agricultural workers employed on the banana plantations and the stevedores on the wharves of the United Fruit Company, the powerful American monopoly which exploits the workers and monopolises a huge section of the Guatemalan economy.

It also took an active part in the fight against the manoeuvres of the General Association of Farmers. controlled by the big landowners, and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which were attempting to reduce the rights given to the workers by the Labour Code and to impose legislation entirely in the interests of the employers .

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* See No. 14 of this Review, July 20th, 1951, article by Carlos Fernandez, "Transport Workers' Conference and Trade Union Unity in Guatemala."

In spite of its successes, the National Committee for Trade Union Unity, because of its structure and its organisational weaknesses, was not in a position to transform itself into a unifying centre capable of canalising the growing current of unity which was finding expression among the wide masses of workers and peasants throughout the country.

May Day, 1951

The joint meeting of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau and the Central Committee of the C.T.A.L., held in December 1950, and the guidance for the Latin American trade union movement contained in the resolutions of that meeting, provided us with great stimulus and assistance in the re-orientation of our activities for united action and trade union unity.

For May Day, 1951, we decided to put into practice the recommendations of the W.F.T.U. We set ourselves the task of creating a very broad committee for the celebration of this International Workers' Day, which would bring together forces greater than had been brought together by the C.N.U.S., and on which all working class organisations would be represented without exception.

All the existing centres and the autonomous or independent trade unions formed a May Day Organising Committee. The truly united form in which the committee was set up and the methods of work which it developed ensured the effective application of our policy. From that time we have been able to count on unified action among all trade union organisations on the basis of a minimum programme which includes the most important demands of the workers and peasants of Guatemala.

This united action not only increased the possibilities for mobilisation, thanks to which we succeeded in getting a demonstration of over 50,000 people—more than we had ever before been able to mobilise—but it also introduced a new spirit into the celebration of May Day, bringing a greater fighting spirit, more concise slogans and more concrete demands.

A joint delegation presented a programme of demands to the President of the Republic which contained the most important demands of the workers, the peasants and the entire people, putting forward the problems of principal concern for the economic development of the country, for the maintenance of peace and for national independence.

Co-operation with the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L.

A few days after May Day, the Regional Conference of the Land and Air Transport Workers of Latin America provided us with a further opportunity of applying the policy of unity of action. A Preparatory Committee was set up including representatives of all the transport organisations. Commissions

The "aid" offered by imperialism. (Engraving by Arturo Garcia Batres).

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Workers of the Eminencia Plantation tell of their living conditions.

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were formed, which brought together members of different centres and trade unions, including the Railwaymen's Union. All worked together in order to ensure the success of the Conference.

The presence of the W.F.T.U. and C.T.A.L. delegation consisting of Brothers Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the C.T.A.L., Maurice Carroué, President of the Agricultural Workers' Trade Unions International, Carlos Fernandez, Assistant of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, and José Morera, Rodolfo Cuzman and Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez of the C.T.A.L. Secretariat, together with the Latin American delegates to the Conference, contributed greatly to stimulating the fight of the workers of Guatemala for trade union unity.

In the name of the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L., Brothers Saillant and Toledano invited all the leaders of the trade union centres and the autonomous trade unions to a meeting with a view to placing the question of unity of all the workers of Guatemala within a single trade union centre in a more specific way, based on the widest trade union democracy, respect for the political, religious and other opinions of all affiliated members, independence of the working class and international solidarity.

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The crowded America Theatre on the evening of the Inauguration of the Congress for Trade Union Unity.

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Preparatory Committee for the Congress for Trade Union Unity

This meeting was of extremely great importance. The proposals made by the W.F.T.U. and C.T.A.L. representatives inspired us with greater confidence in our own strength and mapped out the way for the achievement of trade union unity, giving first place to the fight for unity of action for the specific demands of the workers in the workshops and in the various industries.

This meeting brought into being the Preparatory Committee for the Congress for Trade Union Unity, on which all the trade union centres, the autonomous trade unions and the National Peasants' Confederation were represented.

The Preparatory Committee carried out intensive work during the five months from May to October 1951, giving expression in all its activities to its will for unity and overcoming past differences which existed among the various trade union leaders.

It gave special attention to developing movements for the economic and social demands of the workers, and participated actively in the railwaymen's strike, the strike of the agricultural workers for a minimum wage rate, and that of the teachers for a salary increase. It also took part in the strikes of road-menders and of the workers employed at the United Fruit Company's wharves against widespread dismissals, besides developing organisation among previously unorganised sections of the working class, especially the agricultural workers, and carrying out solidarity actions for workers fighting on day to day issues.

The Committee also organised regional conferences of agricultural workers to discuss the resolutions of the Agricultural Workers' Conference for Latin America, which was held last May in Mexico, and to draw up specific programmes of demands. It also organised the fight for their application.

The Preparatory Committee contributed to the unification of workers of a number of industries, setting up the National Federation of Sugar Workers and a Federation for the Textile and Clothing Industry. It also created the basis for the formation of a National Transport Workers Federation and a Federation for the Leather and Fur Workers.

The Trade Union Unity Congress

The Trade Union Unity Congress took place on the 12th, 13th and 14th of October 1951, amid the greatest enthusiasm and with the complete support of the entire working class of the nation, which took an active part in the preparation of the Congress and elected delegates at big democratic meetings of the trade unions and at the place of work.

Once again we received the valuable co-operation of the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L., represented by Brother Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who was the President of the Congress.

Reports drawn up collectively by the Preparatory

Workers are at the forefront in the struggle for peace.

Committee and drafts presented by the various Working Commissions formed the basis for resolutions which the Congress adopted on various problems: organisation, the economic situation of the workers, the programme of demands of the new trade union centre and its Constitution, agrarian reform, the development of the national economy, as well as on the fight for peace and national independence.

The Executive Committee of the new trade union centre was elected on the basis of unity, and contains representatives of the most important organisations and of all the various viewpoints which exist in the trade union movement of our country.

The international affiliation of the new centre has not yet been decided, but the Congress elected to its Honorary Presidium the President and General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., Giuseppe Di Vittorio and Louis Saillant, and the messages of greetings sent by the W.F.T.U., the French C.G.T., and other national centres were received with enthusiastic applause.

Tasks of the New Trade Union Centre

The General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala, which unites all the organised workers and peasants of the country, is confronted with many important tasks.

The Guatemalan workers live under difficult economic circumstances. The average daily wage of a town worker is one *quetzal* (equal to one dollar) and of a country worker, 30 cents a day. The cost of living and rents are very high.

Following the restoration of democratic government after several years of dictatorship, national reaction has repeatedly tried, with the backing of United States imperialism, to overthrow the new regime by means of violence.

Under the present government headed by President Arbens, the working class movement is developing under conditions of freedom, and there is full respect for trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

Nevertheless, internal reaction, encouraged and aided by the United States monopolies, has not abandoned its threats to the democratic regime, but, on the contrary, is daily increasing them.

Because of this the workers have gone on to the streets to defend the government and democratic institutions with arms in their hands, and continue to do so.

The tasks facing the new General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala are : the fight for increased wages and for a higher living standard for the workers and peasants, for improved social legislation and for the Labour Code, for the carrying through of a real agrarian reform and the distribution of land to the peasants, the foundation and development of national industries, the maintenance of the democratic regime and the liberation of the country from monopolies and foreign dependence, the organisation of the thousands of unorganised workers, support for the struggle of the peasants, the consolidation of organic trade union unity and the strengthening of the alliance with progressive sections of the population.

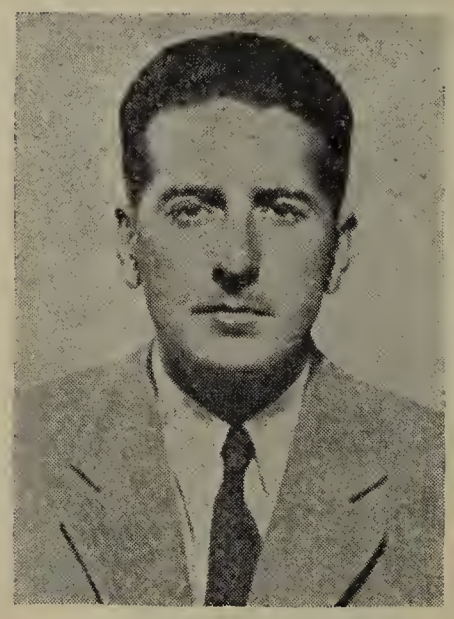
We are confident that, by applying the correct policy of the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L., we shall succeed in achieving these tasks.

We are also sure that, once we have resolved the problems concerned with international affiliations, we shall become part of the great working class family united under the banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Free Gregorio Lopez Raimundo and Other Spanish Workers Imprisoned in Barcelona!

THE mighty international movement to save Gregorio Lopez Raimundo and the 33 other Spanish workers who are threatened with death for having taken part in the great Barcelona general strike last March has won its first victory.

These workers were arrested by the Franco police at the end of July. After a month of torture and interrogation in the cells of the Barcelona General Commissariat, they were transferred to the Ocana Penitentiary in the province of Toledo. There, away from the Catalan people, the government wanted to put them on trial before a Military Tribunal, which would be charged with imposing the death sentence on them.



However, the Franco Government has been forced by the pressure of solidarity of the workers throughout the world, and of the Spanish people themselves, to set some of the accused free and to bring the others back from the Ocana Penitentiary to the Barcelona Prison.

These Spanish workers are, nevertheless, still in danger. The Falangist Government is demanding their death to revenge itself for the general strike and the mass demonstrations of Barcelona, which spread throughout Spain and brought to light the precarious situation of the hated regime and revealed the possibility of bringing it down by the united struggle of the workers and the people.

The accused are to be tried by a Military Tribunal under Franco's orders. A parody of justice, without any legal guarantee!

The Berlin meeting of the General Council decided to appeal to all organisations and to all the workers of the world to raise their protests and to undertake all possible activities to save the lives of these workers. The General Secretary of the WFTU sent a letter to Mr. Trygve Lie, General Secretary of the United Nations, asking him to intervene and demand respect for the lives of those inprisoned.

International solidarity, which has already won a victory over Franco fascism, will continue its mobilisation to save Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, Francisco Pedrol and the other Spanish workers, who have maintained proudly before the fascist jailers collective responsibility for the Barcelona general strike.

All the accused are workers, true sons of the Spanish working people: Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, clothing worker; Francisco Pedrol, peasant from the Gandesa region; Jose Fages, transport worker; Ara Fo, printer; Juan Mistral, metal worker of the Casa Girona; Muntaner, metal worker of the Termica enterprise, and others.

Steadfast and courageous, these men are defending the right of the Spanish people to organise themselves to fight against war and poverty, for peace and bread, for democracy and for the national independence of Spain.

GREGORIO LOPEZ RAIMUNDO, a worker and son of an office worker, became interested at an early age in the struggles of the working class. During the Spanish War for independence, as part of his activities, he organised groups of young men and girls in Barcelona to go out to the country on Sundays to help the peasants, who were in need of extra hands.

Crossing the border into France after the temporary victory of fascism in 1939 was not, for Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, the end of his activity for the working class. After the Second World War he returned voluntarily to Spain in order to continue, under the difficult conditions of illegality, the fight against the fascist policy of oppression and hunger and to defend the interests of the workers and the people.

The strikes and the mass demonstrations in Barcelona were evidence of the profound hatred felt by the entire Spanish people towards the Franco tyranny. Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, arrested because of his activity, has claimed for himself and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia to which he belongs, the honour of having shown the people the way to victory, the way of united struggle.

TELEGRAM

Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, Barcelona Prison, Spain.

In the name of 80 million workers throughout the world organised in the W.F.T.U., we send you and your imprisoned comrades a fraternal message of greetings and sympathy. The W.F.T.U. sends to you its full and complete solidarity, and is giving renewed support to the demands and aspirations of the Spanish workers and the cause of the Spanish people.

LOUIS SAILLANT, General Secretary, W.F.T.U.

An Australian Worker Visits Czechoslovakia

By FRED WELLS
Seamen's Union of Australia.

SINCE the victorious termination of the struggle against Hitler fascism, there has been a gradual stepping up of hate-propaganda against the People's Democracies in the newspapers, radio and films, and from the platform of the major political parties in Australia. This propaganda follows what seems to be a general rule of vilification of those countries where the people have had the courage to take the affairs of their country into their own hands, and run them for the benefit of all and not for the benefit of a few wealthy war-mongering capitalists.

One of the People's Democracies that comes in for more than its normal share of hate is Czechoslovakia. It is represented as a country writhing under the rule of a few merciless Communists, where hunger, unemployment, slave camps, exploitation of youth and suppression of religion go hand in hand with a policy of war against the U.S.A. and her allies, and a so-called Iron Curtain through which none but the most favoured may pass.

So when, at the end of the Third World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace at Berlin, the youth organisation (C.S.M.) of Czechoslovakia invited fifteen Australians to visit their country and see for themselves exactly what was happening, the first doubts as to the existence of this Iron Curtain crept into many minds. Instead of being prevented from visiting Czechoslovakia, people were actually being invited.

As I was one of the fortunate ones selected to go, and in view of the campaign that is being waged against Czechoslovakia in many countries and having had a chance to see the truth for myself, I feel I should describe some of my experiences.

I do this because I feel it very necessary that the people of the countries whose governments are instrumental in spreading so many erroneous statements should have every opportunity to learn the truth about conditions prevailing in the People's Democracies; for by learning the truth much will be done to defeat the plans of those madmen who seek for their own nefarious designs to plunge the world into another blood bath, and this will help in enabling the peoples of the world to live in peace, in an atmosphere of trust, friendship and dignity.

At no time during our trip to and through Czechoslovakia did I experience anything remotely resembling an attempt to prevent us visiting any establishment or area of the country. Instead, every facility was placed at our disposal, to go where we wished, see whatever we wished and ask questions of any person or persons we wished. During the period we were in Czechoslovakia there were also delegations of Canadians, British, Koreans, Argentinians and many other nationalities. These people enjoyed the same facilities as we Australians, and like us, were encouraged to criticise anything we saw with which we disagreed. So I will leave readers to judge for themselves as to the existence of an Iron Curtain, though I would ask them to take into consideration the role played by the U.S.A., England, France and other countries in attempting to prevent delegations from visiting the People's Democracies.

Why Czechoslovakia Wants Peace

On our second day in Czechoslovakia, we were taken to a Workers' Holiday Resort at Hamr

Delegates elected to go to the Berlin Youth Festival by the membership of the Australian Seamen's Union. Fred Wells, the author of this article, is second from the left.

on Jezere where some of the young and adult workers from all over Czechoslovakia come to spend their holidays. Here in a quiet village, built on the side of a lake and set among pine forests, is every convenience for a worker and his family to spend and enjoy a holiday. Cinemas, dance halls, lecture rooms, volley and basket ball courts, sailing, boating and canoeing on the lake and, of course, swimming. Here we would alternate our evenings between the youth and adults, and through discussion and questions, we found that many of these workers enjoyed these holidays free of charge. One man told me that for the holiday of three weeks, including rail fares for his wife and himself, the cost was the equivalent of three days' wages. In no instance would the three weeks' paid holiday for the family cost more than one weeks' wages.

At this resort was a cross-section of Czechoslovakia, comprising youth and adult students, miners, factory workers, office workers, housewives and many people of other occupations; all were unanimous in their praise of the present regime. They explained that never before had they been able to enjoy such a full working, cultural and sporting life devoid of any feeling of insecurity for the future; for the first time in their lives they could buy those things so dear to the heart of a family, comfortable and modern furniture, radios, etc., etc., as well as a sufficiency of good food and other essentials. They were happy too in the knowledge that every door to opportunity and advancement was open to their children, for truly never have I seen such a superb system of education and apprentice training as is available to the youth of Czechoslovakia. They also gave me concrete evidence that prices were becoming less and the value of their wages more. All were emphatic in their desire never again to return to the old days of exploitation and misery.

On visiting the city of Liberec some twenty miles from the holiday resort, I saw some of the reasons why they wished to keep that freedom they had won at such a cost. There I visited the home of the infamous Henlein, the former leader and gauleiter of the Sudeten area who played such a role in betraying the people. This home, formerly the scene of so much evil, is now fittingly converted into a museum of fascist barbarism, and here, set out step by step, were the reasons, so easily understood when seen, for the vehemently expressed desire of the Czechoslovak people to keep their freedom in spite of the saboteurs, agents provocateurs and spies smuggled into

Following the betrayal of Munich, the Wehrmacht marched into Prague on March 15, 1939. The hatred and disgust of the people is shown by the workers with raised fists (top right of picture).

their country by imperialist nations.

Here one can see the tattooed human skin taken from the tortured victims of fascism and used for lamp shades and book covers. Here also are all the fiendish weapons of torture the Nazi madmen used on their victims—spiked knuckle dusters, wire whips, a huge swinging club with iron spikes, used to beat some fighter for peace and freedom while he was strapped by the wrists and ankles to an iron sheet; and still, as mute evidence of inhumanity, dried blood on the club. Here also was the guillotine used at Pankrats Prison that had beheaded 1,048 patriots. There was also the exact replica of a concentration camp cell, 30 ft. by 30 ft., where in scenes of indescribable horror and brutality, 300 to 700 people were condemned to a living death.

Seeing these things, I could understand why the Czechoslovak people were so proud of the regime based on freedom and peace they had built and why they wished to and would keep it, continuously improving it and eradicating any last remnant of exploitation that remained and so hand down to their children a country which would truly belong to them, devoid of hatred and evil.

Industrial Towns Of a New Kind

After leaving the holiday resort, we visited the town of Ostrava in Moravia, and here one could see for oneself and begin to comprehend the changes that are sweeping Czechoslovakia under a People's Government. Ostrava is a city founded on coal and steel production, and under capitalism was exploited to the utmost, the prime aim being more profit for the owners with never a thought for the betterment of the workers' conditions. Consequently there grew up a city of contrasts. Luxury homes for the rich, and smoke-drenched slums for the workers. In many cases, because of wrong methods used, due to greed on the part of the owners, workers' homes would be undermined by the coal mines and sink several feet into the earth, with no attempt made to remedy this danger.

But today, there is arising out of this heritage of capitalism, with a scope and speed that is breathtaking, a city such as the workers of my country as yet only dream about. For the city of Ostrava is being completely rebuilt not only with accommodation and amenities for the present population, but also for the further 200,000 people the increased productive capacity will absorb. This city will be built in quarters, and each quarter, surrounded by green parks planted with trees and shrubs, will have a central House of Culture with cinema, club rooms, libraries and puppet theatre. Each district in the quarter will also have a House of Culture with a seating capacity of 1,000 with all amenities such as libraries, etc. Also to be built is a theatre seating 2,000. Museums, another 600 - seat theatre, parks, swimming pools, playgrounds, pioneer houses, kindergartens, and nurseries will be built in each quarter for the youth and young people. All homes are to be centrally heated and built with every consideration for the welfare of the family, set in wide tree-lined streets, and built to catch the maximum of sunlight. Each quarter of the new Ostrava will be serviced by a cheap, speedy, modern trolley-bus system.

These things I have related are not figments of imagination, nor

A school for young miners.

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are they just blueprints to be put away and forgotten. This city is already in the process of being built and already many homes and blocks of flats are finished and inhabited, and the work on the remainder goes on apace, so that already the work is far ahead of schedule.

Talking to individual workers on various projects, I was impressed by the knowledge each had of his or her own particular part in the construction. This was explained to me by the workers by the fact that regular meetings were held of all engaged on the project, from the manager down to the labourer, so that in an atmosphere of constructive criticism, explanation and suggestion the best method of work was arrived at. Seeing all this for myself, I asked myself the question, could the Czechoslovak people be building for and want a war of destruction at the same time as they were building so enthusiastically for peace; and I realised that the Czechoslovak people and their government spoke truly when they evinced such a desire for peace and the opportunity to build a better way of life.

From Ostrava we went to Gottwaldov, formerly the city of Zlin, and part of the monopolist Bata empire, built on exploitation. We came first to a magnificent hotel, quite the best I have ever been in, which formerly had been only for the use of the Bata clique and their hangers-on. Now it belongs, appropriately enough, to the Trade Unions that Bata tried so hard to suppress. Passing through the doors which formerly only the wealthy used are now proud and happy workers and their families, some perhaps to dine cheaply and well in the enormous restaurant or some to one of the dance or lecture halls in the hotel, and others with their families making the hotel their headquarters whilst they are on holiday in Gottwaldov.

In this city also are being built, and have been built, spacious and modern homes and apartments for the workers, also schools, hospitals, sports grounds and houses of culture.

Under the stimulus of a People's Democracy, new buildings spring up throughout the country.

This newly-built church at Lamac stands as evidence that freedom of religion has real meaning to-day.

Real Apprentice Training

In Gottwaldov, I visited one of the many huge buildings for the housing and training of apprentices. In this building, as far as one could see, was every amenity and training device youth could desire in the period of training they undergo prior to entering the industry of their choice. Modern lecture rooms, modern machines on which to practise their chosen trade, supervised by competent and capable instructors, a gymnasium, rooms fitted out for the pursuit of the various hobbies so dear to the heart of youth, quiet rest and reading rooms and a library that exploded another lie of the capitalist press, i.e., that the Peoples' Democracies have no translations of the works of English and American authors; for here, alongside technical books and the classics of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, France, Germany, etc., were translations of Shakespeare, Dickens, Fast, Wells, Shaw, Galsworthy and many others.

This training school was indicative of the many I visited, and in all cases I asked the same question: could they, the trainees, choose the trade they desired? In all cases I received the same answer; not only could they freely choose whatever profession or trade they desired, but if, on entering that chosen field of work, they wished to change to another, they were at perfect liberty to do so. I could write at great length on the benefits and facilities available to the youth of Czechoslovakia, but must content myself with saying that they are treated as the most valuable factor in the future of Czechoslovakia, and treated and trained accordingly, so that they need have no doubts but may look forward to a confident and secure future.

Happy youth! A group of holiday makers from the recreation centre of the Union of Czechoslovak Youth at Jeseniky, in Moravia.

Religious Freedom

From Gottwaldov to Bratislava, where over coffee in a restaurant I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of two Roman Catholic priests, and so availed myself of the opportunity to ask questions on the supposed persecution to which they were subjected. From this conversation, these facts came to light. In no way does the government of Czechoslovakia hinder or attempt to hinder any religious movement, but, on the contrary, they are given direct and material help by many methods, one being a subsidy paid to religious organisations by the government. This has always been paid, but whereas in the past the amount never exceeded 70 million crowns, in the past year it was one billion crowns. Another is the building of seminaries and colleges for the training of those who wish to enter religion, and the restoration and repairing of churches and religious monuments.

Furthermore, in Czechoslovakia priests and ministers receive a monthly wage from the government of 5,500 crowns per month. In most cases, this is more than they received under the old regime.

These facts I checked and rechecked and can assure all who read this that in Czechoslovakia there is no religious persecution but, on the contrary, all are free to worship in peace the religion of their choice.

Trade Union Democracy

Lastly I wish to deal with the question of the role and function of the trade unions of Czechoslovakia. Instead of the puny. oppressed trade unionism depicted as existing in Czechoslovakia by the press of many countries, the trade union movement (R.O.H.) of Czechoslovakia is the largest organisation in the country with a membership of three and one half millions. All industries have their trade union, and trade union press, and are welded into one central organisation which of a certainty has and wields the power and influence that rightly belongs to trade unions.

All elections for officials are held by secret ballot and any member of the trade union who wishes, may nominate and go to the ballot, which is held every two years for senior officials, and every year for junior officials. All officials are liable to recall by the membership if at any time they are proved to be guilty of malpractice or incompetence.

Trade union officials in Czechoslovakia in most cases receive lower wages than the workers. When I asked why this was so and was it not a little unfair, a senior official answered me: "We do not pay big salaries, and so attract men and women whose only concern is to go into the big salary bracket. We want and have men and women whose only ambition is to serve their country and fellow workers well and wisely."

Women in the trade unions have equal pay and equal opportunities with men and are encouraged by the government to take an active and leading role in their unions. On the question of the desire of the Czechoslovak people for war, a true answer was given by the people in the recent ballot, when 98.2 per cent. of the people voted overwhelmingly in favour of peace, a policy which their government is carrying out to the letter.

These then were some of my impressions and experiences of Czechoslovakia. They are easily checked for, as I have said, there were some thousands of delegates of different nationalities in Czechoslovakia whilst I was there and these can by little effort be located and asked to verify or denounce these statements.

MATSUKAWA CASE

Appeal to World Workers

A resume of the Appeal issued by the W.F.T.U. Liaison Bureau in Japan

ON December 6, 1950, judges in the local Fukushima court in Northern Japan sentenced 20 young members and officials of various trade unions, including the National Railway Trade Union, to heavy sentences for allegedly "plotting revolution by force, derailing a train and putting three railway guards to death." Five of these officials were sentenced to death, five to life imprisonment and the other ten rank and filers to a total of 95 years imprisonment. This case has since become known as the Matsukawa Case.

The incident took place in July 1949 at the time when the Japanese Government announced the mass dismissal of 95,000 state railway workers. This was part of a plan to destroy trade union organisation, to force down wages and increase the work load.

Others to suffer mass dismissal were the coal miners at Taira, Fukushima. 150 of them were arrested in late June for fighting against this mass dismissal and were supported by railway and other workers in Matsukawa. Both the American occupation forces and the Yoshida Government were terrified that the struggle might spread throughout Japan. It was in such circumstances that the train derailing took place, followed by the arrest of 20 militant workers.

When the trial took place in December 1950, the defence lawyers stated that the judges who were originally prepared to judge the case on evidence submitted later surrendered to pressure from the American and Government authorities. The only evidence submitted was the finding of a 9-inch wrench and a claw hammer of the type used exclusively by the U.S. occupation forces. It is obvious that one person, equipped only with such tools, would not be able to extract nails which were originally fixed under a pressure of more than 100 tons, particularly as another train had passed only 20 minutes before when the track was in apparent good condition. Other evidence purported to show that it was raining at the time of the derailment when in fact the Observatory records show that this was not so.

Quite obviously the 20 accused have no connection with the incident which was equally obviously plotted by persons in the pay of reaction. Just before the Matsukawa incident occurred. gangsters from the so-called "Daiwa-to" party, supported by the Americans, suddenly appeared in Fukushima. These fascist secret police operated in China during the Japanese aggression. They have carried out innumerable assassinations and train derailments and would not have found it difficult to destroy the track in 20 minutes. The working class traitors Nabeyama, Mitamura, Tanako and Hoshika are constant participants in the headquarters activities of these fascist gangs. They are also close co-operators with the American occupation authorities, and help to conceal the truth of such inhuman intrigues from the public.

In their message to the people, the Matsukawa victims said: "Workers of Japan! We are sentenced to death because of our struggle for independence, freedom and peace of Japan. We are sentenced to death without having committed any crime. We are surrounded by thousands of pistols and clubs, but we are confident in world peace and in the people's strength. We are confident that 'truth is always victorious.' We shall fight to the very end.

"To defend the truth means to defend peace. We are convinced that fascism, which conceals the truth, will inevitably be wiped out by the people's strength."

The tremendous international solidarity movement has caused the Yoshida Government to hesitate in announcing the result of the appeal and it is still not too late to help these victims and save their lives. The W.F.T.U. Liaison Bureau in Japan asks the working people of the world to make further protest and give more encouragement to their Japanese brothers.

(The final verdict on the appeal of the Japanese trade unionists. which has been postponed many times, was to be announced on December 20th, 1951.)

W.F.T.U. Liaison Bureau
in Japan.

Not Wanted – Tamecat Unions

THE government of a country where the buying power of the £ has dropped around 70 per cent. in three years doesn't like militant unions. Neither does a government seeking to smash home wage-levels by the mass import of Japanese cheap-labour goods and which shuns the word *peace* like the plague.

For these reasons—and many more—the Australian Government is doing its best to hand over militant unions to any renegade trade unionists willing to dirty their hands on the Government's behalf.

The recent *Amended Arbitration Act* which has been condemned by both the social-democratic Australian Labour Party (A.L.P.) and the Australian Council of Trade Unions (A.C.T.U) enables the Government in certain circumstances to intervene drastically in internal union affairs. This Act was invoked for the first time by a group of members of the Federated Ironworkers' Association of Australia to bring the Sydney branch elections under the control of the Arbitration Court. Instead of a rank-and-file elected Returning Officer and Scrutineers conducting the elections, this group brought government officials into union business.

The leader of this group, which is one of the many A.L.P. Industrial Groups, is a man called Short who was directly interested in the outcome of the elections. He was standing for the office of Secretary. Despite his invoking the anti-labour Amended Arbitration Act, Short was defeated by K. McKeon who was standing for re-election on a policy of opposition to this very law and to Prime Minister Menzies' general union-busting tactics, and support for higher wages and peace.

The irony of the whole situation is that only two days before his defeat in his own branch elections—where he claimed his major support—Short was declared National Secretary of the Ironworkers' Association by Arbitration Court Judge Dunphy!

This Short is the same individual who cost his union some £A14,000 in legal expenses by challenging the 1949 ballot when the progressive Ernie Thornton was elected National Secretary with 1,678 more votes than Short.

Judge Dunphy upheld Short's claim that the 1949 ballot was forged after hearing the opinions of a couple of experts (retired bank managers) who claimed to be able to go through thousands of ballot papers and pick out those bearing crosses whose tell-tale characteristics showed beyond doubt that they were drawn by the same hand. The judge ordered that new ballots be held for the positions of National President, Vice-President and National Assistant Secretary.

Short, significantly, was not ordered to go before the membership and has subsequently refused the Union's National Council's call to go before the Union electorate in a union-controlled ballot.

Not wishing to be saddled with this ultra - rightwing National Secretary, the National Conference of the Federated Ironworkers' Association dismissed Short from the office of National Secretary of the union on December 14, 1951. Short has again appealed to the Arbitration Court and the union has been ordered to show cause within ten days why it should not recognise him as National Secretary.

Short of course is not alone. He has the fanatical support always given by the capitalist press to any rag-tag and bobtail trade unionist willing to betray his class. The *Sydney Morning Herald* is particularly ardent in support of Short. Why? It is the publicity sheet of the monopoly Broken Hill Proprietary Co. and the Metal Trades Employers' Association who know from experience that a militant Iron-Workers' Association is a nasty and serious threat to their profits.

The Ironworkers' Association is not alone either. It has the much more valuable and genuine support of the 80 million workers of the world united in the W.F.T.U.

MARY WOLFARD.

Sharpening Resistance of Yugoslav Youth to Tito Regime

THE Tito-Rankovitch fascist clique is reducing Yugoslavia to a position of economic, political and military servitude to Washington. Today Yugoslavia is no more than a colony of the Anglo - American warmongers, who are trying through their Yugoslav agents to prepare the country for war, with a view to disturbing peace throughout the world.

The Tito Government is forcing Yugoslav youth to take part in military training. To this end, they are forming "special" youth detachments in the towns and in the countryside, in the factories and schools throughout Yugoslavia. These detachments are for the purpose of preparing the youth militarily and politically for aggressive designs.

They are also forcing the youth to work 10 to 12 hours per day and supplying them with very inadequate food. This regime of exploitation is making use of the most barbarous forms of exploitation normally existing only in colonial countries, against the working class youth.

The resistance of the youth to the oppressive Tito regime is taking on a more courageous and organised form every day. In

several regions of Yugoslavia, young workers who are called up for pre-military training are refusing to submit to the orders of the Tito officers. In the factories and workshops, and in all centres of work, young people are distributing leaflets, proclamations and slogans against Tito, and calling upon the people to wage a merciless war against the Tito-Rankovitch clique. Throughout the whole country the youth are boycotting the government's war preparations. At Rashk, for example, in spite of severe measures taken by the fascists, 27 out of 28 pre-military centres are not functioning, and in the Ujice region none of the 20 pre-military training exercises planned have been carried out. In many Yugoslav towns, such as Karlovsta, Voukovar, Zagreb, Slovensken Brodu, more than 60% of the youth have taken no part in pre-military exercises. These are some of the facts which show the hatred of the Yugoslav youth for their most cruel enemy, the Tito-Rankovitch clique.

The young men and women of Yugoslavia understand perfectly well that Tito wants to prepare them for a new war and use them as cannon-fodder in the interests of American imperialism, and they are leaving en masse the fascist organisation Narodna Omladina (People's Youth), which is being used to create a fascist and military mentality among the Yugoslav youth. More than 60% of the youth employed at the Rade Koncar factory in Zagreb have left the Narodna Omladina organisation which was set up at their factory. In the same way, in the Bakko Pevjovitch factory at Severn Subetitch and at Niah, Pirot and other places where the Narodna Omladina organisation exists, 80% of the youth have left it.

The youth of Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, are striking heavy blows against the Tito regime. Hundreds of youngsters, with arms in their hands, are carrying on a bitter war against the fascists in the mountains, winning brilliant victories and causing the enemy heavy losses in men and material. The shining example of the heroism of Jahir Berisha, Sali Shatri and Kesseve, who fought on for hours and succeeded in escaping from encirclement by large forces of Tito bandits, will remain for ever in the memory of the Yugoslav youth. There are many young patriots of this kind who are carrying on the fight for national liberation in Yugoslavia.

SITKI HOXHA,
Yugoslav emigré.

ECONOMIC NOTES

WHAT IS POVERTY?

OR

HOW TO SUBSIST ON A SUBSISTENCE BUDGET

SOME months ago the British Press celebrated the "virtual abolition of poverty" in Britain. These glad tidings were based on the sociological labours of Mr. Rowntree, who had presumed to find that only 2.8% of the British working class families lived on incomes below the "poverty line," compared to a much larger number of families before the war.

In 1936, Mr. Rowntree devised a budget which was designed to serve as the basis for minimum wage standards and social security benefits. It was supposed to be based on the subsistence needs for a family of five, living "in health and decency."

But, strangely enough, health and decency of the workers seem to be rather elastic terms for Mr. Rowntree.

Thus, the diet on which he based his budget for 1950 is worse than the diet used for his budget in 1937. For example, to "compensate" for lowered quantities of bacon and cheese, necessitated by food rationing. Mr. Rowntree merely substituted some sugar and margarine. Even the low meat rations existing in Britain seem too high for Mr. Rowntree, for his budget provides only for a part of the extremely low ration. For its Sunday meal, the worker's family has to find the very cheapest cut of meat available.

The family for which Rowntree set up his "model" budget eats for breakfast tea with bread and low-quality jam or dripping. Five meals a week consist only of bread and margarine, several others of soup and bread. It has to be content with one-fifth of an egg per person per week. And it never eats butter or fresh fruit, tomatoes or lettuce.

Yet, low as the Rowntree diet is, it is actually more luxurious than the diet which is really available to the average family living on his budget. Indeed, it includes several items which cannot be counted on regularly because of short supply.

As for clothing, the workers' family for which Mr. Rowntree "provides" is no better off. The man goes without an overcoat all the year round. The woman has to buy mostly secondhand clothing. One pair of the very cheapest shoes has to last him eighteen months, and her—two years.

The food, clothing, rents and rates having been "taken care of," there remains exactly six shillings and eight pence a week for the entire family to be merry on: to buy beer and tobacco, to go to the cinema, to ride on a 'bus, to go on holiday, and to take care of "cultural needs." All this for six shillings and eight pence—less than the price of two packets of standard cigarettes!

And this is called SUBSISTENCE IN DECENCY AND HEALTH on which wages and social security are based.

And such is Mr. Rowntree's easy method of abolishing poverty—on paper.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

The Mighty Voice of a Great People

Thc 3rd All-Union Conference of the Fighters for Peace has ended its work. This Conference, which took place in an animated political atmosphere, expressed the will and hopes of the whole Soviet people. The Conference adopted with great enthusiasm, an appeal to all the followers of the peace movement in all countries.

"Wc are not afraid," says the Appeal, "of peaceful emulation with capitalism, nor are we afraid of the intrigues of the imperialist aggressors. There is no force in this world which could make our people deviate from the construction of Communist society."

Comrade Stalin said as early as 1934: "Our foreign policy is clear; it is a policy of maintaining peace and of strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening and even less of attacking anybody. We stand for pcace and we defend the causc of peace."

Thc All-Union Conference of the Fighters for Peace emphatically dcclared once more, in the name of the whole Soviet People, that thcy desire to live in peace and friendship with the peoples of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and other countries.

Soviet Citizens numbering 117,669,320 have signed the Appeal of the World Peacc Council for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five Great Powers, and each signature is being strengthened by outstanding efforts at work which clearly show the mighty creativc force of Soviet patriotism.

Only imperialists and millionaires desire war. They are the only ones who are interested in robbing and enslaving the peoples, in obtaining immense extra profits from arms supplies. Thesc masters of the capitalist monopolies are extending the aggressive Atlantic Pact, kindling Atom Bomb psychosis and war hysteria and making base propaganda for robbery and murder; they arc carrying out the remilitarisation of Germany and Japan and cnmeshing the world in a spider's web of military bases.

As for the Soviet people, thcy once more declarcd through the conference delegates that the imperialists should not try to interpret our love of peace as a sign of weakness. Should anyone try to attack us, they will "again be brought to their senses" by us, as we brought the Hitler gang to their senses, the henchmen of the American monopolies.

The conference stated that in view of the growing war danger the further broadening of the campaign for the preservation of peace and the increased vigilance of the peoples against the criminal machinations of warmongers are of paramount importance. The conference delegates warmly approved and supported the programme of the future fight for peace, which was proclaimed by the session of the World Peace Council in Vienna.

The mighty voice of our great people defending peace and opposing the warmongers fills the hearts of millions of people of goodwill all over the world with the firm conviction that the forces of peace will be victorious over the dark forces of war.

"Trud," 30.11.51.

BULGARIA

The Work of the Trade Union Movement

The most important task facing the Bulgarian workers immediately following September 9th, 1944, was to restore the national economy pillaged by the German fascists, and to reorganise the political and economic life of the country in line with the principles of a People's Democracy.

Conscious of the task assigned to them, the trade unions threw themselves into the fight for the achievement of the Two Year Plan of 1947-48. The success of this plan created conditions favourable to the fulfilment of thc Five Ycar Plan. The trade unions took a most activc part in carrying out this plan. It is worthwhile drawing attention again to the fact that it was under their leadership that shock work and socialist emulation bccame the established methods of work in the factories.

In the field of workers' education and culture the trade unions played an equally important part. During the quarter April-June 1951 alone, they organised 49,234 education meetings attended by more than 2,370,000 pcople. The total number of publications issued by the Workers' General Trade Union has passed the million mark in the last three years. The number of trade union libraries is now morc than 1,200 with a total of about 400,000 volumes. Song and dance ensembles number 2,200 with 40,000 participants.

The achievement of the production plans results in a continual improvement in the workers' living standards. The wage fund incrcascd by 18.9 per cent. in 1950 ovcr 1949, and the average wage by 9.2 per cent. Workers' rcstaurants (attached to factories and offices) increased from 1,270 in 1945 used by 154,247 workers, to 2,597 used by 278,755 at the end of the first half of 1951.

Equally important progress has bcen made in the workers' facilities for leisure. More than 120,000 workers and employees in 1950 benefitted from holidays at health resorts and trade union rcst homes. Their number reachcd 100,000 during this year.

The transfer to the trade unions of control over social insurance and labour safety measures has been a great acquisition for the working class. The People's Government set aside 18½ thousand million levas for workers' hcalth and rest facilities, pensions, family allowances and other social benefits for the mass of thc working people.

At the present time the General Workers' Trade Union covers nine-tenths of industrial and office workers. It is the only trade union organisation of the Bulgarian

workers and enjoys supreme authority. It has played the most important part in the carrying out and over-fulfilment of the production plans in particular and in the resultant success of the Five Year Plan in general.

N. Alexiev in "**La Bulgarie Nouvelle,**" 28.11.51.

SPAIN

Miners Fight for their Demands

Early in August, the 1,500 miners employed in the Camocha Pit in Gijon, united as one man, showed their determination not to be browbeaten by their employers. When an accident caused by inadequate safety precautions at work resulted in the death of a miner, the men protested by refusing to work and demonstrated at the funeral of their work-mate.

When they returned to work next day, the company tried to punish them by making them work one day for nothing. The miners then decided to continue their protest and left work again, returning to their homes. Faced with the miners' firm, united action the management was forced to reverse its illegal decision.

In July, the miners of the Baltasar mine in the Centella group belonging to the Mieres enterprise, carried out another militant action. They reduced production by 50 per cent. and after three days the management was forced to meet their demands.

These examples show that there is no other way than that of united struggle. The employers, relying on the Franco authorities, are not satisfied with criminally exploiting the miners, but make them work under conditions which are a constant danger to life. To the owners and the fascists the life of a miner is worth less than that of a horse. Faced with this brutal exploitation, the miners are uniting to prepare for a great demonstration against war and poverty, following the example of the workers of Barcelona and other regions of Spain.

"Mundo Obrero" (underground newspaper, Madrid), 15.10.51.

U.S.A.

"Productivity" Drives Mean More Accidents

The following two items were published one after the other in the official monthly publication of the Canadian Department of Labour, Ottawa:

U.S. Reports Big Gain In Productivity in 1950

The biggest gain in man-hour output since the Second World War occurred during 1950 in the United States, according to a report by the Bureau of Labour Statistics, United States Department of Labour, of a study of 26 industries.

The Bureau's studies showed that the output rate went up in 24 of these industries from 1949 to 1950; in nine of them the increases were 10 per cent. or more, running up to 22 per cent. in the beehive coke industry.

Output per man-hour, or productivity, refers only to the relationship between the quantity of goods produced, or amount of service given, and the man-hours expended.

As the Bureau's Statistics refer to specific industries, they cannot be used for industry as a whole.

U.S. Work Injuries Rise In Number, Frequency

Work injuries in manufacturing in the United States rose both in number and in relation to man-hours worked, during the first quarter of 1951, according to the Bureau of Labour Statistics, United States Department of Labour.

An estimated 110,000 workers suffered disabling work injuries during the quarter. This is an increase of about 5 per cent. over the estimate for the preceding quarter and 42 per cent. over that for the first quarter of 1950.

The Bureau said greater employment and longer hours of work have contributed to these increases.

More than 400 workers died as a result of injuries during the first quarter of 1951 and 5,600 others suffered permanent body impairment. More than 2,200,000 man-days were lost because of injuries during this period. The value of wage losses alone amounted to approximately $22 million.

"The Labour Gazette" (published by the Dept. of Labour, Ottawa, Canada), October 1951.

CANADA

Towards Labour Unity

Brother Nels Thibault, Canadian Director of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, speaking to our 15th U.E. District Convention, advanced the proposal that U.E., Fur and Leather, and Mine-Mill should co-ordinate efforts to win the support of the rank and file members of the union movement around a programme which will enable the working people to effectively resist the employers' developing onslaught against our living standards and organisations.

Last week the officers of Mine-Mill, Fur and Leather and U.E. met in Sudbury to work out ways and means of further strengthening our joint work to advance the struggle for genuine labour unity around the real needs of the Canadian workers.

When our U.E. convention instructed the District Officers to enter into fullest activity with Mine-Mill and Fur and Leather in line with the proposal of Brother Thibault there was some considerable speculation in the press as to what this meant.

The "Financial Post" insisted that it was a move on the part of the so-called "left" unions to establish another trade union centre in Canada, in opposition to and in competition with the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

Speculation of the press notwithstanding, the purpose of the joint action of our three unions is clear . . . and it is not to win members away from the existing trade union centres . . . but simply to win their support for winning the things all labour needs and must have for a secure and peaceful future.

This requires a fight on the part of members of C.C.L. and T.L.C. unions **inside their respective organisations** to force the leadership to abandon their suicidal policies of raiding, of making unions a mere tail of political parties, and of scuttling Labour's economic demands whenever boss or government attaches a "red" label to legitimate demands of the workers.

What worries the employers and the "labour bosses" is that the unity programme of Mine-Mill, Fur and U.E. is having a profound effect on the thinking of the working people and that questions raised in our appeals to the workers are in turn being raised by them **within the unions affiliated to the C.C.L. and the T.L.C.**

Our programme is not based upon asking workers to desert their union. It is an appeal, and finding powerful response, to workers to make their unions fighting instruments for the needs of all Labour.

George Harris in **"Canadian U.E. News,"** 30.11.51.

PANAMA

Reorganisation of the Trade Union Movement

The Executive Committee of the Workers' Trade Union Federation of the Republic of Panama has reviewed the development of the entire trade union movement in Panama in order to draw conclusions both on the experience gained and on new forms of work to be developed.

After an analysis of trade union

work carried on in Panama, they arrived at the conclusion that there had not been sufficient agitation around the problems and the limited demands of the workers to convince them of the need for trade union organisation. The propaganda for trade union organisation has become barren and out of perspective precisely because it is not inspired by the real feelings of the workers. . . .

There has been an underestimation of the value of propaganda and agitation as necessary and preliminary means for carrying out organisational work in the trade unions. And finally, where the trade unions have functioned, they have committed two kinds of mistakes. The first is that of not initiating and carrying through mass actions on the immediate problems facing the workers, but replacing it by forms of individual action of a legalistic type which cause the complete disintegration of the organisation. The second has consisted in precipitating a weak trade union organisation into a clash with the employer under conditions in which the trade union does not possess sufficient cohesion and is not prepared for vigorous and prolonged resistance.

"El Popular" (Panama), 16.10.51.

INDIA

W.F.T.U. Vice-President Dange Speaks on Unity

At the 10,000-rally held at Kamgar Maidan on November 18, under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Unity Committee, which embraces all B.P.T.U.C. and independent unions including the unions led by the Left Socialists, still affiliated to the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, S. A. Dange mounted the rostrum. He said:

"There are four Central trade union organisations in the country besides the unions led by the Scheduled Castes' Federation. But the employers don't make any difference on this score when they exploit the workers. So we are one as the exploited and we should be one against exploitation.

"But the I.N.T.U.C. and Right-Socialist leaders say: 'We can't agree to your political opinions.' What are these differences? Any in demanding an end to anti-working class legislations? Any in demanding a living wage for workers? None whatsoever.

"But what really comes in the way of unity is the policies of the leaderships of these organisations. To-day everyone agrees that the electricity cut is squeezing the workers. All want compensation. And yet on this vital question they don't unite.

"Let me make this plain. If they want unity we are not going to quarrel over seats, majority and presidential chairs. We are prepared to sit on the maidan. Let them occupy the platform.

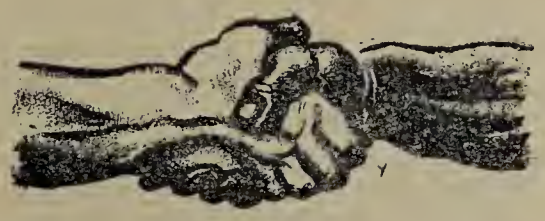
"But then they say: 'We look to the Soviet Union.' Yes we do. Because it is the first working class State in the world. Do you want us to look instead to the U.S. dollar empire as their leaders do?

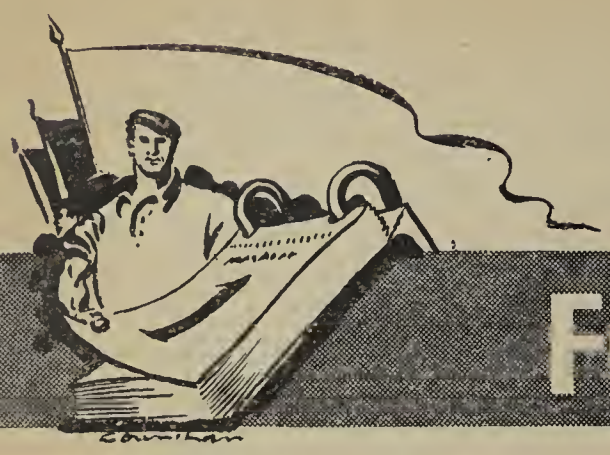
"Come, come before the workers. Let them settle that issue; let them decide who is their friend and who their foe. . . .

"Let me warn those leaders also who refuse to unite. Let me tell them frankly: If you don't unite in time, workers will unite in spite of you and discard those who oppose them.

"Let me close with one more question. I ask these leaders: Whom do you think you are opposing? You are opposing the working class and their parties. You will fail in this. Others have failed."

"Cross Roads," 23.11.51.





FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

December 5

CHINA.—A new plan is announced for training more than 10,000 workers as skilled engineers to spearhead China's industrialisation after their general and spccialised technical training has been completed.

— All state and joint state-private industrial enterprises in East China announce a plan to raise their output by 50 per cent. in 1952 over this year's figures. This is to be achieved by the fuller use of present facilities, by a higher rate of capital turn-over and by the reduction of production costs.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The decision of 30,000 South Wales miners to strike and demonstrate before the court house forces the adjournment of the damages claim brought by the National Coal Board against six miners employed in the Fernhill Collieries, Treherbert, South Wales. The cases were brought against the miners for allegedly using "go slow" tactics to protest against outstanding grievances. The issue is to be discussed at a full conference of miners from the coal field.

December 6

JAPAN.—One hundred and twenty-five thousand members of the Electrical Industry Trade Union of Japan call off their strike after compelling the management in five successive strikes to accept, in part, their demands for wage increases. The last strike lasted three days and caused 139 power plants to suspend operations completely, reducing daily output by more than 1¼ million kilowatt hours.

UNITED STATES.—A.F.L. painters at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, atomic energy plant strike to demand the reinstatement of eight dismissed workers. About half the entire construction force of 1,800 are so far honouring the picket line.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — The Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions sends telegrams to the Greek government and the U.N. General Assembly protesting against the death sentence imposed on the militant Greek leader, Beiloyanis and his elcven comrades and asking that the conviction be sct aside.

— The Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions scnds a telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the General Secretary of the United Nations, and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights protesting against the violation of trade union rights and democratic liberties of Pakistan workers and the proceedings in the Rawalpindi Case where fifteen democrats are under trial without adequate possibility of defending themselves. The telegram also demands the immediate release of imprisoned union leaders Mirza Ibrahim, Mohammed Afzal and Mohammed Jalil.

RUMANIA. — The Exccutive Committee of the Rumanian General Confederation of Labour sends a telegram to the U.N. General Assembly protesting against the persecution of thirty-four Spanish patriots by the Franco government, and asking for U.N. intervention on their behalf.

FRANCE.—The International Sponsoring Committee publishes an Appeal and its programme for the International Conferencc for thc Protection of Childrcn to be held in Vienna from the 12th to the 16th of April, 1952. Thc Committee is made up of members from thirty-eight countries and includes well-known professors, doctors, writers, and outstanding persons in public life.

GREAT BRITAIN.—London lightermen and dockers agree to resume normal working and the employers agree to withdraw all suspensions and penalties imposed on workers for carrying out union decisions to ban overtime. The principle of compulsory ovcrtime, which is alien to British workers, is to be the subject of negotiations together with improved wage rates.

December 7

ITALY. — The united struggle of pensioners, vigorously conducted throughout thc country and supported by the C.G.I.L., obtains a first success. All pensioners receiving up to 1,000 lira per month will be given an advance of 3,000 lira in anticipation of increases which will become effective on the application of a new law now being discussed in Parliament.

AUSTRIA.—The Executive Committec of the Trade Union Council of Carinthia protests against the diffusion of literature justifying war criminals and calling for a new war.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Tory Government decides to cut educational expenditure by 5 per cent., thus making the children of working people and middle income families the direct victims of the arms programme.

December 8

EGYPT.—British troops mercilessly destroy with dynamite and heavy tanks two Egyptian communities, Omaroman and El Gaynanein. This wanton destruction is followed by widespread indignation and demonstrations.

ITALY.—A group of more than 500 public employees go to Parliament to demand wage increases. This demand has provoked great agitation for a long time because of continued sabotage by the responsible government officials. Despite a strong police mobilisation the public employees are received by opposition members of Parliament and assured of their support.

NETHERLANDS. — The All-Dutch Conferencc of Fighters for Peace takes placc in Amsterdam with more than 800 delegates and 1,000 guests participating. The report on the struggle for peace was made by a member of the World Peace Council, Pastor Hugo Van Dahlen.

— Unemployment in the Nether-

lands in November was 112,000, 55 per cent. more than in the same month last year.

DENMARK. — The Danish Peace Committee announces that 138,026 signatures have been collected for the Appeal of the World Peace Council.

FINLAND.—The 3rd Conference of Finnish Peace Partisans meets in Turku with 205 delegates participating. The Conference decides to call a national congress in February or March 1952. The Conference sends telegrams protesting against war-mongering in the columns of the American magazine "Colliers," to the editors of this magazine and to the United Nations.

FRANCE.—Following a government ban on a celebration planned by the Algerian Organisations in France in honour of the Moslem countries represented at the U.N. meetings, the Algerians demonstrate in great numbers around the Velodrome d'Hiver. Thousands are arrested.

GREECE. — The Athens election board, going against the clearly expressed will of the people in the last elections, invalidate the election of ten deputies of the Left Democratic Union. Seven of them who are exiled are permitted to return but the three in prison are to remain there.

December 9

FRANCE.—A national conference on social security is held in Paris. Dozens of delegates protest against proposed governmental attacks on social security and demand the extension and improvement of the social security system.

WESTERN GERMANY.—More than 1,000 inhabitants of Hanover demonstrate for peace, calling for the resignation of Adenauer and the withdrawal of the occupation forces.

— At Hamburg, 200 youths from the factories and schools form a committee to oppose recruiting for the West German army. It includes members of the Social Democratic Party, the organisation of Evangelic Youth, young trade unionists, members of the Action Committees of young metal workers and dockers, and of sport and other organisations.

ITALY. — The Constituent Congress of the Association of Peasants of Southern Italy takes place in Naples with the participation of 2,000 delegates representing 500 autonomous associations in twenty-two provinces and five regions in the south with about 150,000 members. The aim of the Congress is to organise with unity, strength and vigour, the peasants' struggle for land, for the extension of expropriations of the land of the huge landowners and its distribution to the peasants, to struggle against taxes, for a labour policy and for soil improvement in the interests of the peasants.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—Announcement is made of a new reduction in prices of food and industrial products, the fifth this year. Prices have been reduced by 10 to 79 per cent., will save 2.3 billion marks per year for consumers and will increase considerably the purchasing power of wages.

December 10

WESTERN GERMANY. — The President of the Western German Trade Union Federation, Christian Fette, supports the demand of the chairman of the Western German Employers' Federation, for "close social co-operation." According to the intentions of Western German capitalists, this should impede the struggle of the workers to better their living conditions. Fette declares that he is ready for "co-operation between capital and labour." By accepting internal peace with the employers, the right-wing leaders of the Western German trade unions demonstrate once more their treason to the working class.

— In the referendum against the remilitarisation of Germany and for the early conclusion of a peace treaty, 95 per cent. of the people voting have so far voted against remilitarisation.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Executive Committee of the Women's International Democratic Federation ends its sessions in Berlin, after adopting resolutions, among them one approving the decisions of the World Peace Council, and one on preparing the 3rd International Women's Congress.

FRANCE. — Twenty-three hundred miners of Haute-Loire and Puy de Dome go on a united strike to protest against the closing of pits of La Taupe (Haute-Loire). Many other workers also strike in solidarity with the miners and many small shops close their doors.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Retail prices are 29 per cent. higher than in June 1947, while wage rates are only 22 per cent. higher. In January 1951 retail prices were 17 per cent. higher than in June 1947, and wage rates 15 per cent. higher.

December 11

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Adenauer government submits a proposed loyalty bill to the Bonn Parliament which would authorise the dismissal of civil servants who belong to extreme political groups. The Bill is directed primarily against members of democratic organisations in Western Germany.

December 12

FRANCE. — Thirty-five thousand workers in the naval arsenals and establishments stop work for two hours in support of their demands on the call of the C.G.T., Christian unions and Force Ouvriere.

BULGARIA. — A meeting of the leading Stakhanovites, shock-workers and workers of the transport and building industry of Bulgaria begins its work with more than 1,000 delegates present.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Malan Government announces its decision to walk out of the U.N. General Assembly because the majority voted that South Africa must treat South West Africa as a trust territory. South Africa annexed the territory in defiance of the U.N. and refuses to allow the native population human rights, independence and self-determination.

December 13

THE SAAR. — Public employees in the Saar go on strike for wage increases.

WESTERN GERMANY. — At Bochum, the Union of Conscientious Objectors declares itself opposed to the introduction of military service planned by the Bonn government. Its message, addressed to all political parties, newspapers and leading citizens appeals to them to struggle with firmness against the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

— The German Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany meets in Frankfort-on-Main. It adopts a fighting programme for the reunification of Germany, and passes a resolution calling for stronger relations between the workers of Western Germany and the German Democratic Republic, as well as with the workers of France and Italy.

December 14

FRANCE. — Miners of Moselle, on strike for several days, return to work after having obtained satis-

faction on most of their demands, including increased piece rates.

— A Unity strike of tram workers (C.G.T., Christian, Force Ouvriere, independent and unorganised) begins for higher wages and salaries. In the majority of the cities 90 or 95 per cent. of the workers join the strike and in a number of them the strike is 100 per cent.

IRAN. — Ten thousand persons demonstrate in front of their burned-out peace headquarters, destroyed in the December 6 riots when the headquarters of the peace movement, a theatre, and the offices of two progressive newspapers were destroyed.

ITALY. — Throughout the city and province of Naples there is a growing agitation against Atlantic Pact military manœuvres which are going on in the region near Campi Flegrei. Since the announcement of the manœuvres, indignation of the citizens has been growing, and thousands of posters of protest have appeared on the city walls inviting support for peace. Many plants have been closed by work stoppages in protest against these manœuvres.

December 15

AUSTRIA. — The voting figures in the shop stewards elections show a great success for the trade union unity list. In 88 firms in Upper Austria, the trade union unity list obtained 10,872 votes and 209 seats (in 1949 the left bloc obtained only 5,809 votes and 94 seats).

— In Semmering, several thousand workers demonstrate in protest against the construction of a military airfield by the British occupation forces.

WESTERN GERMANY. — Port workers in Hamburg refuse to unload British ships with armaments which have arrived in the port.

— At Dortmund a great demonstration against the banning of the German Communist Party is held. Lively applause welcomed the statements of the social democratic trade union officials Czuba and Potthoff, who demanded common action by the workers to defend democratic rights and peace.

December 16

MALAYA. — The British announce plans to reorganise the Malayan police force in another futile bid to crush Malayan resistance. The plans calls for the provision of British officers.

INDIA. — The Indian Government and the British monopoly Burmah-Shell agree on the construction of a refinery near Bombay. Burmah-Shell will put up 15 million pounds out of 16.5 million in return for concession by the government, including the promise not to nationalise for twenty-five years. This is the second such refinery to be put up by foreign capital and a third is under discussion with the Caltex Company of California.

BULGARIA. — The 3rd Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions opens in Sofia with more than 800 delegates taking part.

WESTERN GERMANY. — The Western German Peace Committeé holds its 5th session in Dusseldorf. It expressed the demand of the great majority of the West German people that the Bonn government should declare itself ready to hold consultations on unifying Germany, on all-German elections, and on a peace treaty. It protested against the banning of democratic parties and organisations.

December 17

BULGARIA. — A new labour law is introduced in Bulgaria. It assures every worker from fourteen to twenty-six work days of annual holiday; it forbids overtime work, and provides for awards of medals, decorations and the title, Hero of Socialist Labour, for outstanding work. The law establishes a new system of social insurance which is to be administered by the trade unions.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The meeting of the Western German Workers' Committees against the remilitarisation of Germany held in Frankfurt-on-Main appeals to the Western German people to resist the government's policy of checking the patriotic struggle of all Germans for national unity.

December 18

INDONESIA. — Following an unjust division of land by the authorities on the islands of Flores and Sumba, peasants begin a great revolt. The revolt was violently suppressed by the government's troops. During the operation, more than 100 persons were killed and 500 were thrown into prison.

DENMARK. — According to official statistics unemployment in Denmark now stands at 75,000 persons.

ITALY. — Together with the Ministers of Industry, Agriculture and Labour, the President of the Council issues a ministerial decree establishing a "National Committee For Productivity." The C.G.I.L. protests in Parliament and throughout the country that this decree is absolutely illegal, has no validity for Italian workers, and demands that it be revoked.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

JANUARY 16—31, ★ No. 2

NEW YORK DOCKERS v. GANGSTER LEADERS

Portrait of a 'Free' Trade Union • *John Wolfard*

THE T.U. MOVEMENT and EAST-WEST TRADE

Preparing the Moscow Economic Conference • *Pierre Lebrun*

BUILDING UNION MEMBERSHIP • Louis Saillant

Wm. Sentner on the SLIDING SCALE • Cheddi Jagan on BRITISH GUIANA
H. Warnke on T.U. DEMOCRACY • And other Features

The General Council recommends the Executive Bureau, the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.), and all trade union organisations to strengthen their activity directed towards rallying the workers' forces in the struggle to improve their living standards, against the consequences of preparing for another war, and develop an independent and peaceful economy.

Resolution on the unity of the workers in the fight to raise their living standards and against the economic and social consequences of war preparations, General Council of the W.F.T.U.
(Berlin, November 21, 1951.)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT

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EDITORIAL

BUILDING UNION MEMBERSHIP

REPRESENTATIVES of trade union organisations not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. were invited to our recent General Council meeting. We offered them the same opportunity as affiliated organisations to get to know the activities of our world trade union movement, the results we obtain, and the policy determining each of our decisions.

We asked them their opinion on the role and programme of the W.F.T.U. They were asked to speak freely and frankly, and their opinions on the subjects we examined together have been given the utmost importance.

The idea of reproaching the trade union organisations which these delegates officially represented with not being affiliated to the W.F.T.U. has never occurred to us. We had much to learn from them, and they studied with us trade union problems that were new to them. In this way we were able to check on the influence of our propaganda and on the methods of increasing trade union membership used by the W.F.T.U. in recent years.

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THE representatives of the Chilean Federation of Office Workers and Civil Servants, the West African Independent Railwaymen's Union, and the Egyptian and Sudanese Transport Workers and Electrical and Radio Workers Unions, who were among the General Council's guests, made comments and observations which deserve further consideration.

They pointed out that in their countries, and more particularly in their industries, the activities and the economic and social programme of the W.F.T.U., and its many acts in defence of the day-to-day interests of the workers,

have not been sufficiently made known to the workers and to public opinion in general. As an example, the outstanding work of the W.F.T.U. in the United Nations Economic and Social Council is often unknown even to trade union leaders, let alone to the workers, although they have a direct interest in this work.

These representatives stated that the activities of their Unions would have had better results, and their documentation would have been more complete, if they had known more about the role of the W.F.T.U. They said that they would have been able to defend the workers' interests more effectively, and therefore strengthening of the unions through recruiting new members would have been easier.

Thus the discussions with the representatives of these four Unions showed that considerable progress remains to be achieved in our international trade union work in the specific field of *propaganda*.

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THESE discussions also drew our attention to the problem of winning new members for the existing Unions in a number of countries, and forming Unions where they do not yet exist. The W.F.T.U. has since 1947 carried on a continuous battle to defend trade union rights, threatened by the governments and employers of capitalist and colonial countries.

In February 1947, the W.F.T.U. put forward in the United Nations Economic and Social Council a plan for protecting the trade union rights won by the workers in long years of struggle. The representatives of the reactionary governments who are members of the Council followed in the wake of the Washington Government and competed with one another in distorting and mutilating the W.F.T.U.'s clear proposals. On the other hand, the representatives of the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak Governments warmly supported our recommendations.

Since then, the W.F.T.U. delegation to the Economic and Social Council has had to lodge many complaints against governments which have systematically violated not only their own legislation concerning trade union rights but also the international conventions to which they had subscribed.

It is the task of our world trade union movement to defend the workers' trade union rights by all the means at our disposal, and we shall continue to

present reports and complaints to the Economic and Social Council every time these rights are attacked.

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IT is nevertheless true that, however important, this is only one aspect of the fight we must wage in the capitalist and colonial countries to make possible the growth of trade union organisations, the extension of their action in defence of the workers' vital interests, and the development of the important role they have to play in the preservation of peace.

The defence and safeguarding of their trade unions is first and foremost the job of the workers themselves in each country. In fact, it is on this principle that the W.F.T.U. relies to give more force and authority to its action.

One of the most effective ways of defending and safeguarding trade unions is to increase their membership. Recruiting members should be no temporary objective—it should always have a prominent place in the programme of Union activities.

In many countries, the number of men and women in the trade unions is very low in relation to the number of wage-earners. Throughout the world there are millions of workers, men and women, adults and young people, who are still unorganised. Large groups of workers are not trade union members because there is no local or national organisation helping them to get organised or showing them the way.

We are living in a period when the level of working-class struggles is continually rising. During 1951 we were able to confirm both their higher level and their greater breadth, and these facts were not limited social events confined to one or two countries. The *international character* of the growth in working class struggles during 1951 is a political fact of world importance, and it is not enough merely to record it for the benefit of history.

This characteristic has not disappeared with the old year: it still exists. *And it creates special obligations for all trade union organisations, in the factories and on the job, for the national centres, and for the W.F.T.U. at the international level.*

In these present struggles, and in anticipation of the inevitable future ones, there must be no haphazard treatment of such important problems as the

leadership and direction of the mass struggles of the working class and the recruiting of new members into the Unions. Things left to chance are left undone. When this happens, it shows that serious weaknesses exist and mistakes have been made which must be corrected in planning the Union's work.

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INCREASING union membership must therefore be a job to be carried out which is included on the agenda of union meetings of all kinds. Going out to the workers, helping them to organise in existing unions, and forming new unions in industries and areas where there are none, are not activities which take second place in our labour movement. On the contrary, *they form one of the principal methods by which the labour movement is able to continue its historic march forward throughout the world.*

It has become quite clear that the W.F.T.U. must make its own contribution to the plans for increasing the membership of trade unions in many countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Australasia, and even Europe. International working-class solidarity and mutual aid must function in this sphere as in others. We must make known current experience, and publish the results which have been or may be obtained. Each organisation must benefit by the experience gained elsewhere.

Why not, through the medium of the W.F.T.U., initiate a real emulation drive for strengthening the membership and improving the work of trade union organisations?

This article opens up a discussion which our organisations must take up on a wide scale. From it the international trade union movement must generate new ideas which will help it to make great progress.

Our Review must give a prominent place to this discussion.

Brothers, the discussion is now open on building union membership. Join in, and we can all act together.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

J. STALIN GREETS THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

To Mr. KIISHI IWAMOTO

Chief Editor of Kyodo Agency, Tokyo.

Dear Mr. Iwamoto,

I have received your request for a New Year's message to the Japanese people.

It is not the tradition of Soviet leaders for the Prime Minister of a foreign State to address himself with wishes to the people of another State. However, the deep sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union for the Japanese people, who are in straits due to foreign occupation, impels me to make an exception to the rule and grant your request.

Please convey to the Japanese people that I wish them freedom and happiness, that I wish them complete success in their courageous struggle for the independence of their homeland.

In the past, the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves experienced the horrors of foreign occupation, in which the Japanese imperialists also participated. Consequently, they fully appreciate the sufferings of the Japanese people, deeply sympathise with them and believe that they will achieve the regeneration and independence of their homeland, just as was achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union in the past.

Poster issued by Zen-Kan-Ro (All-Japan Government Workers' Union). It reads: Against War, Against Colonisation. To Promote a Peace Treaty for Peace and Independence.

I wish the Japanese workers deliverance from unemployment and low wages, abolition of high prices on consumer goods and success in the struggle for preserving peace.

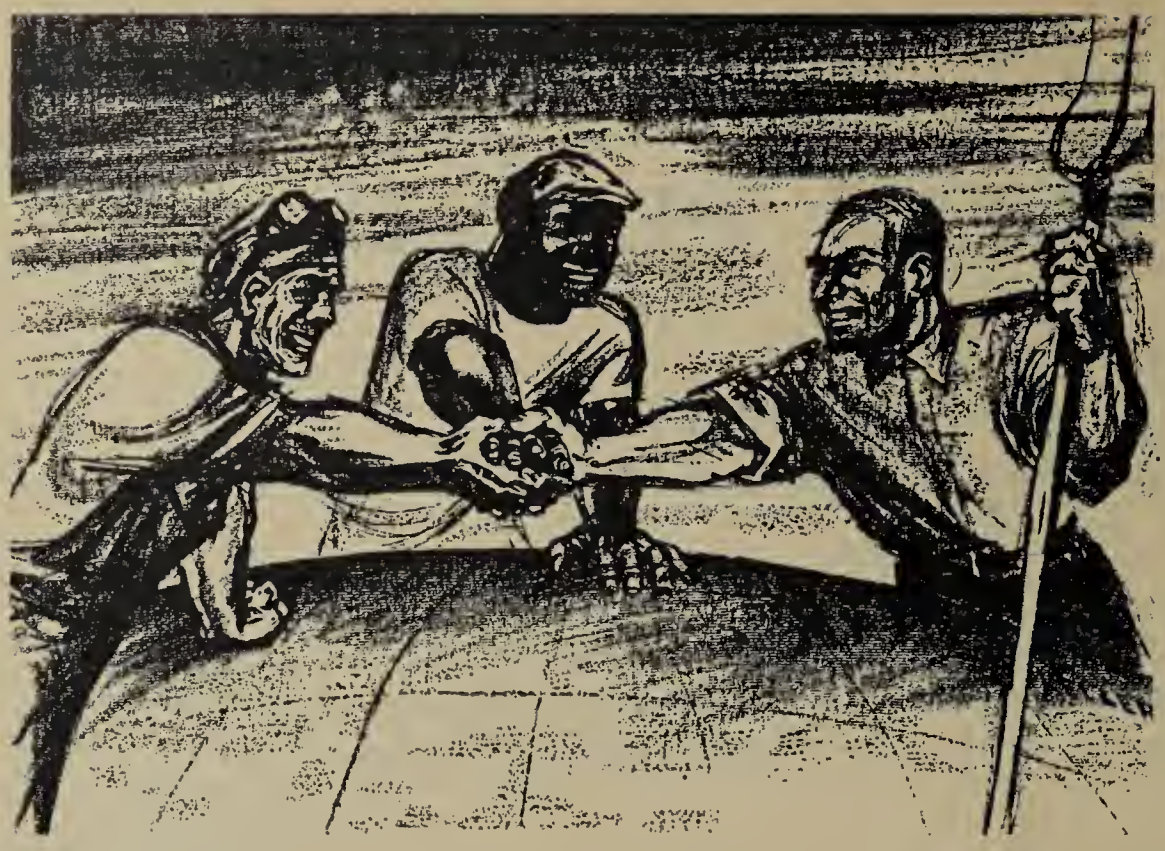
I wish the Japanese peasants deliverance from landlessness and land shortage, abolition of high taxes, and success in the struggle for preserving peace.

I wish the entire Japanese people and their intelligentsia complete victory for the democratic forces of Japan, revival and advance in the economic life of the country, flowering of national culture, science, art and success in the struggle for preserving peace.

Yours respectfully,

J. STALIN.

December 31, 1951.



On New Year's Day

WORKERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD GREET THE W.F.T.U.

NEW Year messages of congratulation and confidence have streamed into W.F.T.U. headquarters, giving evidence of the fighting spirit of the workers of the world, their resolution in the struggle for the improvement of their living standards, for social progress, for democratic freedom, for the consolidation of Peace, for the strengthening of friendship and mutual understanding among the peoples.

By applying the unity slogans of the W.F.T.U. with its 80 million members, the workers of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries won great victories in 1951 which are also pledges of their deep attachment to the W.F.T.U.

Owing to lack of space, we can only quote a few of the messages received. Great democratic organisations such as the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, as well as the Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U., which include more than 43 million workers, have all greeted our great International Centre. National Centres, factory trade union organisations and progressive leaders have shown the close ties linking the W.F.T.U. with the world of labour.

Here is the message from the French C.G.T., stressing the important role played by the W.F.T.U. in the daily struggle of the French workers :

" The C.G.T. of France sends its fraternal greetings for the New Year to the great World Federation of Trade Unions. By applying the resolutions of the W.F.T.U., the French workers will gain great new victories in 1952 *for their economic demands and in defence of peace."* Signed FRACHON, Le Léap.

The C.G.I.L. (Italy) sent the following telegram :

" In the name of the Italian workers, the C.G.I.L. sends its best wishes to the Secretariat of the W.F.T.U. for 1952, *wishing further success to the international proletariat in raising the workers' standard of living, and in defending the cause of democracy and peace."*

Signed : DI VITTORIO.

The President of the C.T.A.L., Lombardo Toledano, and with him the workers of Latin America have also shown once more their attachment and loyalty to the W.F.T.U. and to the cause of international unity of the working class.

☆ ☆ ☆

Though it is impossible to list all the messages received by the W.F.T.U., it is necessary, however, to point out that many of them are from trade union organisations of countries whose National Centres are not affiliated to the W.F.T.U., but which are affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., such as Great Britain, Western Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Austria, and the United States.

This proves, if proof were still necessary, that the workers, in growing numbers, are following and sup-

porting the policy of the W.F.T.U. even in those countries where the right-wing leaders are doing everything they can to corrupt and divide the trade union movement.

The Japanese Liaison Bureau with the W.F.T.U. sent the following message :

" Dear Brothers and Sisters of the Whole World.

On the occasion of the New Year 1952, *the Liaison Bureau with the W.F.T.U. in Japan sends heartfelt fraternal greetings to all workers and peoples of the whole world on behalf of the Japanese working class.*

Under the leadership of the W.F.T.U. rallying 80 *million organised workers throughout the world, including those of the U.S.S.R., China, France and Italy, within its ranks, the working class of the whole world has greatly developed and advanced in solid united action, in struggles to improve living and working conditions, to defend peace and for national liberation.*

The W.F.T.U.'s proposal of united action for the improvement of living and working conditions to the I.C.F.T.U. and other international trade unions, the campaigns for the defence of peace, especially for the conclusion of a Five Power Peace Pact, the organisation of peace committees at work places, the defence and improvement of social insurance, the struggle for an overall peace treaty with Japan and against the remilitarisation of Japan, the protest movement in the 'Matsukawa Case' and the support for the convening of a Conference of the Asia-Pacific countries for an overall Japan Peace Treaty and against the remilitarisation of Japan, have not only indicated the struggles in Japan, but also offered overflowing encouragement to the Japanese working class.

The imperialists and their agents, the Yoshida government, have come to arbitrarily ratify the 'Separate Peace Treaty with Japan' and 'Security Pact between Japan and the U.S.A.' at the Japanese Diet despite the will of the Japanese people, and the peace-loving forces all over the world.

The colonisation of Japan, the achievement of a militarised Japan, the revival of militarism and the preparing of the Japanese people as cannon fodder, aimed at aggressive war against Asia, are being attempted.

We, the Japanese working class, swear to undertake an all-out struggle, under the banner of the W.F.T.U., for living standards, for peace and national independence, in order to sweep out the imperialists and their compradores from our motherland in solidarity with the working class of the whole world as well as with all peace-loving forces.

Long live the solidarity of the W.F.T.U. and all workers throughout the world.

Long live the struggle for national liberation over the world.

Long live the solidarity of the peace-loving forces over the world."

From the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. and the countries building socialism, where the workers, the true masters of their country and of their own happiness, fight unceasingly for peace and the strengthening of international solidarity among the peoples of the world, come messages encouraging the workers in the fight for their demands and for peace.

The message received from V. Kuznetzov, President of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., reads as follows :

" In the name of the workers of the Soviet Union, the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. sends its fraternal greetings for the New Year to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

" We wish you new success in closing the ranks of the working class of all countries, in the fight for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the workers, for the maintenance and consolidation of peace in the world."

The All-China Federation of Labour in its message says :

" On the occasion of the New Year 1952, *and on behalf of the Chinese workers, we send hearty greetings to the W.F.T.U. in its struggle to defend the interests of the world working class and we wish it greater successes in the brilliant cause of strengthening the unity of the working class and defending world peace."*

The defence of peace. the fight to improve the economic and social conditions of the workers, and for unity—these are the principal ideas expressed in the messages of the trade union organisations of the U.S.S.R., the Peoples' Democracies, the People's Republic of China, the heroic People's Republic of Korea, and the German Democratic Republic. In the name of more than five million trade unionists of the German Democratic Republic and all progressive trade unionists in Western Germany, the F.D.G.B. wishes the W.F.T.U. further success in the fight for the unity of the working class and for the consolidation of world peace.

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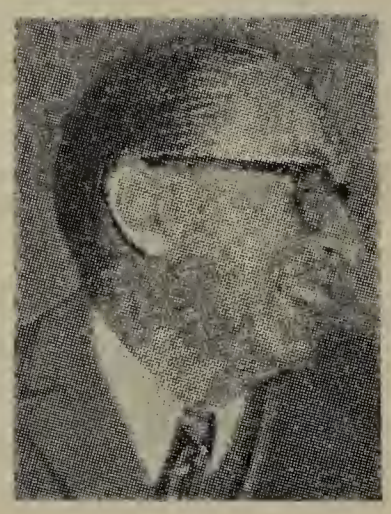
The New Year wishes addressed to the W.F.T.U. by the workers of the world are evidence of the ever increasing influence of the W.F.T.U. which, in spite of the splitters such as the leaders of the A.F.L., C.I.O., T.U.C. and " Force Ouvrière," continues to widen its influence and to fight to strengthen the unity of the working class, the indispensable weapon of the workers in the fight for their social and economic interests and for democracy and peace.

THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC MEETING IN MOSCOW

By Pierre Le Brun, Secretary of the French C.G.T.

ON October 27th and 28th, discussions took place in Copenhagen among a number of interested people from various spheres of life who had come to discuss economic problems. They came from twenty different countries and they met in Copenhagen to prepare the Moscow Economic Conference, the initiative for which had been taken by the World Peace Council.



There were present economists representing all points of view: Professor Joan Robinson of Cambridge University, number one disciple of the late Sir John Keynes, Professor Walter Bourgeois of the Brussels Université Libre, Chi Chao Ting, member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, J. Dobretsberger, former Austrian Minister and Professor of Graz University, Oscar Lange, former Professor of Harvard University and now Professor at the Warsaw School of Planning and Statistics, Constantin Ostrovitianov, Director of the Moscow Economic Institute, Alfred Sauvy, Director of the French Institute for Demographic Studies and member of the Economic Council, and Professor Sergio Steve of Venice University.

Among the industrialists who took part in this Copenhagen meeting were Mr. Wilford Brown of Great Britain, Emile Cavenaile of Belgium, Heinrich Krumm of Western Germany and Otto Rocha e Silva, a construction engineer from Rio de Janeiro.

There were also agriculturalists, business men, co-operators and specialists from various sectors of economic life, such as Mme. Greta Kuchkoff, President of the Deutsche Notenbank of Berlin, Robert Chambeiron, former French Deputy. M. Hossein Daryush, an Iranian business man, Ifitkar-ud-Din, proprietor of the *Pakistan Times* and member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Michail Niesterov, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the Soviet Union, Vlas Nitchkov, President of the Soviet organisation for external trade in wood and wood products, Otokar Pohl, Director General of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia, Oscar Spinelli, President of the Italian League of Co-operators, Cohen Stuart, Dutch banker, Wu Chao Nong, Director-General of the Chinese Tea Company. and Indulal Yajnik, President of the Indian Peasant Movement.

I was the only trade union worker present at the meeting. A large number of other persons sent their apologies on being unable to come to Copenhagen.

As a general rule, each of the representatives listed above had been nominated in his own country or in his own particular sphere by the economists, industrialists. agriculturalists, businessmen, technicians, trade unionists and co-operators who had first replied to the proposal of the World Peace Council for the holding of an International Economic Conference in Moscow. The majority of them do not belong to the Peace Movement.

The meeting was first informed, by the World Peace Council and by its own members, of the preparatory work for the conference in the various countries. The account was uneven, but on the whole positive.

In France, for example, many leading people in the economic field have shown great interest in the conference. A provisional delegation has been set up and three preparatory meetings have been held under the chairmanship of M. Alfred Sauvy. The proposed delegation includes economists of varied outlooks, with a majority of important businessmen. generally presidents of Employers' Associations or of Chambers of Commerce from those sectors most affected by the present economic situation and most interested in regularising and developing international trade. It also includes trade unionists responsible for economic questions in the C.G.T. and the C.F.T.C. (the French Christian trade unions).

Three questions were put forward for the discussion on the Moscow talks :

1) the evolution of the living standards of the workers and peasants, particularly in relation to the movement of investments, to the phases of war or peace economy and to the policy being pursued in international trade;
2) the problem, from the theoretical point of view, of the relation between international trade and the standard of living;
3) the needs of the national economy from the point of view of imports and of its possibilities for exports.

The Objectives of the Moscow Meeting

AFTER reviewing the whole situation in the various countries, and in agreement with a suggestion from the World Peace Council, the Copenhagen meeting unanimously decided to undertake, independently of any political movement of any kind, the preparation of the Moscow Economic Conference, and constituted itself the Sponsoring Committee for the Moscow International Economic Meeting.

The official communique given to the press at the conclusion of the meeting defined the general objectives of the Moscow meeting as follows :

Noting that the gradual deterioration of international economic relations is affecting the conditions of existence of the peoples of a number of countries, we have decided to organise an International Economic Meeting.

Economists, industrialists, agriculturalists, businessmen, technicians, trade unionists, co-operators, of all opinions and all viewpoints, who wish to contribute to international economic co-operation will take part in this meeting.

The aim of this meeting is to search for means of encouraging peaceful co-operation among various countries and different economic and social systems. The meeting will sweep aside all discussion on the respective merits of different economic and social systems.

This means particularly :

—That participation in the meeting is open to all who desire to promote international economic co-operation, whatever their opinions on economic, social or political matters may be.

—That the discussions at the meeting will not involve political questions which could possibly divide those taking part, but will try to achieve agreements of an economic and social nature. These agreements will not take the form of commercial transactions, but the meeting will help everyone present to form an exact opinion on the possibilities and prospects for co-operation in the various spheres of economic activity.

—The members of the Sponsoring Committee thus consider that the Moscow meeting can be considered as a first step in the direction of further efforts to improve economic co-operation and to develop economic relations among all countries.

The Sponsoring Committee has decided that the meeting should take place in Moscow from April 3rd to 10th. 1952. Those taking part will be the guests of a committee consisting of members of Soviet economic, social and scientific organisations. The number of people taking part will be from 400 to 450.

The Committee agreed on the following agenda for the meeting :

Research into the possibilities of improving the peoples' living conditions by peaceful co-operation among various countries and different systems and by the development of international trade.

The official communique of the Copenhagen meeting comments as follows on this agenda :

The meeting will endeavour to arrive at practical proposals and will also provide those participating with the opportunity of establishing personal contacts and exchanging views within their own sphere of economic activity.

The practical import of this, according to the plans and the decisions of the International Committee, is :

—That the meeting will consist of a plenary opening session, at which three introductory reports will be presented, each of which will deal with the way the problems on the agenda present themselves in a number of countries having certain economic features in common (Western Europe, North America and Latin America, Australia and New Zealand on the one hand; the Soviet Union, China and the Peoples' Democracies on the other; and finally, South-East Asia, the Middle East, the Near East and Africa). There will be a plenary closing session, with meetings of working groups and individual discussions taking place in between.

—The International Committee will determine, within the general framework agreed upon, the agendas for the various working groups, each of which will bring together people of different opinions from countries with different economic systems.

—It is hoped that the debates during the meeting will lead to conclusions acceptable to all taking part. None of those taking part, however, will be required to endorse any proposal with which they are not in complete agreement, and their names will not be associated with any decision which they have not expressly approved.

Before concluding, the Copenhagen meeting decided to recommend the setting up in each country of a Preparatory Committee composed of economists, industrialists, agriculturalists, businessmen, trade unionists, co-operators and technicians. These committees will have the task of bringing together competent people who are interested in the meeting

and in the questions to be discussed there, to promote the drafting by them of all the necessary material for discussion during the meeting and to arrange, within the limits fixed by the International Committee, for a representation which is as effective and balanced as possible at the meeting itself.

The Moscow Meeting and the Trade Unions

TRADE union organisations cannot remain indifferent to the preparations for the Moscow meeting, nor to its achievements and its consequences.

The workers of all countries are, in fact, vitally interested in the questions to be discussed there. They are especially interested in the problems of international trade. They know how serious this problem is, and its importance in the present situation. They know that upon its correct solution, the abolition of discrimination imposed by the American monopolists, the re-establishment of East-West trade, and the development of wider international economic collaboration, depends not only the solution of the serious difficulties of supply, payment and markets, whose effects under the capitalist system fall heavily upon the shoulders of workers, but also, to a large extent, the easing of international tension and the salvation of peace. These are the indispensable conditions for the maintenance and improvement of the living conditions of the peoples.

We should be aware of the fact that the agenda for the meeting does not pose the problem of international trade in theoretical terms, nor from the point of view alone of the particular interests involved in this trade, but from a much wider point of view, that of *research into the possibilities of improving the living conditions of peoples by peaceful co-operation of the various countries and the different systems.* This is the first reason why workers are interested in this meeting.

A second reason arises from the fact that the invitation of the International Committee is addressed not only to economists, industrialists, agriculturalists, businessmen, technicians and co-operators, but also to trade unionists who, like the other participants, represent *all opinions and viewpoints and wish to contribute to international economic co-operation.*

The trade union organisations will make certain that this is true of the trade unionists of all countries who take part in the Moscow meeting. They will make certain that they shall be trade unionists *of all opinions and viewpoints,* with the sole condition that they *wish to contribute to international economic co-operation.*

Trade union organisations will also make certain that the work of these trade unionists, in their own countries and in Moscow, will be known, understood and supported by all the workers. In doing this, they will best be able to work for the success of the Moscow meeting by presenting as strongly and clearly as possible the problems outlined in the agenda of the meeting, both in public and in all the industries and enterprises affected by war economy and by the existence or the threat of crisis and unemployment.

After the Moscow meeting, we shall still have a great deal of work to do so that the results will bear their full fruit and make the maximum contribution towards improving the peoples' living conditions and safeguarding peace.

NEW YORK LONGSHOREMEN

versus THEIR GANGSTER LEADERS

Portrait of a "Free" Trade Union

by JOHN WOLFARD

ON October 15 one of the greatest strikes in the longshoring industry took place when, spearheaded by members of Local 791 of the International Longshoremen's Association (A.F.L.), rank and filers walked off the job in protest against a contract which had been negotiated by their national President, Joseph P. Ryan—"King Joe" Ryan as he is known on the New York docks. The strike lasted 25 days and at its peak involved more than 30,000 longshoremen, including the vast majority of the dockers in the New York-New Jersey area, also tying up shipping in Boston, parts of Philadelphia and other Atlantic Coast ports.

"King Joe" had signed a contract with the shipowners providing, among other slight improvements, for 10 cents per hour wage increase. Ryan contended that the coast-wide contract had been ratified by more than a 2 to 1 vote and was therefore legitimate and binding. The I.L.A. being the kind of union it is, and Ryan being the kind of "labor" leader he is, makes such claims open to suspicion. The longshoremen, who were demanding 25 cents per hour wage increase, insisted that Ryan had made a dishonest count of the votes and they proved it by voting with their feet when they walked off the docks in an "unauthorised" strike against the contract and against their own leaders. The majority of New York longshoremen cast their ballots on the picket line which is about the only way the I.L.A. provides for an accurate recording of the wishes of the rank and file.

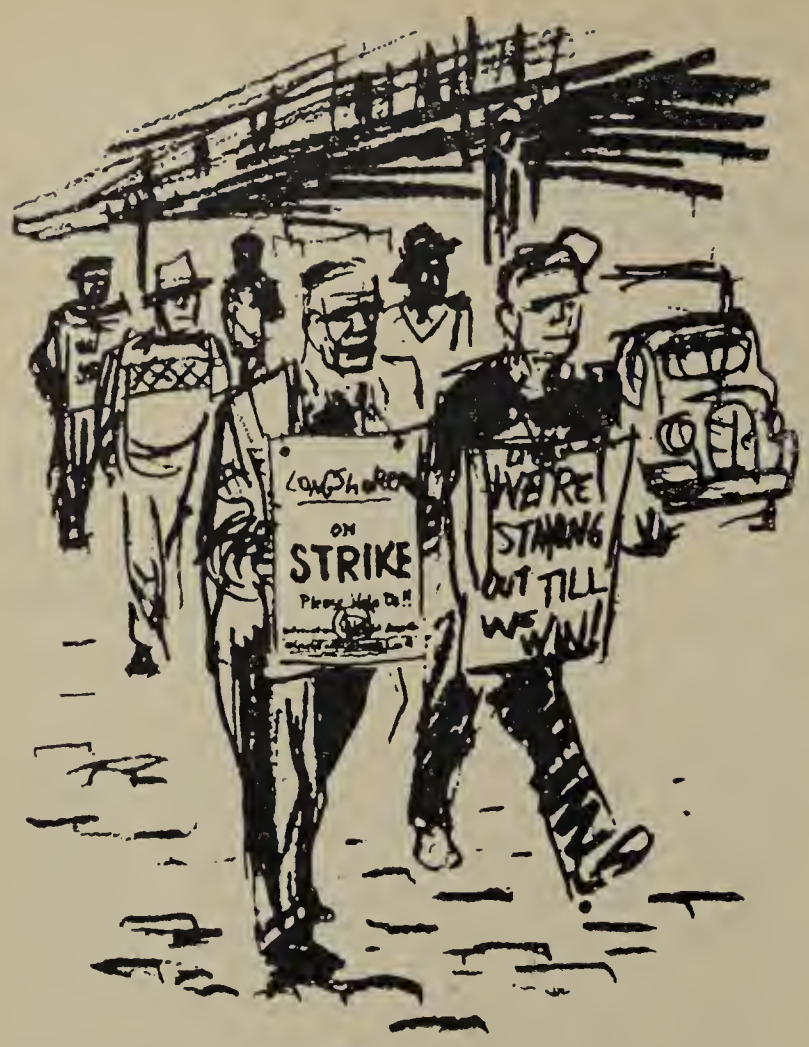
Rank and file pressure forced some of the local union leaders to take reluctant leadership of the strike, notably Gene Sampson, business agent of Local 791. Rank and file distrust of some of these new-found leaders was shown at a mass meeting of 3,000 strikers who refused to elect Sampson as strike leader and insisted on electing a 23-man port committee representing all locals. This was a recognition of Sampson's usual role of "loyal opposition" to the Ryan dictatorship.

A Sampson move to end the strike, provided the government supervised a new referendum on the disputed contract, was rejected by the strikers within a half hour of Sampson's proposal. The dockers insisted on re-opening negotiations and demanded, in addition to the 25 cent wage increase, a guarantee of eight hours work after being selected in the shape-up, better pensions, vacation eligibility after 500 hours of work, and the elimination of the split gang, which is a speed-up device.

The solidarity of the strikers remained firm despite red-baiting attacks, despite Ryan's manoeuvres and his attempts to break the strike by means of his gangster pier bosses (notably Anthony Anastasia, hoodlum brother of Albert Anastasia, the notorious leader of "Murder, Incorporated") despite President Truman's attempt to break the strike with pleas that the national security and the war programme required the dockers to return to their jobs, and despite a vicious newspaper campaign.

After 25 days, the strike suddenly ended on the basis of hush-hush arrangements made by Sampson with a three-man fact-finding board which is to study the situation. It is not known whether this deal will lead to a settlement of the longshoremen's just grievances, but rank and filers made it known that they will not hesitate to walk out again if their demands are not met. The most important result of the strike so far is the complete discrediting of Ryan and his goons and his exposure as an agent of the shipowners and as a strikebreaker.

This rank and file revolt against the Ryan dictatorship is the fourth since 1945 and from these strikes a pattern of Ryan's tactics emerges. The pattern is this: the shipowners give Ryan a contract which is satisfactory to themselves. They have a deal with Ryan that he will try to impose this contract on the longshoremen. If he is unsuccessful, he returns to the shipowners and they grant him a few improvements in the agreement for which Ryan takes the credit with his membership. This happened in the 1948 strike when the longshoremen forced Ryan to return to the shipowners for a better contract. This arrangement back-fired in the recent strike because the strikers were able to isolate Ryan so that he could



Cartoon by Charles Keller from "March of Labor" (U.S.A.), December, 1951.

not subsequently assume leadership and return to the shipowners to "demand" improvements.

For this reason, the strike was a step forward from earlier disputes since it unmasked Ryan's role as a strikebreaker and employer agent more clearly than ever before.

It should be noted that Ryan has a long history of strikebreaking, not only in his own union but in other organisations as well. For example, he aided in breaking the 1949 strike of the Canadian Seamen's Union, even supplying strikebreakers by airlift to various ports.

How the I.L.A. Operates

RANK and file revolts against the I.L.A. leadership cannot be fully understood without a clear picture of the kind of union the I.L.A. is. In many respects it is not a union at all in the generally accepted sense. The leadership of this union is a collection of union bosses, many of them gangsters and racketeers, personally appointed by "King Joe," responsible to him and loyal to him, whose function it is to rob the shipping industry and exploit the longshoremen for their own benefit.

The I.L.A. is organised into local unions of from 500 to 1,000 members with jurisdiction over one to nine piers. Each local has its organiser and business agent. Each pier has its pier boss or "shaping" boss who selects the gangs to work at each day's shape-up and who is the employer's agent. In most locals these officials, including the pier bosses, are Ryan appointees and the advantages in petty, as well as large, rackets which these officials have are shared among the Ryan hierarchy. In those locals in which the Ryan machine is dominant, trade union democracy is virtually unknown. For example, the Staten Island locals did not meet to ratify the Ryan contract. Their "acceptance" was telephoned to I.L.A. headquarters by Alex Di Brizzi, the union boss. Some local unions go through the motions of having meetings and elections of union officials, but the Ryan machine is so well entrenched that, through fear and intimidation, and in some cases violent physical attacks on opposition union members, these "elections" simply ratify the stooges of the Ryan clique. In other local unions where the leadership makes a display of opposition to Ryan, such as Sampson, business agent of Local 791, the union bosses try to replace the Ryan leadership in order to increase their own power and patronage in the longshore industry. Such leaders, of course, are not trustworthy advocates of the economic interests of the rank and file.

Other local unions do not even provide a semblance of membership control and never have meetings. Thus important issues are never discussed or voted on by the members. Local 1181 has not had a meeting in 28 years!

The I.L.A.'s national convention occurs but once in four years and its sessions are completely dominated by Ryan and his hand-picked gang. This type of trade union "democracy" makes it quite understandable how Ryan could have had himself elected national President of I.L.A. for life at an annual salary of $20,000 plus a huge expense account.

There are a few "rebellious" locals which are militantly opposed to the Ryan policies of serving the interests of the shipowners and gangster elements on the waterfront, and these unions democratically elect their leaders. One of these is Local 968, whose members are largely Negroes. This local has conducted some courageous attacks on the Ryan dictatorship because Ryan has tried to eliminate Negro labor on the docks. Against this militant opposition Ryan has no hesitation in resorting to gangs of thugs armed with clubs and other weapons to attack and mercilessly beat his opponents. In this he is frequently aided by the police, which indicates that Ryan has political support in high places.

Racketeering and Gangsterism in the I.L.A. Leadership

THE fact of the complete lack of trade union democracy and the existence of a dictatorial leadership which deliberately and consistently betrays the workers' interests, shown in the foregoing account, would earn the strongest condemnation from those interested in genuine trade unionism. But the overtones of this set-up are, in fact, much uglier than

this. The I.L.A. is dominated by racketeers and thugs who not only take a rake-off from the shipping industry, but who also exploit the longshoremen who earn their living on the docks.

The Ryan-appointed business agents and pier bosses are frequently gangsters with criminal records. Danny St. John, shaping boss on Pier 84, has been arrested 19 times, three times for murder. Toddy O'Rourke, boss of Pier 88, has twice been convicted of grand larceny. Ed McGrath, a personal friend of "King Joe" and an I.L.A. organiser since 1937, is an ex-convict from Sing Sing penitentiary who has been arrested 13 times. "Cockeye" John Dunn, late boss of the "public leaders" division of I.L.A., was executed in Sing Sing in 1949 for murder. The men on the docks credit Dunn with having committed or instigated 37 murders, but the Assistant District Attorney in the Homicide Bureau suggests the more conservative figure of 15 murders. It is interesting to note that Dunn was highly praised by many employers in the trucking industry and given glowing testimonies as to his excellent character during his trial. The U.S. War Department even attempted to secure his release because he was needed for the "war effort" during World War II.

The Chelsea district, below 42nd Street, is under the control of criminals whose police records extend back 15 and 20 years. The Anastasia gangster mob controls the piers in South Brooklyn. Local 824 which has jurisdiction on the Cunard docks is known as the "Pistol Local" because its piers have been the scene of so many murders. Its business agent is Harold Bowers, cousin of the notorious Micky Bowers, head of the Bowers gang.

On the New Jersey docks, until he was murdered in 1948, Charlie Yanowsky was an official of Ryan's outfit. He was a graduate of Alcatraz penitentiary and had had more than 20 years experience in crime. After his murder, Ryan appointed to his job one Edward J. Florio. At the time of his appointment, Ryan and his henchmen gave Florio a great testimonial dinner which was attended by such notables as the Mayor of Hoboken, New Jersey, the Commissioner of Parks and Playgrounds, the Commissioner of Public Safety who is in charge of the Hoboken police department and is Florio's best friend, and many other high civic officials and political leaders. He was lauded by these gentlemen, including Ryan, as a great public figure, staunch patriot and sterling labour leader. What these speeches omitted to mention was that Florio is an ex-convict and racketeer with a long list of arrests, that he was convicted of illegal possession of a liquor still and sentenced to a year in jail for defrauding the government in liquor taxes, that he has been charged with receiving stolen goods and for felonious assault and many other crimes which he has been able (through his high-placed political friends?) to beat.

In 1939, a militant rank and filer, Pete Panto, of the Brooklyn waterfront, exhorted his fellow workers to resist their gangster union bosses, to demand free elections in their locals and to oust their corrupt officials. He soon had a large following, but shortly after refusing to heed the warning to cease his activities, given by union boss Emil Camarda, he was found garroted and buried in quick-lime. He had last been seen entering an automobile with several union officials.

After arrests and investigations, and promises given by Ryan to District Attorney O'Dwyer that he would clean up the mess in his union, the case was mysteriously dropped and the murderer never brought to trial. It is fairly well established that he was murdered by the Anastasia gang, Murder, Inc. Subsequently, a grand jury denounced O'Dwyer's failure to prosecute these gangsters. By that time, O'Dwyer

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"King Joe" Ryan required a police force to protect him from the rank and file of his union during the recent strike.

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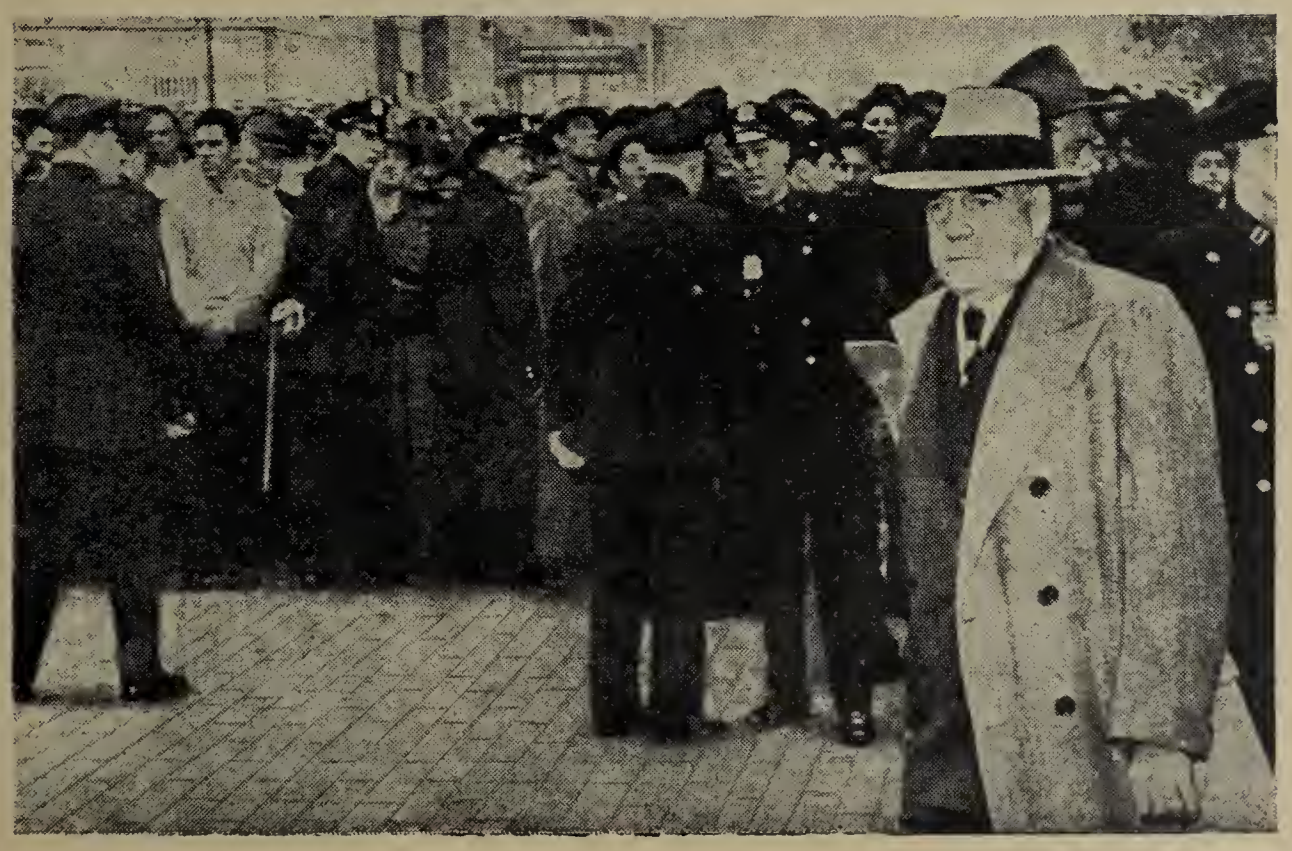


had become mayor of New York and he was removed from the hot spot he had been placed in by the grand jury when President Truman appointed him U.S. ambassador to Mexico. This martyred leader, Pete Panto, is a classic example of the methods used by the gangster clique within the I.L.A.

Rank and file members frequently complain bitterly that honest men have difficulty in getting a good job on the docks and it has become common knowledge that a prison record is a recommendation, especially for jobs as pier bosses and their assistants.

These instances, a small sample of many more which could be given if space permitted, dispel any wonder one may have that for more than a generation the New York waterfront has been a jungle of crime and exploitation consisting of extortion, theft, fraud, graft, usury, violence and murder. Periodic attempts to abolish this cesspool have failed, usually because the beneficiaries of this system can be traced to high places in both the political and business worlds. The Kefauver Committee (the U.S. Senate Crime Investigating Committee) abruptly stopped its inquiry just as it was on the point of uncovering political connections with the racket-ridden waterfront.

Pete Panto, militant rank and file leader, was murdered by Murder Inc. for attempting to oust gangster leaders on the Brooklyn docks.

Working Conditions on the New York Docks

THE pier bosses are agents of the employers. They usually are designated as pier bosses by Ryan, or they take over a pier and become part of the Ryan clique. Incredible as it may seem, they are also members of the I.L.A. and are usually Ryan-appointed business agents of local unions. Sometimes they are part owners of the stevedoring companies which employ their fellow I.L.A. members. This is true of Florio, Anthony Anastasia, Harold Bowers and others who, therefore, have an interest in both sides in collective bargaining. The result is that the person who has absolute control of employment on any given dock is not only the shipowner's agent and may be part owner of the stevedoring contracting firm, but is also a Ryan-appointed union business agent and probably a gangster and gunman as well.

The potentialities of this system for exploiting the workers are almost unlimited, particularly when one considers the method of hiring longshore labour in New York. The hiring system is the notorious "shape-up," a system which has long since been abolished in most other modern ports throughout the world. In U.S. West Coast ports, it was abolished as a result of the great dock strikes of 1934 and 1936, from which emerged the progressive International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union under the leadership of Harry Bridges.

The "shapeup" occurs every morning on each pier where perhaps 150 men gather in a semi-circle around the pier boss or his agent who selects the gangs which will have a day's work on that pier. This archaic system is very simple, but it makes employment extremely unstable and uncertain, and is an important contributing factor to the chaos of conditions in the shipping industry. With such a system petty rackets, bribes to Ryan-appointed dock bosses, favouritism and graft give fairly steady employment to a few, and only occasional employment and low living standards to the man.

Among the common rackets against the workers is the "kick-back" to the pier boss, returning part of the day's wage for the privilege of being selected in the "shapeup." This amounts to $2 to $3 out of each day's wage. A longshoreman who fails to kick-back soon finds himself without a job. Since gangster control of the docks is absolute, the mob gets its cut on everything. In addition to the "kick-back," there is each pay day a "voluntary" contribution for "the boys." Asked what happens if one refuses to make his weekly contribution, a longshoreman smiled and said: "He might find he couldn't get work, or he might get kicked around. A man soon gets the idea; he doesn't refuse more than once."

A related racket is loansharking. A loan shark secures a "concession" from the pier boss to operate. He lends money to hard-pressed longshoremen at exorbitant rates of interest, 10 *to* 25 *per cent per week*. Loan sharks are then permitted to collect the wages, which they pass on to the worker after deducting their "fee." In many cases, men who refuse to borrow money find they do not get any work.

A normal work gang is 22 men. Frequently a short gang is made up of, say, 18 men, although pay cards are made out for a full gang. The 18-man gang is speeded up to do the work of a full gang. The wages for the extra four men are taken by the pier boss and his henchmen.

Bookmaking and the numbers game (a gambling racket) also operate on the docks as well as traffic in narcotics and smuggling. A longshoreman who is willing to gamble in the numbers racket finds that he can get work more easily.

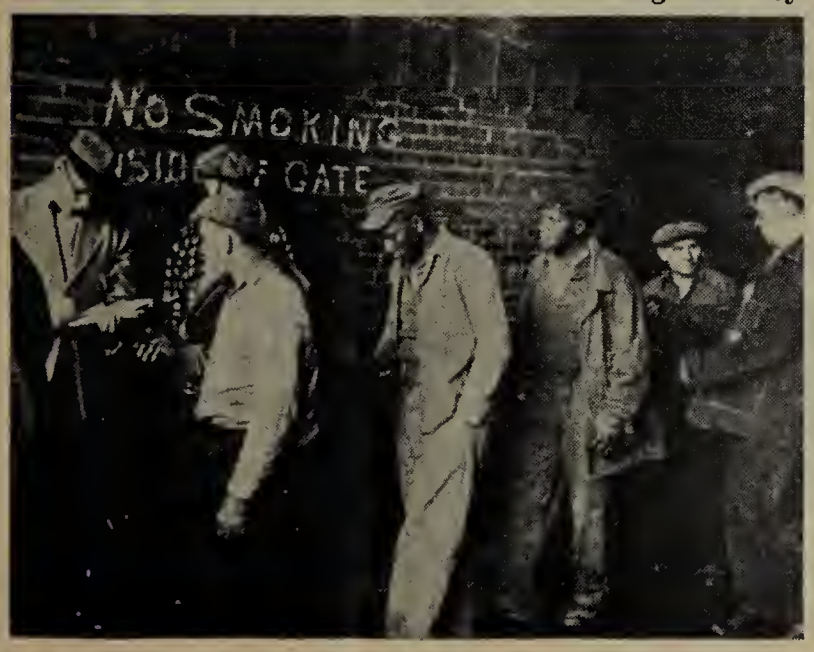
Organised theft accounts for the loss of an average of $60,000,000 a year from the Port of New York alone. Whole truckloads of merchandise disappear almost into thin air from the docks. The theft is not discovered until weeks later when the consignee complains about the non-receipt of his shipment. Insurance companies have increased rates 25 per cent in the past 10 years. This, of course, increases the prices which the mass of the people must pay for merchandise.

Lest anyone get a wrong idea about the I.L.A. from the foregoing, let it be hastily pointed out that the I.L.A. is a "free" trade union. It is affiliated to the American Federation of Labour, whose leaders nowadays make a specialty of talking about free and democratic unions. The A.F.L. has never tried to clean up the I.L.A. or to eliminate racketeering in this or any other union except for an occasional pious resolution condemning such practices. This is because so many A.F.L. leaders are themselves basically of the same type as Ryan. Through its affiliation to the A.F.L., the I.L.A. is one of the "free" unions affiliated to the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions. Its primary claim to being a "free" union is, of course, based on the fact that it is completely "free" of union democracy, of rank and file control, of decent economic conditions, and of honesty and integrity in its leadership.

Ryan himself is a loud exponent of "free" American trade unionism and the American Way of war preparations. He patriotically pulls his men off piers where there are ships waiting to unload cargo from the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. In early 1950, he turned down an appeal of French dockers to join with them in refusing to load war materials destined for European ports. Amid much fanfare he prated of the necessity of defending national independence and "free trade unionism." He is among a group of labour "leaders" who plotted to send their goons against European workers working for peace. European workers will beware of the Ryan brand of "free" trade unionism and his attempts to export this product of dubious value.

Longshoremen line up for the morning's "shape-up" in front of a New York pier.

For each day's work, longshoremen receive "a brass check," the number of which is recorded at the end of each day's shape-up, as evidence of pay due to them. The brass check becomes a form of circulating currency.



I.L.A. Compared with the I.L.W.U.

THIS chaotic employment system and the dictatorship of the Ryan machine which fattens itself on such chaos can be compared with working conditions on the West Coast under the contract negotiated by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent), which is a progressive, militant and democratically controlled union in which there is no discrimination on account of race, creed, colour, national origin or political beliefs.

In place of the barbaric "shapeup"—a system, be it noted, any changes in which are vigorously opposed by "King Joe" and his mobsters, for reasons made amply clear from the foregoing—there is a union-controlled hiring hall in which workers have equality of job opportunity without favouritism or discrimination.

Whereas in the I.L.A. there is no job security, in the I.L.W.U. there are joint grievance committees to protect the security of the longshoremen's job. Annual average earnings of I.L.W.U. members are $4500 as compared with $1700 for I.L.A. members. On the West Coast, sling loads are limited as a safety precaution to 2100 lbs. On the East Coast there is no limit. A safety code forms part of the agreement in the West; in the East there is no safety code.

Limitations of space make it impossible to compare the two contracts in every respect, but the I.L.W.U. agreement provides for extensive hospitalisation and medical care as contrasted with only the most meagre plan for I.L.A. members.

The I.L.W.U. has a pension plan jointly adminis-

tered with the employers which pays a minimum of $100 a month in addition to Social Security. The I.L.A. plan is employer-controlled and pays a flat $35 above Social Security to those working 800 hours each year (no such limitations in the I.L.W.U. plan). In 1950, 59 per cent of I.L.A. members worked less than the 800 hours.

"King Joe" has never forgiven Harry Bridges, President of I.L.W.U., for leading the I.L.W.U. out of I.L.A. when the C.I.O. was formed, and for fighting for and winning decent working conditions and a decent standard of living under a democratic trade union free of the graft, corruption, racketeering, and favouritism that exist in the I.L.A. For this reason, Ryan is now threatening to raid the I.L.W.U. in what will be a futile attempt to restore his control throughout the West Coast and to restore gangsterism and discrimination which the I.L.W.U. has fought so hard to abolish. West Coast longshoremen will never exchange the gains their struggles have achieved for what Ryan can offer them.

Results and Lessons of the Recent Strike

DESPITE the real dangers inherent in opposing the Ryan machine, the 30,000 strikers who participated in the recent strike gave a magnificent demonstration of solidarity. Not only were they challenging the profit-bulging corporations and the wage freeze, but they were challenging the most deeply entrenched gang of mobsters ruling the union. For the first time in many years they collided head-on with Anastasia and his gang and succeeded in running it off the docks.

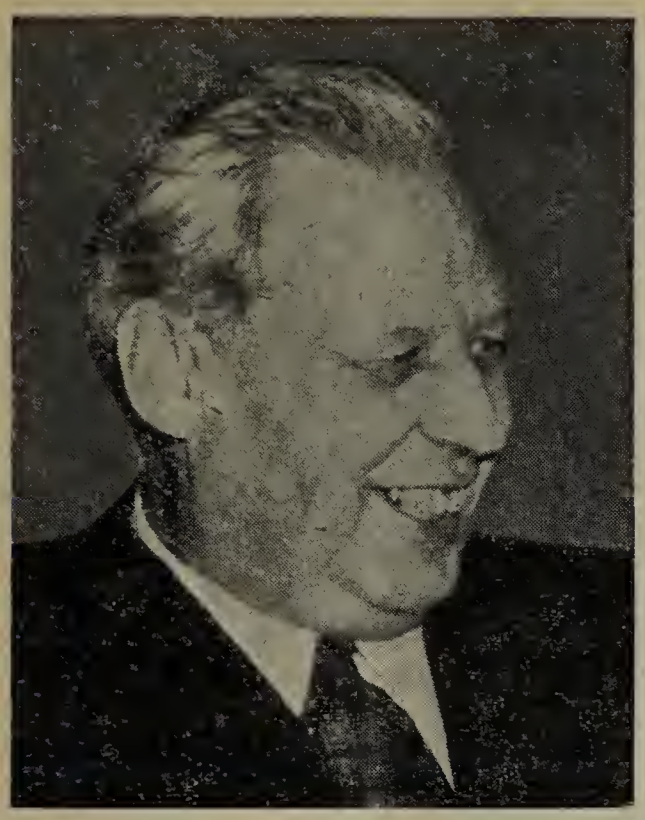
The strikers also met and successfully defeated a vicious red-baiting attack, and by their sheer numbers and power, split the union bureaucracy for the first time in the history of the I.L.A. by forcing officials of key locals to switch from a position of so-called neutrality to the side of the strikers. By this action, they transformed the strike from a so-called "wild-cat" movement to a strike officially endorsed by a majority of the local unions.

Another accomplishment of the strike was the inability of the shipowners and Ryan to divide the Negro and white workers. Negro longshoremen united with white workers despite the long-standing legitimate grievances of the former against their union, which has been responsible for mass unemployment among Negro longshoremen.

The activities of a small but fighting group of progressive longshoremen were indispensable for the struggle. They published a daily rank and file paper, *Dockers News*, which conducted a vigorous campaign against the evils on the waterfront, against Ryan and his gangsters and for militant action on the job.

Although the strike ended without, as yet, any definite action on the specific claims of the longshoremen, the struggle is by no means ended. Rather it has just begun.

One of the principal lessons of this great strike is that by united rank and file action it is possible to defeat the misleaders of labour. This is a lesson not only for longshoremen, but for workers in every union in which the leaders follow an undemocratic and anti-working class policy. As John Steuben, writing in the December issue of *March of Labor* points out: "The importance of this struggle to workers who belong to unions where democracy does not exist or is very seriously curtailed cannot be overemphasised. This strike shows that there is no such thing as an invincible machine in any union that the rank and file cannot override . . . The fighting rank and file forces in reactionary-led unions can say: "If the longshoremen can take on King Joe Ryan, Murder, Inc., and the shipowners, then we too can take on the misleaders of our union!"



The Importance of Trade Union Democracy

By HERBERT WARNKE

President of the Free German Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.)

THE trade union movement will grow in power and effectiveness only insofar as it strengthens the ties among its members and wins more active co-operation from them in the achievement of trade union tasks. It will lose all real importance, however, if the opinions of its members cannot find freedom of expression, that is, if the leading bodies act autocratically, isolating themselves from the mass of the membership.

The Free German Trade Union Federation (F.D.G.B.), with its 5 million members, is the largest mass organisation in the German Democratic Republic. It can only achieve its aims, which are directed towards peace, the unification of Germany, and the improvement of the workers' standard of living, if it mobilises the broad masses of its membership in active and enthusiastic participation in its work for these aims. We still have not managed to achieve this collaboration everywhere on a sufficiently wide scale. Why is this? For the simple reason that too often we have failed to employ methods of patient, continuous explanation, but have instead used those of giving orders and making rules and regulations.

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THE Third Congress of the F.D.G.B., which had a particular significance for the German trade union movement, emphasised that the essense of trade union methods of work lies in the development of criticism and self-criticism, in convincing explanation, and in democracy within the trade unions.

The constitution of the F.D.G.B. adopted by the Third Congress, stipulates that the leadership of all trade union bodies, from the branches to the leadership of the Confederation, must be elected. It establishes, besides, that all trade union members have the right to criticise all leading committees without exception both within the trade union organisation and in public, for example in the press, etc.

As a result of a wide, detailed survey, it appears that a number of leading bodies have taken no notice of these decisions. In certain enterprises, two and even three trade union branch secretaries have succeeded each other since the last elections without there having been any recall or election by the workers. In some places, all the elected members of trade union committees have been progressively replaced so that there is no longer an elected leadership. Investigations revealed that in certain factories, the workers very often had insufficient opportunities to discuss trade union problems. Trade union agendas did not provide for discussion. When the opportunities for discussion were offered to the workers, these were not taken advantage of as fully as they should have been because many active members hesitate to take the floor in front of hundreds or thousands of people. On the other hand, some committee bureaucrats, fearing criticsm, deliberately prevent all free discussion.

These bad bureaucratic methods of work employed by some leading committees and certain officers, risked isolating the leadership from the mass of the workers. For this reason, the leadership of the F.D.G.B., together with the trade union officers, has gone into the question of internal trade union democracy. Severe criticism and self-criticism on methods of work have resulted in the adoption of measures which can lead to a complete change in this sphere. Once and for all, patient and consistent explanation must take the place of commanding and

The most militant workers took part in the Third Congress of the F.D.G.B.

ordering about. All trade unions have been asked not to tolerate any violation of trade union democracy.

In order to draw into the active work of branches as many trade unionists as possible and to develop trade union life generally, a series of resolutions have been adopted dealing with the problems of organisation. Trade union groups, comprising from 20 to 40 members, will be set up in every enterprise. Each group will have one member responsible for organisation, another for cultural activity, one responsible for labour safety measures, and finally, one for social insurance. They will all be elected. There will be fewer large trade union meetings. Group meetings, however, will enable members to discuss questions they wish to raise in smaller gatherings.

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ANOTHER problem of the utmost importance is that of democratic centralism. For co-ordinated action does not depend solely on respect for trade union democracy, but on the operation of decisions taken at higher levels and particularly by the Confederation leadership. If certain industrial federations lag behind others, they must look for the cause in their failure to apply decisions taken by the Confederation.

The measures decided upon to guarantee the democratic functioning of the trade unions of the F.D.G.B. have been approved by the great mass of members who have recognised their correctness and who are seeing to it more than ever that the principles of trade union democracy are respected.

In the same way, the control exercised by the Confederation insofar as it provides a double check from above and below, will ensure real trade union democracy.

To develop further democracy throughout the F.D.G.B. is to win 5 million active members for the cause of peace, men and women ready to combat fascism and to defend democracy in the German Democratic Republic and to work for a happy and prosperous life.

Indian Railwaymen Must Unite

By AN INDIAN RAILWAYMAN

MOST of the 830,000 railway workers of India live in abject poverty. Their living standards fall as regularly as the cost of living rises; but the Government of India Railway Board is never short of excuses for disregarding even the half-hearted recommendations of their own Central Pay Commission.

These excuses usually centre round the alleged poverty of the Indian railways trimmed with calls for patriotism in the face of threatened famine, invasion or other catastrophes. However, the figures published in the *Report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways for* 1949-50 in 1951 disprove this poverty thesis.

The total net earnings of the entire system, that is after the deduction of all expenses, was over £38 million. If this is divided by the number of workers, we find that during the year a profit of something over £46 7s a worker was made.

According to the same *Report,* the average wage (including cost of living allowance) for all railway workers in 1949-50 was a little less than £74 a year. Over half of the workers, however, were in the lowest category (IV) and their average wage was £58 10s a year or not much more than £1 a week. The fact that the overall average is considerably more is due to the high salaries of the officials in the top two grades.

It is often mistakenly believed that low wages in India are to some extent offset by low prices. However, an official Government survey for the year 1948 published in 1951 shows that living costs in India are increasing far more rapidly than in many other countries, including Australia, Canada, Sweden, the U.S.A., and the United Kingdom.

Faced with constantly rising prices, adequate cost of living allowances are one of the main claims of Indian railwaymen. This claim was partially supported by the Government's Central Pay Commission which recommended as far back as 1946 that the monthly cost of living allowance be increased by 5 Rupees* for every 20 point rise in the cost of living index. The non-implementation of this recommendation is a violation of the 1946 agreement between the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and the Railway Board. Since then the cost of living has gone up at least 100 points.

Not only has the Government failed to implement even this meagre cost of living allowance, but they have cut the real value of wages by doing away with Cheap Grain Shops. These are shops in which cereals were sold to railway workers at less than official prices. The extent to which they were patronised can be estimated from the fact that the Indian Government, according to the Minister of Railways, was able to save Rs. 75 million in 1949 by withdrawing this facility. Prices being much higher today, he is no doubt able to boast of a considerably greater saving.

*The rupee is worth about 1/6d.

Speed-Up

PARALLEL with this attack on real wages, the Railway Board is endeavouring to cut running expenses by increasing the work load. The Railway Enquiry Committee published a report in 1949 stating that there were 58,000 redundant workers in the various railway departments. In order to justify its staff-cutting recommendations it asserted that the railway workers' efficiency had declined by 30 to 40 per cent and that only a 50 per cent effort was made in their work.

The application of the Factory Act has been abolished in the Locomotive Sheds, which means that they are no longer subject to its provisions for inspection or to its regulations regarding cleanliness, ventilation, safety devices and so on. At the same time the Railway Board is putting certain jobs out to contractors. The railwaymen are then fired and rehired by the contractors, and cease to be covered by railway workers' legislation covering wages and hours of work.

Wage rates for many temporary workers on the railways do not conform to the Pay Commission recommendations. Tempor-

ary workers are put on daily wages of Rs. 1¾ for the days worked only, giving a total wage considerably below the full rate for Category IV workers.

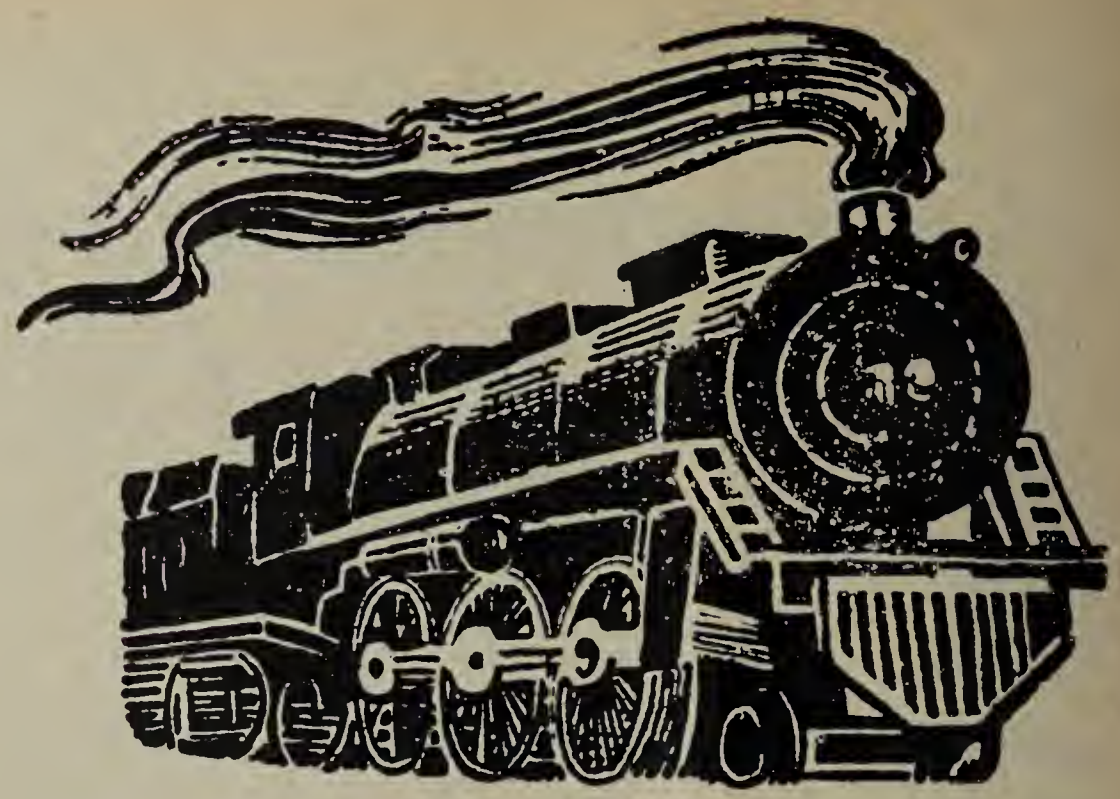
What Have The Unions Been Doing?

UNFORTUNATELY the railwaymen are not united in a single federation. The All-India Railwaymen's Federation expelled certain unions early in 1949 following policy disagreements which were permitted to split the organisation. These expelled unions formed themselves into the All-India Union of Railway Workers and did their best to defend the rights of the workers; but isolation largely frustrated their efforts.

To overcome this the A.I.U.R.W. dissolved itself, and member unions were requested to seek affiliation with the A.I.R.F. This step towards a single all-India railway workers' federation has been spurned by the leaders of the A.I.R.F. who are allowing political differences to intervene in trade union matters.

A trade union must not permit the political, religious and other non-relevant beliefs of its members and leaders to impede its work. A trade union must be an organisation where working people of diverse tendencies unite together for specific purposes. If outside issues are allowed to drive apart those whose common interests should bind them together, then the membership and the leaders are failing in their capacity as trade unionists.

The leaders of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation have been holding back action designed to support rank and file demands for the implementation of the Central Pay Commission's recommendations and for the immediate setting up of machinery to deal with all outstanding grievances. The delegates of the masses of railway workers who cannot live on present rates of pay decided at the General Council meeting of the A.I.R.F. in April 1951 to call a strike for August on these two issues.



Flattening people's enemies, let it roll to victory! Cartoon from "Crossroads" (Bombay, December 7, 1951).

Socialist president of the A.I.R.F., Jayaprakesh Narain, acknowledged the sufferings of the workers when he said: "30 months have gone by since the postponement of the strike in 1949. During this weary two and a half years, prices went on rising despite Government assurances and long drawn out negotiations were conducted through Joint Advisory Committees and at Ministerial levels which failed to yield satisfactory results. Then a last minute effort was made by the A.I.R.F. when it compressed the numerous demands into two major ones."

However, rank and file needs were brushed aside by the A.I.R.F. leadership, and specific instructions were issued for non-co-operation with the unions excluded from the Federation. Nevertheless, the Government apparently thought the time had come for some slight concession and offered an increase of Rs. 5 a month (the demand was for Rs. 30) on the cost of living allowance from June 1951 stating that no further increases would be granted.

Jayaprakash Narain announced, maybe with his tongue in his cheek, that "Not a wheel should move after 6 a.m. on August 27th." The Government answer was an ordinance banning all strikes in essential services and prescribing a punishment of three years in jail and a Rs. 1,000 fine for anyone aiding or abetting the strike or donating money to the strikers' relief. The Railway Federation leadership reply was that if the Prime Minister made a special appeal to the A.I.R.F. to call off the strike in view of Indo-Pakistan tension and one thing and another this would be done. The Government joyfully acceded. There were a few touching remarks from the A.I.R.F. leaders on 'their appreciation of the Prime Minister's appeal not to fritter away the energies of the nation at a time of acute crisis,' but the workers were the losers once more.

There followed the inevitable discussions on negotiating machinery and wages during which it came out that the Government wanted permanent machinery for settling rail disputes on condition that the Government would have the right to accept, reject or modify any tribunal award. A decision accepted by the Government would automatically be valid for two years and even discussions could not be held on any point covered by the award until one year had elapsed from the time of signature.

Disunity is Disastrous

IT is now becoming quite clear to rank and file members inside and outside the A.I.R.F. that no improvements in wages and conditions will be won until railwaymen are sufficiently strong and well organised to be able to impose their will on the Railway Board.

Railway workers also realise that they will only be strong enough when they have a united trade union organisation. Such unity is possible and has already been achieved on the important Great India Peninsular Railway where workers from unions of varying political, national and religious groupings have amalgamated into a single G.I.P. Railway Labour Union whose policy is to affiliate to the A.I.R.F.

Disunity can be overcome by setting up rank and file action committees in the stations and workshops, where the actual problems facing the workers can be discussed on a practical level and where outside considerations are not allowed to disrupt unity of purpose and action to win specific improvements of interest to all railway workers. In this way mutual trust and respect can be built up, thus cutting out the irrelevant questions of political affiliation interposed by right-wing leaders with the sole aim of dividing and ruling.

If there is one overriding lesson to be learned from the railway workers' wasted efforts of the last two and a half years, it is that disunity doesn't pay anyone but the Railway Board. The Railway Board is strong and backed up by all the force of the State. Such repressive forces can only be beaten back by the closed ranks of united trade unionists.

BRITISH GUIANA WORKERS FIGHT

★ Against Poverty

★ For Independence

By
CHEDDI JAGAN
Vice-President of the British Guiana T.U.C.

THE British colony, British Guiana, is bounded by Brazil, Venezuela, Dutch Guiana and the Atlantic Coast. Its less than 400,000 people* have lived beneath the British imperialist yoke for nearly a century and a half. British Guiana's history is primarily the history of sugar, the history of a people subjected to excessive exploitation by the British sugar monopolists into whose hands effective political control has been placed by successive Colonial administrations. Alongside the sugar kings sit the British and American monopolists who own the mineral wealth of the colony. In a variety of ways, overt and hidden, this handful of rich people control the economy of the country which they dominate and distort in the interests of their investments in sugar, minerals and commerce.

British Guiana bears all the usual scars of colonial exploitation. It is primarily agricultural—yet its dependence on sugar has meant that the bulk of the people's food requirements have had to be imported. The sugar monopolists, compelled since the days of slavery to find alternative supplies of cheap labour, have seized the best lands for their plantations, overburdened the peasants with debt, and done everything possible to prevent the development of a free and prosperous peasantry. Less than 2 per cent. of the colony's sugar output is grown by small peasant proprietors (*Report of a Commission of Inquiry into the Sugar Industry of British Guiana, Col.* 249, H.M.S.O. 1949—Venn Report). The bulk of the rural population has been compelled to provide a regular and ample supply of cheap wage labour for the British-owned plantations. Here, the main monopoly is Booker Bros., McConnell and Co. They control 12 out of the colony's 17 main estates (Venn Report). This company had a trading profit in 1951 of £1,257,827, compared with £993,245 in 1949 and £768,679 in 1948. In fact, British Guiana is colloquially known as "Booker's Guiana." It is significant that when Mr. (now Sir) F. Seaford, Booker's representative, was defeated in the 1947 British Guiana elections, the Governor appointed him to the Legislative and Executive Councils.

British Guiana has considerable mineral resources —gold, diamonds, bauxite, iron ore, columbite, merumite, tantalite, tourmaline, molybdenite, and search is proceeding for "radio-active minerals"—but these minerals are owned by British and American monopolists who are interested only in profits and not in the real industrial development of British Guiana. To aid the foreign firms in their role as plunderers of the country, the Government has recently introduced new legislation granting sweeping concessions to "gold, diamond, and other risk-bearing enterprises of a developmental nature." These concessions take the form of a reduction in income tax, remission of customs duties on industrial machinery and gasoline, quicker write-off of wear-and-tear allowances, subsidised air-freights, and the use of Governmental technical officers acting as the initial research agencies of the imperialist monopolies.

Within the past few years there has been a large increase in foreign investment in minerals in British Guiana, especially United States capital. The Bauxite

*Main racial composition of the population—East Indian 163,434 (43.5%), Negro 143,385 (38%), Mixed 37,685 (10%), Amerindian 16,322 (4.4%). (Col. 249, H.M.S.O. 1949—Venn Report).

Company on the Berbice River is owned by an American company. The Demerara Bauxite Company is owned by the Aluminium Company of Canada, itself a subsidiary of the giant Aluminium Company of America (U.S.). The American firms, Reynolds Metals Company and the Permenente Company are actively prospecting. Leases have been granted to the Plantation Bauxite Company, which is owned jointly by the Demerara Bauxite Company and the British and Colonial Bauxite Company (a subsidiary of British Aluminium Company). Anaconda British Guiana Mines Ltd., a subsidiary of U.S. Anaconda Copper Mining Company, is also active.

All this shows quite clearly that, as far as the big British and American trusts are concerned, the people and resources of British Guiana are to be exploited solely in the interests of profit and war strategy.

Workers from the sugar plantations march through Georgetown on May Day, 1951.

Misery and Want

FOR the people of British Guiana imperialist rule has meant misery and want. There is abundant evidence of this everywhere. Professor Macmillan in his book *Warning from the West Indies,* stated that "a social and economic study of the West Indies is . . . . necessarily a study of poverty" (p. 44). The same conclusion was reached by the Indian High Commissioner in the West Indies when early in 1951, after visiting British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica, he said the thing most common to the three territories was poverty. On the sugar estates, average yearly male earnings in 1948 were £83 for factory workers, £61 for field workers and £34 10s. for all women workers (Venn Report). The following extract from a dialogue between an Indian witness and the Venn Commission Chairman reveals the miserable conditions of the sugar workers :

"*Chairman* : 'What do you want to tell us?' *Indian witness* : 'We have to walk about five or six miles every day to go to work on the back-dam. We leave home at 6 o'clock and start work at 7 or 8 o'clock and work until 5 or 6 o'clock.' *Chairman* : 'Do you work all the year round at that distance from your home, or only now and then?' *Witness* : 'I walk that distance most of the time.' *Chairman* : 'Is that your main complaint?' *Witness* : 'No. I have no rice-field, no cow, and no money. I live on the estate (in a range) and do estate-work. Since I came to the Colony I have been doing that work.' *Chairman* : 'How much did you earn last week?' *Witness* : 'I earned from $5* to $10 per week, but as I am now an old man I cannot earn more than $5 to $7 per week, which is insufficient. The week I buy clothes I cannot buy rations.' "

A tobacco field in the Rupununi District of British Guiana.

The Commission report also admits that "spot checks taken in schools throughout the colony have revealed that 90 per cent. of the children examined showed evidence of dental caries, one of the signs of nutritional deficiency."

Housing conditions are deplorable; but rents are often as much as 30% of a worker's earnings. Overcrowding in tenements is prevalent in the towns. From year to year the housing problem in Georgetown, the main city, and its suburbs, which house nearly a fifth of the country's total population, is becoming more and more acute. Already this year several buildings have collapsed. Many which have been condemned by the Municipal authorities are still occupied for lack of other accommodation. The only building land available is owned by rich landlords who demand fabulous prices. The Government has recently built some "decanting centre" apartments as part of its slow slum-clearance scheme. But the rent to be charged is $18 a month, while the average wages of workers rarely exceeds $54 a month.

The housing situation in the countryside is equally shocking. Nearly 18% of the population live on the

*British Guiana dollar is worth about 4/- sterling.

A typical sugar cane cutter, one of a large group of workers subject to extreme colonial exploitation in British Guiana.

sugar plantations. Most of the sugar estate workers are housed in dilapidated barrack-type ranges built during the days of slavery. The Venn Commission report states :

"We inspected many of these ranges. In quite a number the corrugated iron roofs were leaking and the fabric of the buildings was in a general state of decay. In numerous instances temporary sheets or awnings had been fixed over the beds to keep off the rain. They had mud floors and consequently with the rain dropping from the roofs these were made slippery and dangerous; in many cases we found bags laid over the floor to prevent slipping. They are built without any plan on low-lying uneven ground. There are few, if any, proper foot-paths and in rainy weather communication is difficult. The common latrines, often built over a drainage trench, are frequently in a bad state of repair, with little privacy." (p. 122.)

One has only to imagine the misery of the inhabitants during the heavy rainfall and flood periods which are frequent. Polluted water from the latrine trenches usually flows freely all round the ranges and housing compound, covering the streets for days and sometimes weeks.

Schools are understaffed, under-equipped and overcrowded. The Venn Report stated :

"The story of too many children for the physical capacity of the school, and of too many pupils in a class was the same wherever we went. A building meant to hold 600 was filled with twice that number, taught by a staff of about a dozen. Another school we visited had over 400 pupils on its roll, nearly 200 of whom were in one room about 32 feet by 24 feet . . . . Yet the overcrowing of the schools means that many children do not attend, and, those that do, necessarily receiving because of the size of the classes more mass instruction than personal tuition, run the risk of passing their eight years in being taught rather than in learning." (p. 129.)

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A typical rural house during a flood period (floods are a frequent occurrence). Note the outdoor latrine.

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Until recently school books, slates, pencils, etc., had to be provided by the parents. The effects of the poor educational facilities are shown in the widespread illiteracy, which reaches 44.02% amongst the East Indians, and 49.55% amongst the indigenous Amerindians. In spite of this the Government has appointed a committee to investigate how to provide educational facilities within the limit of the present education financial vote whose real value is falling every day. This means, in effect, a cut in educational facilities. Secondary school education has to be paid for—which means that it is denied to the working class. In the words of the Director of Education "no grammar school education is or can be provided for 99% of elementary school education."

The same Governmental neglect marks the health services. Not being able to pay for private medical or dental care, the working people have to resort to the meagre medical services provided at the Government medical institutions. In some cases the patients have to lie on the floor for want of beds. Even the capitalist press has been compelled to raise its voice against the scandalous conditions of the government health services. Meanwhile disease is widespread and infant mortality as high as 101 per 1,000 live births.

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The funeral procession for workers killed by police at the Enmore plantation. Above: Hundreds of workers join the procession. Left: Armed police stand by during the funeral march.

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The Amerindians (American Indians) number just over 16,000, totalling about 4.4% of the population. About half of them are herded into reserves. In every way they are treated as an oppressed minority, their social and economic conditions being even lower than those of the East Indian and African population.

A former Amerindian Welfare Officer appointed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, stated in his report that "the desired improvements of Amerindian status and economic security cannot be achieved under the existing pattern of exploitation by the middleman-industrialist adventurer." He went on to complain that United States and other foreign "cultures" had resulted in drunkenness, sexual promiscuity and general moral degeneracy. M. A. W. B. Long, who was for many years Commissioner of the North West District, reported in his memorandum on Amerindian Protection that colonists had "availed themselves of the Amerindian population to work their farms and help in other activities and to use

their women as concubines." A proposal that the Amerindians should be allowed to run a co-operative cattle industry on the Southern Savannahs, at present rented by the Colonial Development Corporation, was rejected.

The problems of the Amerindians have been deliberately neglected by the right wing trade union leaders, but the militant workers are increasingly appreciating that there can be no final victory in the struggle for the independence of British Guiana nor a solution to its economic and social problems without the granting of full political, social, economic and national equality to the Amerindians.

The Trade Union Struggle Grows

THE Trade Union movement in British Guiana is comparatively young. In the past it has been generally weak and disunited. All attempts to unite or amalgamate the large number of small unions were obstructed by the opportunist right-wing leaders. The Venn Report reveals that on the sugar estates there were in 1948 no less than nine different trade unions claiming to represent the various grades of sugar workers. Some of these were exceedingly small and catered for an almost minute number of workers. There is now, however, a growing sense of class consciousness and militancy and unity among the working class and many of the opportunist leaders are being removed by the workers. This is very noticeable among the dockers.

Sugar workers, in field and factory, despite the attempts of the employers and the government to set Negro factory workers against East Indian field workers, are increasingly seeking forms of united action and organisation. During 1948, sugar workers on seven plantations conducted a struggle for three and a half months, maintaining a high degree of unity and militancy throughout their fight for higher wages. Police intimidation and brutality resulted in an attack on pickets, resulting in the killing of five workers and the wounding of another 14. Even the report of the Government Enmore Enquiry Commission (August 1948), a Commission from which all the legal representatives of the deceased had withdrawn in protest against the Chairman's handling, was compelled to admit that "there was firing which went beyond the requirements of the situation with the result that Pooran and some others received shots when in actual flight." In plain words, these workers were shot in the back when retreating from the police.

As a result of the strike and the shooting, the Government was compelled to set up the Venn Commission to enquire into the whole position of the sugar industry in British Guiana. This Commission, after long investigations in British Guiana, produced a report making recommendations for minor reforms but failing to suggest the basic changes required to bring prosperity to the sugar workers of British Guiana. The best of their recommendations—the setting up of a contributory pension scheme—was unacceptable to the sugar planters. How unsuccessful these planters have been in damping down the spirit of the sugar workers is revealed in the complaint of Booker Bros. Chairman at the shareholders annual general meeting in September 1951 that "unfortunately political agitators . . . . are always with us." It can be stated with confidence that as long as Booker Bros. exists in British Guiana there will continue to be "political agitators"—i.e., militant working class organisers.

Other sections of workers, including bauxite workers, have also recently struggled to free themselves from the grip of the opportunist leaders. The Government employees' unions, organised into a Federation of Government Workers, are today among the best led. Recently they showed their militancy when they defied the Government and, in protest against its delaying tactics in meeting the workers' demands for higher wages, came out on an "illegal" three-day strike.

The growing unity of the working class was demonstrated last May Day when, for the first time, the majority of the trade unions took part in a single, united demonstration, for which the main demands were: Self-government, a social insurance scheme, minimum wage legislation, increased old age pensions with a lowered age limit and without a means test, better health and education facilities. The right wing trade union leader, H. N. Critchlow, who read out an anti-working class hand-out from the I.C.F.T.U. was loudly booed by the workers, probably for the first time in his long career.

In September this year a three-mile demonstration in Georgetown organised by the People's Progressive Party, called on the government to reduce the high cost of living by supporting the demand for a Five Power Peace Pact so as to end the arms race in Britain and the United States—the main cause of the high prices in British Guiana today.

The Constitutional proposals now placed before the people of British Guiana by the recent Waddington Commission report will not satisfy the working people. They have in fact already been denounced as a sham and a fraud by the influential People's Progressive Party. The proposals that Finance, Law and Order, Defence (including the police force), Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, are all to be left in the hands of the officials and denied to the elected representatives of the people completely exposes the character of the "reforms." Without these key ministries it is impossible for the people of British Guiana to exercise any power over the country's economy. And in any case the Governor's retention of the veto (apparently a veto is all right as long as it is used by a British Colonial Government!) robs the proposed Ministers of all power and is intended to reduce them to the role of mere puppets. The people will also oppose any attempt to utilise the constitutional proposals to inflame racialist animosities or to allow racial differences to delay their struggle for complete independence. In place of this sham constitution the working people of British Guiana are demanding real independence and the power to rule their own country in the interests of its people.

DISCUSSION ON

THE SLIDING SCALE

A COMMENT by WILLIAM SENTNER

International Representative, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America.

The W.F.T.U. published in No. 19 (*October* 5, 1951) *of* World Trade Union Movement, *a discussion article by Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Workers of the Metal and Engineering Industries, entitled, "The Fight for a Sliding Wage Scale."*

Comment and discussion were invited from trade unions in the major capitalist countries.

A comment from Hugh Bryson, President of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, was published in No. 24 (*December* 20, 1951),*and we now publish Brother Sentner's comments on American workers' opposition to the sliding scale as it operates under the conditions existing in the United States.*

We hope to receive other comments on this important question.

THE overwhelming majority of the unions, A.F.L, C.I.O. and Independent, in the United States are opposed to the "sliding scale" determination of wages as established by the General Motors-Walter Reuther contract covering the automotive industry. This fact is contrary to the statements of Henri Jourdain, secretary of the Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Department of the W.F.T.U., in his article *The Fight for a Sliding Wage Scale* published in the October 5, 1951, issue (No. 19) of the Fortnightly Review of the W.F.T.U.

The "sliding scale" contract in the Automotive Industry was established on May 29, 1948. Its objective was to establish wages by government edict and eliminate the struggle of the workers for increased wages to keep up with increasing cost of living. In fact, Mr. Reuther's "sliding scale" formula was designed to test the wage freeze policies of the Government before they were legalised in the provisions of the Defence Production Act of 1950. The Reuther "sliding scale" is based on the official government Cost-of-Living Index and regulates wages on an up and down basis of 1 cent an hour for every 1.14 movement of the Index.

Brother Henri Jourdain states that Mr. Walter Reuther "under the workers' pressure . . . . put into the contract a clause on the sliding scale." This is contrary to the facts. This particular "sliding scale" scheme was hatched by Charles Wilson, president of the General Motors Corporation. Between May 21, 1948 and June 1, 1950, wages under this "sliding scale" at the General Motors Corporation were cut by $18,520,000 while the company made a net profit of $2,388,734,000 during the same period.

Wages in the automobile industry under the "sliding scale" increased approximately 10 per cent for the 18 month period, June 1950 (start of Korean war) to December 1, 1951. In contrast the wages in other industries not covered by the sliding scale, such as packing, ore mining, rubber, longshore (West Coast) and others have exceeded this figure.

Major rank and file movements of the workers in the automobile industry have developed around the demands of getting rid of the "sliding scale" provisions and re-institution of free collective bargaining on wages. Witness the mass meeting of 60,000 workers of Detroit who roared their approval of John L. Lewis' condemnation of Reuther's five year, no-strike, sliding scale, wage freeze contract with the automobile industry. Lewis correctly pointed out that Charles Wilson, president of the General Motors Corporation, was the originator of the sliding scale clause in the present union contract. Commenting on the sliding scale, Lewis said :

". . In your industry, you have what is known to the mine workers of this country as a sliding scale of wages. That's what the mineworkers have been calling it since 1874 when it was first introduced into the coal mining industry. And they have found that except in times of emergency or scarcity for artificial reasons, the sliding scale always slid in the wrong direction.

"I don't want it in the mining industry—and the United Mine Workers don't want it . . . ."

The "Washington Government was forced . . . to authorise wage rises based on increases in the cost of living," says Brother Jourdain. This, also, is contrary to fact. The government is attempting to force the workers to accept the sliding scale adjustments of wages based on their own fraudulent Cost of Living Index. The Walter Reuther-General Motors "sliding

scale" sell-out of the workers has been established as official government policy for denying workers wage increases to keep pace with the *real* increased cost of living.

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ALMOST all of the right wing and all of the left wing leaders of the labor movement of the U.S.A. have rejected the automobile industry-Walter Reuther-Government sliding scale wage policy. It has been estimated by official government sources that only about two million of the 15 million organised workers in the U.S.A. are covered by sliding scale contracts.

Opposition to the sliding scale policy of the government has been so great that it has been forced to modify its position somewhat. The government Wage Stabilisation Board has issued a regulation that permits approval of wage increases, within certain limitations, negotiated under wage reopening provision of contracts limited to six month intervals.

There is growing concern in all circles of labor, from right to left, with the growing determination of the bosses and the government to enforce upon the workers the sliding scale. This concern is best expressed by Lewis of the Mine Workers who said :

". . . I look with growing alarm at the tendency of the C.I.O. as an organisation and the American Federation of Labor as an organisation to constantly agree in Washington that some government board will have the right of life and death in every economic sense over the 62,000,000 workers in America gainfully employed. That's the trend towards compulsory arbitration. I do not yield to any man in America, who is not a party to my employment, to have the right to say how much my wages shall be, what my working conditions will be, and what kind of an education I give my children through his fixation of my income. *That's just too damned much power to give to somebody else.*"

Philip Murray, president of the C.I.O., has already announced that the million member steel workers union is determined to break through the wage freeze imposed upon the workers through the phoney Reuther cost of living sliding scale formula. The Steelworkers Union has rejected the four cents an hour limitation set by this sliding scale formula. Murray is demanding a "substantial" wage increase and the movement among the rank and file steelworkers is to win a 20 cents an hour wage increase and other benefits.

The Packinghouse Workers broke through the sliding scale formula last year with a 14 cents an hour increase; the Copper Miners strike won from 18½ to 22½ cents and smashed through the wage freeze. Recently, the rubber workers did the same.

The capitalists have traditionally attempted to hold down wages by instituting a "sliding scale" method of determining wage rates in the U.S.A. Labor has opposed this bosses' scheme and has traditionally advocated the use of their unions to fight for maintaining and increasing wages in keeping with the workers' needs to meet increases in the cost of living as well as to advance and improve living standards.

If Brother Jourdain means by the "sliding scale" a continuing struggle to increase wages upward, he is correct when he states that such a movement will win the support of the masses of the working class. If, however, he means a "sliding scale" as exemplified by Walter Reuther's contract in the automobile industry, it will be rejected by the workers because it is an employer scheme to destroy collective bargaining and the right to fight for adequate wage increases to meet the needs of the workers under any and all conditions.

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IN opposition to the "sliding scale," the left wing section of the organised workers of America are carrying out a policy of fighting for :

1. Wage reopening clauses that permit labor unions to negotiate and strike for wage increases at frequent intervals during the life of a contract.
2. A united movement of labor to smash the wage freeze by recalling all labor representatives from the Government's wage freeze boards; repeal of the Defence Production Act of 1951 and rejection of the Government cost of living index as a basis for determining wage increases.
3. Rally labor for a fight to end the Wall Street imperialist war against the Korean people and to maintain peace as the best guarantee of winning the fight to end the wage freeze and the attacks of the capitalists on their wages, standard of living, trade unions and the political independence of the working class in the United States.

Economic Notes

REARMAMENT MEANS SACRIFICES

—BUT FOR WHOM?

I. UNITED STATES.

1. Rearmament Costs.

From July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1951, the expenditures of the U.S. Defence Department for armaments and supplies amounted to about **$370,000,000 per week**; in 1951/52 they will be about **$770,000,000** per week; in 1952/53, over **$1,000,000,000 per week.**

2. Profits.

According to the Council of Economic Advisors to the President of the United States, profits have risen from **$17.4 billion** in the first half of 1950 to **$25.1 billion** in the first half of 1951 (an increase of 44%).

3. Workers' Standard of Living.

The workers' standard of living is continuously **declining** because of rising **prices and taxes.** According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, **retail prices** have risen from May, 1950, to September, 1951, by over 16% and the average weekly wages by only **13%. Taxes on wages earned by workers** have increased since before the start of the American aggression in Korea by **34%.** Unemployment and poverty continue to plague large numbers of people.

Schools are so insufficient that, even according to the "New York Times" (November 12, 1951), the country needs 600,000 additional classrooms.

House construction is declining despite an acute housing shortage. According to the Third Quarterly Report to the President by the Director of Defence Mobilisation, "The present rate (of house construction) is 40% below 1950." The report foresees the same rate of decline in 1952.

Source: When not otherwise stated—**Economic Notes**, published by Labor Research Association, New York.

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II. GREAT BRITAIN.

1. Rearmament Costs.

The official budgets provided the following sums for defence: In 1950-51—£800,000,000 sterling; in 1951-52—£1,490,000,000 (a rise of 86% in one year).

2. Profits.

A White Paper and "The Financial Times" estimate that company profits have **risen** from £1,947,000,000 sterling in 1946 to £3,678,000,000 in 1951—an increase of 89%.

3. Workers' Standard of Living.

According to the Ministry of Labour, **wage rates** have increased between June, 1950, and August, 1951, by only **9%**, whereas **retail prices** have risen in the same period by more than **11%** and retail **food** prices by **14%**. Since then prices have continued to rise more than wages.

The share of the State budget devoted to **social services** was reduced by 16% from 1950-51 to 1951-2.

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III. FRANCE.

1. Rearmament Costs.

Defence expenditure in France has **risen** from 600,000 million francs in 1949 to 700,000 million in 1950, and to approximately 1,600,000 million in 1951.

2. Profits.

The capitalists' share of the National Income rose from 29% in 1938 to 37% in 1947, and to 54% in 1950.

Profits officially declared by the big capitalist companies have **risen** from 124,000 million in 1947 to 800,000 million in 1950.

3. Workers' Standard of Living.

The cost of living index for Paris, calculated by the Centre of Economic and Social Studies and Research, recorded a 27% rise between January 15th and November 15th, 1951.

In January, 1951 (January, 1946, equals 100), the general index for hourly **wage rates** calculated by the Ministry of Labour was **345**, the official **price index—514**, the index of net profits of 750 companies—**650.**

M. Barange, M.R.P. (Catholic) Deputy in the National Assembly, admitted in his report to the Assembly's Finance Commission that in the spring of 1951 in France "45% of housing was more than 100 years old, 7,000,000 French people were without the smallest amenities, 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 dwellings must be replaced or built. . . ."

(Source: When not otherwise stated—Centre of Economic and Social Studies and Research, Paris, and the French General Confederation of Labour).

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These facts show that rearmament means sacrifices for workers and for people of low and middle income in general. It is against them that the policy is applied which was summarised by the London "Economist" (October 13, 1951, in an editorial) as follows: "Broadly speaking, a policy to prevent inflation (which is a result of rearmament—Editor) is a policy to cut consumption." But for the big industrialists and monopolists this policy does not apply. We have shown that rearmament for them means bigger and better profits.

A Former Foreign Legionary Works For Peace in Germany

ON September 24th, 1951, after I had mastered the application of the Matrosov method, a banner was attached to my bench with the inscription—

"Every increase in production is an act for peace."

This phrase showed me the objective and the road to follow. That is why, today, I address myself especially to the many young Germans who sacrifice themselves on foreign battlefields for the benefit of the imperialists. Having once been a foreign legionary in Vietnam, I know well what it means, aroused by a false ideology, to be used against a people fighting for freedom. This fighting means terror and murder, without sense and without purpose, because it only serves to increase the profits of a handful of American monopoly capitalists, who, with their policy of world conquest, have no respect for what is held sacred by the people, and do not shrink from staining their hands every day with blood —naturally not their own.

When I recognised this madness, I rejected it immediately and definitely. I returned to the German Democratic Republic and found employment in the Banner of Freedom shoe factory in Weissenfels, the largest in the G.D.R. Here I found that the year 1945 was not the end of German history, but the beginning of a new and better era. Thanks to a huge plan for the use of labour power, I was able to be re-trained from my former job of cook to be a master leather cutter. In our training group I met progressive colleagues. Here I really felt the great enthusiasm for labour. It was something new which gave me fulfilment: to build a new life from one's own force; to work for peace. Yes, for peace! So I could not fail to become, in a short time, a friend of the Soviet Union and to make myself acquainted with the experiences of Soviet workers. I studied their methods thoroughly and applied them to our production. In this way September 24th became my great day, for an output that one would not have thought possible had been attained. For that I received this distinction and became a Shock Worker of Merit.

And therein, indeed, lies what is new. Why did I receive this distinction? For so-called heroic deeds of conscious war plotting? No, it is because I helped to create a better Germany, to improve the standard of living, to perform a service for peace.

How many of you fellow-workers we could use for our construction! There is work for everyone, the whole of the German Democratic Republic is one huge building site. Come to the same conclusions I have reached. I appeal to you, walk the same road with me. Stop pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for foreign powers; it is doomed to failure from the beginning.

We in the German Democratic Republic desire only peace, and with great satisfaction it can be stated that the peace movement is growing hourly, not only here, but in all countries of the world. Above all, it is necessary to destroy the false assumption that the ordinary people can do nothing to stop war. The rejection of shift work for war, the strike of the Hamburg Port dockers, show the contrary.

I should like to conclude with the words of Walter Ulbricht: "The honour of the German nation requires one not to allow oneself to be used for the selfish interests of the American armament millionaires. To sacrifice oneself on the battlefield for the American monopolists' designs for world power, has nothing to do with German honour."

HUGO STICHLER.

The Commemoration of Hannie Schaft

HANNIE Schaft, a woman student at Amsterdam University, was compelled by the Nazi occupant to give up her studies shortly before her graduation.

Hannie loved freedom and made contact with the resistance movement. She rendered aid to persons in hiding and to Jewish countrymen and she was soon charged with important and dangerous missions. Her name and address fell into the hands of the Sicherheits Dienst (S.D.), and when they failed to arrest her they imprisoned her parents.

In an attempt on a notorious S.D. man's life her revolver misfired: when the S.D. man fired, hitting both her legs, she did not lose her presence of mind for a single moment. She dropped to the ground and waited for the S.D. man to empty his revolver.

Then she got on her cycle, raced away and succeeded in escaping.

On March 21st, 1945, she was arrested in possession of some bundles of the illegal *Waarheid* (*Truth*, organ of the Communist Party of the Netherlands) and three weeks before the war was over the Nazis shot her in a cowardly manner in the dunes near Overveen.

On November 27th, 1945, Hannie Schaft was buried in the Cemetery of Honour in the dunes near Overveen, near the place she was murdered.

A huge procession of Netherlanders from all parts of the country escorted her to her last resting-place. Even Queen Wilhelmina spoke at the graveside, calling her "the symbol of the national resistance against fascism."

Since then a Hannie Schaft committee has organised every year a commemoration of Hannie Schaft. It became the custom of the Dutch people to come to Haarlem from all parts of the country, marching to the Cemetery of Honour to lay flowers on her grave and making each year a vow to continue untiringly the fight for peace and national independence.

The ever increasing number of people participating in this commemoration was an affront to those who are selling out our country's independence to the American imperialist warmongers, and who are prepared to collaborate with the mortal enemies of our people and with Hannie Schaft's murderers.

This year they did their utmost to make the Hannie Schaft commemoration a failure. To confuse people, the news was broadcast and inserted in the entire reactionary press that the Hannie Schaft commemoration was to be forbidden. When the authorities were approached by the Commemoration Committee they shifted the responsibility, the Minister saying that he did not know anything of its prohibition. The Hannie Schaft committee received a "request" to call off the commemoration.

The Dutch people showed, however, that they will not allow themselves to be confused, nor to be deprived of the right to commemorate the best of our people, the people of the resistance, fallen in the fight against fascism and for the independence of our country.

Because the many motor buses hired in all parts of the country were not granted permits by the National Traffic Inspection Service to travel, thousands of persons throughout the country went by train and tram to Haarlem in order to participate in the commemoration. Dutch reaction raised a strong police force whose first task was to prevent the big procession from reaching the centre of Haarlem. They did not succeed in this. Whenever the procession was split by police, the demonstrators succeeded in uniting again in large groups and continued their march.

The police were extremely nervous. The people, however, who had come to Haarlem to commemorate Hannie Schaft, maintained exemplary discipline. The police constantly tried to provoke disturbances, even setting police dogs to attack the people. The demonstrators did not allow themselves to be provoked; they did with dignity what they had come to Haarlem to do. They commemorated Hannie Schaft and the resistance against fascism.

Their firm determination and discipline made such an impression, not only on the Haarlem people, but also on the police, that they were finally allowed to place their flowers on the monuments of the resistance.

The biggest force was concentrated on the road leading to the Cemetery of Honour. On this road they had put up a barricade, where four armoured cars of the constabulary, armed with machine guns, additional municipal and state police with machine pistols and dogs, aided by motor police, were posted.

This armed force was to prevent the people from going to Hannie Schaft's grave. The "unit" went into action when a small delegation of the Hannie Schaft committee approached the road, "armed" with flowers. The delegation put down their flowers with a picture of Hannie Schaft near an old tree, while police looked on angrily. This action of the authorities and police provoked deep dissatisfaction among the Dutch people, particularly among the workers, especially when police removed the flowers from the resistance monuments the same day, as soon as the demonstration was over, throwing them on to the refuse dump. This showed the real character of these friends of fascism.

All Dutch workers and all honest Dutchmen know why these people wish the heroic resistance of the Dutch people against the Nazi occupiers of our country to be forgotten as soon as possible.

Workers of many factories and enterprises protested to the Dutch government.

One outstanding example of the revulsion provoked among the workers by these things is shown by a Christian worker, who learned of the intention to publish a leaflet about what happened at the Hannie Schaft commemoration for distribution throughout the country. He sent a money contribution for this purpose saying in his letter:

"...as a Christian worker (I am a member of the Reformed Church), I am enclosing a florin as a small contribution for the cost of the leaflet. The shameful treatment of Hannie Schaft and the other fighters for peace by the authorities, cannot be condemned enough. I hope that many persons will contribute money, so that the leaflet's publication will be assured."

The fact that, even according to official police statements, four times as many people as last year participated in the demonstration, is our guarantee that the Dutch people will not forget the fight for peace and independence for which Hannie Schaft died, but will continue this fight with redoubled efforts.

A Group of Dutch Workers.

"Mutiny" on a British Ship

ABOUT the middle of November the crew of the British ship *Tacoma Star* were arrested, on the instigation of the Captain, for "mutiny," although the ship was tied up alongside the dock in Richmond, California, when the so-called mutiny was supposed to have taken place.

The crew spent the night and part of the following day in the Richmond jail, after which the Captain had them released. The ship then sailed for Los Angeles. Although this ship is not covered by a contract with the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, and its crew members are not M.C.S. members, a committee from M.C.S. tried unsuccessfully to visit our British brothers in the Richmond jail. It is M.C.S. policy to show solidarity and to try to support foreign seamen whenever possible and especially when they are encountering difficulties.

When the ship arrived in Los Angeles, Joseph Johnson, M.C.S. Port Agent at Wilmington, and Patrolman Charles Drury, boarded the ship and talked to the seamen.

Although the press had told a story of a group of drunken British seamen committing mutiny and holding up the sailing of the ship, the M.C.S. representatives discovered from their visit the other side of the story, as told by the men themselves:

"We walked ashore because one man was adrift and Captain refused to wait. A combination of circumstances forced our action. They were 1) a shortage of crew, 2) two crew members were inexperienced, 3) two were non-unionists, 4) sanitary water was rarely if ever on in port, 5) when steam was on it flooded out various cabins and the valves were not properly repaired, 6) the auxiliary pump did not work properly in the engine room and had to be forced by hand with a billet of wood, and 7) since the ship carried a full cargo on deck it required a full crew."

The M.C.S. representatives covered the *Tacoma Star*, making a thorough inspection. They found living and working conditions for the crew to be appalling. "It's inconceivable to a person who hasn't been aboard one of those ships and actually seen how miserable those British seamen live. They haven't even soap to wash their dishes. The galley is miserable and dirty and smells. They have no fresh water, no fans in the messroom, no clean clothes."

After discussing the conditions with the crew, the M.C.S. representatives and the crew members agreed that "we shouldn't go up and speak to the Captain and advise him of our position because he was . . . exceptionally arrogant . . . . to say the least, and it would result only in him taking recriminations against them and making life miserable for them on the return voyage to England. After we covered the ship we took the crew ashore, showed them our union hall and entertained them. The men were really impressed—said we were the first decent 'Yanks' they had met. We gave them an ample supply of M.C.S. literature and told them to give our regards to the dockers and all right-thinking people in England."

HUGH BRYSON, *President, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards* (U.S.A.)

The American Mine Explosion

The following is a letter of condolence sent by the Miners' Trade Unions International to President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America and to President John Clark of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, dated January 2, 1952.

WE have learned with the deepest sorrow of the terrible disaster which occurred in Illinois on the eve of Christmas, killing 119 miners.

As soon as we heard the tragic news, we sent a telegram of condolence to the miners and to the families of the victims. Our Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), in the name of its four million members, wishes to convey once again its deep sorrow and to reaffirm its complete solidarity with the families stricken by this catastrophe, as well as with the workers in the mining industry of America.

This new catastrophe strikes not only at the miners of the United States, but at the miners of the entire world. These victims are added to the numerous other victims who have lost their lives in mining accidents during the year 1951.

The deep emotion felt by our organisation is due to the fact that there have recently been several major accidents in the United States. On October 15, nine miners were killed in an explosion at Morgantown; on November 2, seven miners were killed at Charleston and on November 1, twelve miners were buried in a fall in Kayford, Virginia.

In less than five days, from December 20 to 25, our organisation learned of the deaths of 150 miners in different countries. In addition to the 119 deaths in the United States, an accident in the Cornelja mine in the Orange Free State in South Africa killed 17 miners, and there have been many victims in other fatal accidents.

Other terrible disasters occurred also in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Japan, India, etc., in 1951. Mining

victims are counted by the thousands every year.

The most important job of our Trade Union International is to care for the lives of the workers and to defend their economic and social interests. Bearing this responsibility in mind, we condemn and place the blame once again on the capitalist owners, who, by their criminal neglect of health and safety measures in the mines, are guilty of murdering the miners.

In order to produce more and more at the lowest possible cost, diabolical speed-up methods are introduced. And in order to "economise," personnel is reduced, machines are not inspected, dust elimination neglected, maintenance of passages and galleries, propping, measuring of gas content, etc., are all abandoned at the sacrifice of the miners' lives. These are the methods of super-exploitation which ravage the families of miners, leaving widows and orphans in their wake.

We protest most vigorously and demand that those guilty of these collective murders be revealed and severely punished.

We believe it our duty to draw these facts to the attention of all workers in mining enterprises and to their trade union organisations. The unity and action of mine workers will be able to enforce respect for, and the implementation of, all health and safety measures, thus safeguarding miners' lives, and putting an end to the shameful methods of super-exploitation which the capitalist mine owners use to get higher and higher profits at the expense of the lives and health of the miners.

It is possible to put an end to this mass murder of miners by effecting an exchange of experiences on the application of safety measures for the miners in different countries. Furthermore, in a number of capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries there are no laws or regulations governing the safety and health of the miners, nor is there any compensation for widows or orphans when the husband or father is killed in the mine.

We consider it our duty to call on all miners everywhere to unite in order to help our less favoured brothers and to make the miners' calling safer.

To achieve this result and to unite our efforts for the welfare of the miners, we invite you to take part in the International Conference for Social Security to be held in 1952, during which miners' problems will be examined.

This Conference can be a determining factor in protecting miners against the insecurity of their work and in obtaining for them compensation in the event of accidents or sickness.

The immediate setting up of safety committees organised on a pit and surface basis would have the effect of cutting down the number of disasters and accidents. The nomination of delegates responsible for safety and health, elected by the workers of the mine with wide powers, including those of stopping work when danger threatens, would help to reduce accidents.

These safety committees and the miners' delegates must have the power to demand that the strictest measures be taken by the mine-owners to combat accumulation of fire damp, gases and dust, chief causes of the great disasters which constantly place mining communities in mourning.

It would be necessary to establish percentages of density beyond which there is danger of explosion, as well as measures which must be observed for the elimination as far as possible of disasters and accidents due to explosions of fire-damp, gas and dust.

Prohibition of the working of seams where good conditions of safety and health do not operate, especially in regard to timbering, propping, ventilation, stowing, etc.

Immediate evacuation of places where the dangerous presence of fire-damp, dust, water, etc., is confirmed.

Strict control of the quality and use of explosives, motors, haulage, and lighting, safety devices for dangerous parts of machines, and other apparatus.

Respect for laws and regulations already in force, and severe measures against mine-owners who abuse or violate them.

Reduction of working hours in unhealthy places.

Regulation of the employment of young people and women and the starting age for underground and coalface work.

Scrupulous inspection of the coalface and other work places and the movements of personnel.

Strict supervision of safety measures by government inspectors and especially by workers' representatives, chosen democratically by the miners, whose independence and powers must be guaranteed by legislation adapted to the miners' trade.

That mechanisation and modernisation should help to improve the working conditions of the miners.

We are convinced that the proposals we put forward will meet with your approval.

We trust that you will inform us of your decision with regard to your participation in the International Conference on Social Security. It will give us pleasure to forward any details of the Conference you may require.

We hope to hear from you at an early date, and ask you to accept our deepest condolences.

With fraternal greetings.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY TURREL,

General Secretary,
Miners' Trade Unions International (T.D. of the W.F.T.U).

American Subversion in the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies

UNITED States Government officials deliberately try to distort and confuse the real significance of the war policies which they are following so desperately. This is true not only of the war and rearmament policy in general, but of the policy of sabotage, espionage and subversion in countries whose economic and social structure they disapprove, in particular. Their public statements are intentionally designed to play down the future which they are preparing for the American people of lower living standards, wage-freeze and ever mounting profits.

A recent example is the reply by the American delegates in the U.N. General Assembly to criticisms by the delegates of the Soviet Union and some of the People's Democracies that the U.S. had appropriated $100,000,000 to finance subversion in these countries. After creating a fog of confusion and double talk, they took refuge in a public statement that these charges were "groundless."

Naturally, the American officials are not fooling the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies with their guilty and clumsy denials. They are only fooling, or trying to fool, the American people. The vast majority of the American people and workers are not warmongers and they have a deep-rooted hostility to policies based on war, on hatred and attempts to destroy other peoples. And their opposition is intensified by the fact that such policies destroy their living standards and economic and social security. The present peace movements and economic struggles of American workers, the Negro and other sections of the American people, terrify the imperialists and their stooges in government. They know that the American working class can be induced to follow their policies only through intimidation, confusion, hysteria-created propaganda, and carefully imposed ignorance of what American policy really is.

This is the reason for State Department double talk. This is why, as James Reston puts it in the *New York Times* of December 9, 1951, the State Department was "embarrassed by the Congress' action in voting the funds (i.e. the $100,000,000) openly, instead of secretly . . ." and why it acted "like a small boy with his hand in the cookie jar."

While the statements of American officials are born of fear and dishonesty, the true import of U.S. policy is given with cynical frankness in the article by James Reston, a leading *New York Times* feature writer.

Reston says, "the 'cold war' is directed in Washington by the Department of Defence, the Department of State and an interdepartmental committee that may be described as a sort of Department of Dirty Tricks. The function of this interdepartmental psychological strategy board or Department of Dirty Tricks is to create behind the Iron Curtain all mischief short of war."

He points out that several years ago the U.S. had no satisfactory machinery for dealing with the wide range of "cold war problems," and that it had insufficient "secret or so-called unvouchered funds." "Today things are at least a little different. We still stand publicly for the doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of other nations. But, as a French diplomat once remarked about . . the doctrine of non-intervention, 'This is merely a metaphysical political term which means almost the same thing as intervention.'"

The Department of Dirty Tricks is headed by Gordon Gray, president of the University of North Carolina. (In what other countries do university presidents engage in such activities?) His department and its various agencies are scattered through 22 different buildings and warehouses in Washington, all of them "unidentified as intelligence units." Considerable funds for this agency are secret so it is small wonder that the State Department was vexed when, against its wishes, Congress openly appropriated the $100,000,000.

Reston makes it clear that the only result of the rejection of the Soviet charge as 'groundless' "was to confuse the American people. The Russians know we are playing cops and robbers back of the Iron Curtain. So do all the satellites and our allies. About the only people who do not know—and they must suspect it—are the American people, many of whom do not know anything about the bare-knuckle aspects of the cold war."

Lest he leave any doubt as to what American policy means, he concludes his article with the statement that the conflict between the West and the U.S.S.R. and Peoples' Democracies "must be fought at all levels, at the trades union level . . . at the political action level, with newsprint and presses and transportation; at the cloak-and-dagger level with spies and counter-spies; . . . and at the intellectual level.

"The policy of the United States is not only to contain the Russians where they are, but to push them back where they came from. Secretary Acheson is trying to get Soviet power back within the proper boundaries of the Soviet Union . . . But this is too serious and intricate a job to be left only to the soldiers, and the diplomats, and the radio announcers."

The right-wing leaders of both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. support these activities and in doing so they are playing a shameful role in international relations. They are openly acting as tools in the hands of the American warmongers.

But the attempt to confuse the American people by keeping the truth from them is not one that can succeed indefinitely. The truth eventually breaks through the barrage of untruth and confusion.

JOHN WOLFARD

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

UNITED STATES

Waterfront Morning

The New York dock strike was a story of men who never brought home enough pay to put food on their tables, who shaped up in the cold and rain and snow six days a week and worked on the average two days a week, who never had the money for a pair of shoes, a doctor's bill, or a kid's coat, who were driven by gangsters, framed by gangsters, and sometimes murdered by gangsters—and who had all their bellies could hold.

That was the strike, a rank and file strike against the bosses and Joe Ryan, made and led by the rank and file, and this was the morning on which Joe Ryan, according to his public declaration, was going to break it....

I walked down to the river and Pier 90, where the Queen Mary lay, so tall and proud and beautiful. Pier 90 had been selected as the battleground, and the Queen Mary was the coy prize....

I went outside and stood in front of the pier. The shapeup was only forty-five minutes away now, and the forces of law and order were making ready to let King Joe Ryan and his strikebreakers and thugs take over. The cameramen were checking their equipment, and the newspapermen were grinning with nervousness and anticipation. The picket-line was about twenty yards from where we stood, and the general staff of police brass, plainclothes men and Justice agents were whispering alongside of us as they laid out their plan of battle. But meanwhile the picketline was growing, and there were better than two hundred longshoremen on it now.

First, a wall of cops was formed around the picketline. Standing arm to arm, they fingered their nightsticks uneasily. Then a second line of foot cops to back them up, and then two solid ranks of horse cops. What respect for a handful of men in denims and flannel shirts! But more than that, it was going to be blood and broken heads and the proper odds of five cops to one man—and then for a hundred yards in every direction the waterfront was cleared, the adjoining blocks down which striker reinforcements were flowing sealed off by additional armies of cops, so that the picketline walked all alone in the centre of the gloom under the elevated highway, alone and isolated and prepared for what the cops contemplated....

I think it was one of the bravest things I ever saw. It is hard for some people to understand the working class and the seed of mighty fulfilment that it is in the working class, but here was a place which was saturated with fear, and the cops and the plainclothesmen and the Justice men and the newspapermen were all full of fear, but the pickets were not. You had only to look at them to know that they were not afraid. Force was massed around them on every side; it walled them, encompassed them and it had many guns and clubs and they were unarmed, and before the day was over, many of them might be dead. But they weren't afraid. They weren't loud or boastful, but they smiled easily and they took strength from each other.

Their weather-beaten, work-hardened faces were strangely gentle, when you compared them to the faces of the cops. They were not Communists; they made little enough connection between what was happening here and in Korea, and perhaps they saw only the need for food on the table and clothes for their kids. But they had a strength and dignity and solidarity that holds a bitter threat for the future of Wall Street.

This was their strike. They had closed down the biggest waterfront in the world, sealed it off, organized hundreds of lines like this one, and held their front united.

The line was not broken, and the Queen Mary was not worked. Joe Ryan's threats and promises both failed. For beyond and behind the two hundred men within the wall of police were thirty thousand longshoremen whose bitter anger told Ryan and the cops too that they had better change their plans for this morning.

Howard Fast in "Masses and Mainstream" (New York), December 1951.

WEST GERMANY

Preparations for the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth

Why the youth of Western Germany are preparing to take part in the Conference.—At this moment when the imperialists are preparing to set up a German army for the war they anticipate, the situation of the youth in Western Germany only worsens, as shown by the statistics of the Bonn Government. Thus, according to these statistics, out of the 1,300,000 unemployed, 450,000 are young people of less than 25 years of age who, as stated by the Ministry of the Interior, have not yet been absorbed into industry since they left school last year.

A reporter from the newspaper "Die Welt" stated that in a school in Hamburg-Altona, out of 36 pupils in a class, 20, that is more than half, did not have a bed to themselves. The Commission on Youth Questions in Hesse conducted an enquiry on the same question with the following results: 40,000 young people of Hesse (about 10.66 per cent) had no bed of their own. Almost 1,000 of them (0.28 per cent) had to sleep in a bed with two other persons. The figures on the overcrowding in sleeping accommodation complete the picture of almost unbelievable poverty.

According to these figures, 244,000 (60.9 per cent) young people have no room of their own; of this number 81,000 share their room with two or three others and almost 3,500 with more than seven

persons. Faced with such a situation, the youth of Western Germany are fighting side by side with their adult comrades in defence of their rights. They want peace and a better future, not barracks and death on the battlefields. For this reason, the youth of Western Germany are actively engaged in preparing for the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth.

Information Service (World Federation of Democratic Youth). 7.12.51.

ITALY

Work That Kills

In Italy, in both industry and agriculture, there were 657,790 accidents at work in 1950, of which 3,466 were fatal. That means that in the factories and on the land there were more than 75 accidents in every hour, or an accident every 48 seconds! An average of eleven per work day lost their lives at work, that is, one person every two hours and twenty minutes.

The terrible eloquence of these figures is a summing up of the daily newspaper accounts which tell us one day about a worker who had his arm crushed by a machine, and on another, that a building worker fell from some scaffolding. The information appears and is forgotten. Its language is cold and official. It merely mentions an accident. An accident today, and another tomorrow, the chain continues, the tragic chain of "accidents at work."

Even then, the figures reported here do not give the whole picture of the tragic reality behind them. They do not include the number of sick, the disabled and the number of deaths due to industrial disease. There are, respectively, 4,015, 1,080 and 363 in 1950. Neither do these figures include road accidents, which are very often work accidents. In 1950, these came to a total of 38 deaths a day. The picture is one of endless tragedy, of a threat constantly hanging over the worker and against which there is no organised and determined fight.

The employers know all this, but evade the problem by attributing the blame to the workers. Large multicoloured posters are displayed in many works asking the workers to take care not to kill themselves. These posters, like all the propaganda material of the E.N.P.I. (National Association against Accidents), depict the workers as irresponsible people who jump about, fall down, turn around and throw themselves head first from scaffoldings, and all because they do not take sufficient care. The E.N.P.I. Congress placed the responsibility for 80 per cent of accident cases on the carelessness of the workers. No one paid any heed to the fact that under certain conditions "carelessness" is unavoidable. No one drew attention to the fact that if, for example, a building worker is given a simple ladder and not proper scaffolding for work on roofs, it is more than likely that he will lose his footing and fall.

The truth is that they want to hide the criminal negligence behind each work accident. They want to disguise the real responsibility, and do not wish to recognise that we are often confronted by crimes and not accidents. Actually, it is a crime not to introduce all the protective measures laid down by law, not to cover driving belts, and not to build the necessary draining apparatus to prevent flooding in the mines. If the industrialists thought as much of human lives as they do of profits these appalling figures we have given could be greatly reduced.

"Vie Nuove," 15.12.51.

After the Po Valley Disaster

Leaving aside for the moment its impassiveness in the face of recent events, an impassiveness due, we have seen, not to activity and calm, but to cynicism and indifference, we accuse and challenge the Government on its general policy.

We have already pointed out the way in which the country could be restored through the carrying out of a vast reconstruction of the nation's means of production and the introduction of reforms in the structure of its economy and production. A programme such as this would open out perspectives of work, peace and security, which would engage the efforts of the nation for several decades. In taking the road of the Atlantic Policy, the De Gasperi Government thrusts the other way aside with contempt and condemns it, in spite of the drivelling nonsense of its propagandists who zealously pretend that both ways are reconcilable.

The facts have shown that they are poles apart. For years we have been paying with human lives and the loss of wealth which could be estimated at thousands upon thousands of millions of lira, for the cynical indifference of the Government towards the problems of national reconstruction. These losses have impoverished and continue to impoverish the nation's capital, already very inadequate, and therefore its productive capacity aggravating the people's poverty, reducing the internal market and making the economic crisis much more serious.

They have even abandoned flood control, dredging rivers and the inspection of embankments, because of the lack of funds, technical equipment, skilled personnel and other reasons. Even the flood warning system of the Po destroyed by the war was only partially restored.

We still do not know the full extent of the damage caused to Italy by the recent floods. We do know, however, that all the problems now facing us require a change in the economic direction of the life of the nation.

If there are those who are sufficiently naive to believe that "arranging things" with meagre allowances to evacuees or with gifts of charity, can be followed by a tranquil return to the status quo, they must be disillusioned. The restoration of the Po Valley regions stricken by the disasters of the last few weeks and these last few years, as well as great works of land improvement and irrigation demanded by the situation in the South and on the Islands, present the country with tasks so great that it is necessary to place once more in the forefront the C.G.I.L. Plan of Work and the speedy carrying out of fundamental and general agrarian reform.

"Unita," 25.11.51

RUMANIA

The Progress of Sport

As a result of the conditions created by the regime of people's democracy, more and more workers from town and country take part in physical culture and sport. In 1944 there were 15,000 members of athletic organisations in Rumania. Their number increased to 69,680 in 1949 and to 239,130 in 1950. There has also been a considerable further increase during the current year.

Popular competitions with the aim of drawing the great mass of young workers and students into sport activities, have shown a tremendous increase in the number of competitors as the following figures will bear out: there were 35,125 in 1945; 604,130 in 1948; 1,671,000 in 1950. This attention is also shown by the material assistance given to all sport activities. In 1950 the sums allocated reached nearly 1,842 million lei and during this year 2,315 million lei. The few dozen sports grounds which existed in 1944 had become 1,536 by 1950. Among the most important new constructions are 7 large stadiums, including the "Stadium of the Republic" in Bucharest with a capa-

city of 40,000, Floreasco Sports Palaee, the large indoor swimming pool in Bucharest, the Poiana-Villa Stalin Winter Sports Centre, the Bucharest Velodrome, etc.

To help the sports movement develop along scientific lines the "Physical Culture and Sport Committee" organised a number of training schools on physical culture and sport, schools for referees, instructors and trainers, as well as a Physical Culture Institute.

As a result of the favourable conditions created for all sport activity in the Rumanian People's Republic, there has been a considerable increase not only in the mass basis of sport, but also remarkable progress in its quality. That is reflected in the great development of basic sport. For example in 1949 there were 607 members enrolled in the clubs for gymnastics whereas by January, 1951, the number had grown to 117,932. During the same period the number of enrolled members for athletics increased from 3,000 to 120,000. Of these 29 per cent are women. In the last two years 929 new national records in sport have been established in the Rumanian People's Republic, thus giving proof of the technical level that has been attained.

"Information Roumaines,"

2.12.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

December 16

UNITED STATES. — Ground and flight personnel of the Pan-American World Airways, members of the Transport Workers' Union (C.I.O.), go on strike at LaGuardia and Idlewild Airports in New York for wage increases of 18 cents an hour and other benefits. The strike is spreading and involves about 5,800 mechanics, maintenance employees and flight steward personnel in various U.S. and European ground installations.

WESTERN GERMANY.—At a central conference of "Socialist Action" during which opposition sections in the German Socialist Party submit their proposals, four Socialist Party members of city councils, 24 shop stewards from large factories, 17 high trade union officials and representatives of 150 Socialist Party branches take part in the discussion.

December 17

FRANCE.—On the proposal of the C.G.T., the National Price Control Committee unanimously adopts a resolution calling for increasing trade relations with "all countries without exception." Throughout France, the movement for improved trade relations between Eastern and Western Europe is growing.

December 18

CEYLON.—One hundred thousand tea and rubber workers on 2,000 plantations announce a one-day strike to take place on December 20 against the refusal of the Ceylon Estate Employers' Federation to recognise a union official who had criticised the Federation in pamphlets.

CUBA.—The movement for labour unity achieves striking success in elections which have taken place in Government trade unions of cigar workers in the "Trinidad y Hno" factory, liquor employees in Matanzas, dockers in Santiago de Cuba, tobacco workers in Santa Clara, and others. The elections are a triumph for unity of the working masses over the policy of submission to trade union leaders designated by the Government.

TUNISIA.—The Administrative Committee of the Trade Union of Tunisian Workers (U.S.T.T.) calls upon the Tunisian working class of all trade union affiliations to participate in a unity strike throughout Tunisia on December 21, 22 and 23 in a powerful anti-imperialist demonstration to protest against the French Government's refusal to turn the administration of Tunisia over to the Tunisians. The demonstration will unite all organisations and parties, shopkeepers, artisans, peasants, youth, etc.

December 19

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Western German Transport Workers decide to call an All-German Conference of Transport Workers in January, 1952. This follows by a few days the decision of the miners of Western Germany to call an All-German Miners' Conference to take place in Essen on January 13. The calling of these two conferences meets with an enthusiastic response from the workers of Western Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

— Thousands of shop stewards and trade union officials from Munchen-Gladbach, Rheydt, Erkelenz and Viersen, at a conference in Rheydt, call for consulting the people of the whole of Germany on the subject of the election of a national assembly. They also demand that trade union leaders take immediate steps to raise real wages by taking action against remilitarisation and rearmament.

JAPAN.—The Japanese Government, in outlining its budget, announces that £60,000,000 are to be spent on the army (known as the Police Reserve Corps) and the navy (known as the Maritime Safety Bureau). Only last August Prime Minister Yoshida had declared that the rearmament of Japan was "impossible."

POLAND.—The Enlarged Plenum of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions opens in Warsaw for a two-day meeting. Outstanding workers take part alongside advance guard militants of the Polish trade union movement. The President of the Central Council, Klosiewicz, presents a report in which he outlines the tasks of the trade unions on the threshold of the third year of the Six-Year Plan.

BULGARIA.—The 3rd Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions ends. Dur-

ing its session the Congress adopted a new trade union constitution and elected a Central Council of Trade Unions composed of 112 persons. A fourfold increase in industrial production between 1939 and 1951 was reported to the Congress.

COLUMBIA.—Under the pretext of having committed acts contrary to the security of the State, the reactionary Columbian Government has kept in prison since October 30 the trade union leader Carlos Arias and other leaders of the trade union of fruit workers of a plant in Seville, a branch of the powerful American monopoly, United Fruit Company. The imperialist enterprise ordered the imprisonment of these trade union leaders in order to impose on the union a leadership under the control of the employer and Right-wing labour misleaders.

December 20

WESTERN GERMANY.—In the first half of December unemployment in Western Germany rose by 143,326 and now totals 1,499,937, according to the Bonn Ministry of Labour.

— The West Berlin Statistical Office announces that prices of the most important foods have risen in the Western sector of Berlin by 37.8% during the year December, 1950, to December, 1951.

— In West Berlin, Right-wing trade union leaders betray the interests of the transport and municipal workers by concluding an agreement with the West Berlin Senate in which the demands of 54,000 workers are rejected. This occurred just four hours before the scheduled beginning of a strike for their demands. The workers are demanding payment of a bonus because of the rising cost of living.

U.S.S.R.—The Stalin Prize Committee to award prizes for outstanding achievements in consolidating peace among all peoples has awarded international Stalin prizes to Kuo Mo-jo (China), Pietro Nenni (Italy), Ikno Oyama (Japan), Monica Felton (Great Britain), Anna Seghers (Germany), and Jorge Amado (Brazil), in recognition of their service in the cause of peace.

EGYPT.—Thirty thousand Cairo students participate in a meeting to support the first contingent of students leaving for the Suez Canal Zone to carry on the struggle against the British occupation.

JAPAN.—The Japanese High Court announces its decision in the appeal in the Matsukawa case, in which 26 Japanese workers had been condemned for allegedly wrecking a train (see W.T.U.M. No. 1, 1952). The High Court orders a new trial. It had been considering the appeal of the victims of this undemocratic trial that the sentence be annulled and their freedom restored. This verdict is a partial victory gained after Japanese and world-wide protests had shown the Japanese Government that progressive forces throughout the world were supporting these innocent trade unionists.

CUBA.—In response to appeals by trade union leaders Lazaro Jena and Ursinio Rojas on behalf of the Confederation of Cuban Workers sugar workers throughout Cuba organise meetings, demonstrations and strike movements to demand a 20% wage increase, the immediate payment of the sugar differential (a wage increase corresponding to the rise in the price obtained from the sale of sugar), and other demands.

December 21

TUNISIA. — The three-day strike throughout Tunisia begins in protest against the refusal of the French Government to grant demands of the Tunisian people for greater independence and a representative parliament. The strike is supported by all sections of the people, and organisations, parties and trade union centres of various political views unite in this struggle against the colonialist policies of the French Government.

JAPAN.—The magazine "World Culture" reports that of 47,000,000 workers and peasants in Japan, 18,000,000 are on part-time jobs or completely unemployed. This heavy unemployment accounts in part for the appallingly low wages received by those lucky enough to have jobs. Young workers, who make up the bulk of the employed, earn an average of 6,000 yen a month—about £16. These low wages are aggravated by soaring prices, which rose by 50% in the first nine months of 1951.

— A wave of strikes to enforce end-of-year bonus demands spreads over large sections of Japanese industry as steel and iron workers join with Government workers in walkouts. Both Left-wing and Right-wing councils of Government workers take part in the action.

ITALY.—The Peasant Association of the South is formed at a congress attended by 2,120 delegates, representing 150,000 peasants. The aim of the new organisation is to give "unity, force and vigour to the most numerous class of the South in order to make possible the realisation of its aspirations towards a more just and humane life." The struggle for land will dominate the work of the association.

BRAZIL.—A strike of 16,000 flight and maintenance workers on the Brazilian airlines continues despite partial concessions to strikers' demands by the Government mediation committee.

GREECE.—An appeal, written on behalf of 550 political prisoners, by Tony Ambatielos, leader of the Greek Seamen's Union, addressed to the United Nations, has been smuggled out of the Corfu prison. The appeal charges that they are being held in a "veritable Bastille." They are in a prison built in 1924 to house less than 200, and live amid unsanitary conditions with persons suffering from tuberculosis, contagious diseases and with epileptics.

UNITED STATES.—A memorandum submitted to a fact-finding board by the attorney for the strike committee of the recent rank and file longshore strike in New York demands the resignation of Joseph P. Ryan from his lifetime job as President of the International Longshoremen's Association. The rank and file memorandum charged that the I.L.A. has become "a feudal estate dedicated to the enrichment of a chosen few."

— The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Northern California Council invites all interested A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions to a meeting on January 19 to plan action against the wage freeze.

— Calling for an immediate end to the wage freeze, members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers demonstrate before Wage Stabilisation Board offices in more than 40 cities.

— Thousands of New Yorkers attend an open-air Citizens' Peace Rally in Union Square and call for an immediate truce in Korea.

CANADA.—Canadian employees of the Chrysler Corporation receive a 15 cent an hour wage increase after threatening to go on strike.

AUSTRIA.—Balloting for shop stewards in 1,062 factories comprising 300,000 workers is completed. Of 6,705 shop stewards elected, the Trade Union unity list won 2,054 places—more than 30%. In 256 enterprises the Trade Union Unity obtained the majority of the places, in 152 of them for the first time.

DENMARK.—Youth in Copenhagen demonstrate against lengthening the period of military service to 18 months, collecting signatures in a protest declaration.

December 22

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—Following a suggestion of the Socialist Unity Party (S.E.D.), a National Committee has been formed to prepare a plan for the new construction of Berlin. Active participation by the F.D.G.B. (Free German Trade Unions), trade union committees, and other organisations ensures the success of the plan.

POLAND.—It is announced that illiteracy in People's Poland is eliminated. Thanks to Government aid and the law of April 7, 1949, 60,000 classes have been organised, 780,549 persons have completed studies during two years and a half, and 64,853 continue these studies.

December 23

UNITED STATES.—The worst coal mine disaster in 23 years, caused by an underground explosion in West Frankfort, Illinois, takes the lives of 119 coal miners. (See article in this issue.)

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—Forced by international pressure protesting against their unjust conviction, Dictator Trujillo frees three Guatemalan seamen who had been arbitrarily arrested. In a meeting in Havana, Cuba, the Cuban Government is requested to break diplomatic relations with the Trujillo Government and to demand the freeing of five Cuban seamen still in prison, who were arrested on the same ship as the seamen of Guatemala.

December 24

WESTERN GERMANY.—At the suggestion of the Western German coal industrialists, Christian Fette, President of the Western German Trade Union Federation, is appointed to the Board of Directors of the Hybernia concern. In addition, the chairman of the Western German Miners' Trade Union, Schmidt, is appointed to the Board of Directors. Fette has also been appointed to the board of the bank for financing reconstruction (read rearmament). Thus these Right-wing trade union leaders sell themselves in the service of the big industrialists.

JAPAN.—One hundred and fifty thousand workers of the All-Japan Fibre Union go on strike to demand a special year-end "inflation" allowance, averaging about 20,000 yen, approximately two months' pay. The strike, to last for an indefinite period, closes eight cotton mills.

BRAZIL.—Under pressure of the workers, and following a demonstration organised by the Confederation of Brazilian Workers, President Getulio Vargas signs a decree for an increase in low wages.

December 25

CHILE.—The Chilean Government sends soldiers to replace workers in electricity generating plants throughout the country who are on strike for higher wages. The Government also preferred to lose 1,300 tons of meat in four packing plants closed from a lack of electric current rather than to give satisfaction to the demands of the striking workers.

December 26

SUDAN.—The General Confederation of Workers of Sudan decide to call a series of general strikes in support of their demand for a 75% wage increase. The first strike of three days will begin on January 20th, to be followed by a four-day strike 15 days later, and a five-day strike after another 15 days if the wage demand is not met.

December 27

FRANCE.—The employees of Air France go on strike for a 66% wage increase.

December 28

BRAZIL.—A detachment of police fire on a group of coal miners in Butia in the State of Rio Grande de Sul who are on strike. The leader, Francisco Marues, is killed and several workers are wounded.

December 31

FRANCE.—Air France employees vote to return to work after being assured that meetings will be arranged to discuss their wage demands.

SPAIN. — Representatives of the Mutual Security Administration of the United States in Spain are preparing a treaty of friendship and economic aid with the Fascist Franco Government which provides for financing of various projects in mines, electric power and transport. Franco is to receive aid on the same basis as Tito. The chief of the delegation, Mr. Porter, emphasises that the U.S. will exert no pressure to "liberalise" the Franco Government. This agreement will certainly speed war preparations in Spain at the price of further oppression and poverty of the Spanish people.

January 1, 1952

FINLAND.—The prices of milk, cheese, and corn products are increased by 10% to 20% from January 1st. Considerable increases in railway fares as well as some taxes are also announced.

January 3

GREAT BRITAIN.—On the first occasion of joint negotiation by all unions concerned, 600,000 civil servants win 10% increase on all salaries below £500 per year, 5% on salaries from £500 to £1,000, and 2½% on salaries from £1,000 to £1,500. These increases commence on January 1, 1952.

— J. B. Figgins, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, states that Labour's aim for 1952 must be "Socialism and Peace," and demands a new policy against "the drive—because it isn't a 'drift'—towards war. A national campaign in a vigorous fashion is imperative—there is no time for manœuvring and careerism inside the Labour Party . . . the hour has struck when this campaign must be initiated."

January 4

FINLAND. — The Finnish Peace Council announces that 605,084 persons have signed the World Peace Council's Appeal for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five Great Powers.

UNITED STATES. — The United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.), meeting in a special two-day convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, to consider their strike for 18½ cents an hour wage increase and other demands, decides to postpone the strike in the steel industry, originally scheduled for January 1, for 45 days, to allow the Wage Stabilisation Board to consider the dispute. The proposal was made by Philip Murray, president of the union.

READERS' FORUM

We publish the following letter, dated December 10, 1951, from the Workers' Council of Paraguay, asking solidarity and support for a well-known anti-imperialist and working class leader of Paraguay, Obdulio Barthe, who has been imprisoned and subjected to intolerable conditions.

The editors of W.F.T.U. urge workers to protest to the Government of Paraguay against this undemocratic action.

NOW I would like to bring to your attention a problem relating to the situation of Obdulio Barthe, working class and popular leader, who has been in solitary confinement for 16 months in a filthy and narrow cell of the Asuncion Public Prison. His health is seriously affected. He is suffering from eczema, which covers practically his whole body, and he has no water for his personal hygiene, and no light. In spite of the orders of the judge, Dr. Valenzuela Pecci, who has lifted the solitary confinement, the Chief of Police has not released him from solitary confinement. His defending lawyer, Dr. Pedro Martinez, has also been imprisoned for four months, which shows that in practice no right of defence exists in Paraguay. It is evident that United States imperialism and its national servants intend to murder him.

Obdulio Barthe, one of the best-known anti-imperialist leaders of Paraguay, is the subject of an infamous trial. He is accused of having taken part in the democratic insurrection of Concepcion (1947). The trial is based on calumnies. He is accused of having shot prisoners during that period. Captain Horacio Acosta, called to give evidence in the trial, spoke in the accused's favour, saying that Barthe saved his life. The trial is not proceeding. This means that the intention is to keep him indefinitely in prison on the pretext that he is under trial. Further, the maximum penalty would be exile.

The important new fact is that the Paraguay Government is discussing the release of Barthe in order to take advantage of the asylum offered to him by the Republic of Guatemala. This is the result of the pressure of international solidarity. Recently there has been a press campaign in Brazil, and thousands of letters, notes and telegrams are continually being sent to President Chaves demanding freedom for Barthe.

Under these circumstances, we consider that the campaign for Barthe's freedom has entered upon a decisive stage. Now everything depends on intensifying popular pressure to get him out of prison and so save his life. This would be an important victory for the forces of democracy, peace and the fight against imperialism.

In the name of the Workers' Council of Paraguay, permit me to request the W.F.T.U. to help us with a campaign of special solidarity during the coming month, sending telegrams and letters to the President of Paraguay: Dr. Federico Chaves, Calle Estrella 356, Asuncion, Paraguay, demanding the immediate release of Obdulio Barthe. We ask you to send circulars to the National Centres, and to mention this fact in the publications of the W.F.T.U.

Your help will be very valuable in achieving a victory for democracy, peace and national independence.

Fraternal greetings,

EFRAIN MOREL,
Representative of the Workers' Council of Paraguay, Montevldeo.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

FEB 1—15, 1952 ★ No. 3

The Important Role of the Trade Departments

L. Grassi

British Engineers in Fight for Higher Wages

Manchester Engineer

The Sixth U.N. Assembly — Some Progress • Alain Le Leap

The General Council recommends the Executive Bureau, the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.), and all trade union organisations to examine and popularise experiences drawn from the struggle of workers in different countries; to convene regional and industrial conferences; to examine the problems relating to the raising of the workers' living standards.

Resolution on the Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise their Living Standards and Against the Economic Social Consequences of War Preparations.
(Berlin, November 21, 1951.)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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MOVEMENT

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The Sixth Session of the United Nations' General Assembly

THE sixth session of the United Nations' General Assembly opened in Paris on November 6th, 1951.

The General Council of the W.F.T.U., which met in Berlin from November 15th to 21st, had sent a declaration to the General Assembly in which it summarised the aspirations of the workers throughout the world. This declaration, in which the workers stated precisely what they expected from the General Assembly of the United Nations, asked :

— that it call the attention of the Economic and Social Council *to the necessity of studying, as soon as possible, a practical programme for raising the living standards of the working masses, the improvement of social legislation, and the development and guarantee of the exercise of trade union rights, and to stimulate the development of normal trade relations between all countries.*

— that it adopt measures *to put an end to the arms race and to prevent the unleashing of a new war. Such measures must involve primarily the progressive and simultaneous reduction of armaments, the banning of atomic weapons, the cessation of hostilities in Korea, the withdrawal of invasion forces from territories and territorial waters of other countries, non-intervention in the internal affairs of the peoples, and the conclusion of a peace pact between the Five Great Powers.*

The General Council of the W.F.T.U. thus supported in its entirety the appeal addressed by the World Peace Council to the United Nations and to the peoples of the world.

Finally, the declaration demanded, in the name of the workers of the world : *that the immense sums now being devoted to the production of armaments be used for raising the living standards of the people, for their welfare and their cultural development.*

In a few days, the work of this sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will be over. What will come out of it?

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THE debates, as well as the Political and Security Commission of the General Assembly, were dominated by the delicate question of peace and disarmament.

There were two opposing views, that of the Soviet delegation and that of the American delegation, which has become tripartite (United States, Great Britain, France).

Mr. Vyshinsky, Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., pointed out what were, in his opinion, the conditions that had to be fulfilled in order to safeguard and strengthen peace :

" It is necessary to terminate immediately the war imposed upon the Korean people, and to establish peace in Korea and other regions of the Pacific Ocean.

" It is necessary to take immediate measures against the preparations for a new world war being made in certain countries and especially in the U.S.A., Great Britain and also in France and other States belonging to the aggressive Atlantic Bloc, membership of which is incompatible with membership of the United Nations Organisation.

" It is necessary to prohibit immediately the manufacture of the atomic weapon and to establish strict international control ensuring the fulfilment of this prohibition, so that atomic energy and the atom bombs already produced can be utilised exclusively for civilian purposes.

" It is necessary to terminate the armaments drive, to discontinue the establishment of military bases on foreign territories and to withdraw foreign troops therefrom.

" It is necessary that all States immediately take measures to reduce armaments and armed forces, and to switch funds now used for military purposes to the needs of the peoples, to improve their living standards and to ensure their well-being.

" It is necessary that the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, China and the U.S.S.R. join their efforts and conclude a peace pact urging all peace-loving nations to join it. Such measures should undermine the aggressive plans of the ruling circles of the U.S.A., Britain and certain other States, and eliminate the threat of a new world war."

The Acheson proposal, which became a tripartite proposal, demanded before everything, even before any decision regarding a general reduction of armaments, a controlled inventory on an international level of all exising armaments and armed forces. More precisely, it demanded a system of revealing and checking all armed forces and armaments and an effective international inspection to verify the information gathered. This system of inspection was to function permanently.

This proposal also envisaged the establishment, within limits to be prescribed, of the proportion of national production which could be used for military programmes.

Finally, only the American plan, known as the Baruch Plan, was envisaged as the basis for discussion of international control of atomic weapons leading to the banning of the weapons.

After a long discussion, in which 42 delegations took part, Iraq, Pakistan and Syria proposed that a Sub-Commission, under the chairmanship of the President of the General Assembly, be set up, consisting of representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France.

I hasten to point out that at this Sub-Commission, the Soviet delegation was represented by its leader, Mr. Vyshinsky, while the other three delegations were represented by persons of second rank.

To facilitate the possibility of agreement, Mr. Vyshinsky presented a new draft which proposed :

— that the ban on atomic weapons and international inspection should come into force simultaneously, the date for the application of these measures to be June 1st, 1952.

— that the international inspection body should have the right to carry out continuous inspection.

This new proposal of the U.S.S.R., which constituted a concession in favour of peace, normally should have led the Western powers to declare whether they were or were not in agreement with the principle of banning atomic weapons and general disarmament. They did not want to commit themselves.

By 53 votes to 5 with 2 abstentions (Argentina and India), the Assembly decided to refer the examination of the proposal to a Disarmament Commission, set up under authority of the Security Council. The Commission was charged with drawing up a draft treaty for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments in order to eliminate all the principal weapons of mass destruction, and for the effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the banning of atomic weapons and to restrict the use of atomic energy to purely peaceful ends. The Commission is to submit its report not later than June 1st, 1952.

There is no doubt that the results are not as positive as they would have been had the Western powers been animated by a real desire for peace. It must, nevertheless, be emphasised that the action of the peoples for peace has had the effect of forcing these powers to take part in discussion on disarmament.

Although, in order to deceive the peoples, the Western powers set up against the Soviet proposals, which are in perfect agreement with the decisions of the World Peace Council, another plan—a Western plan, which proposed an armaments census, leading to endless debate during which the powers concerned would go right ahead with accelerated war preparations—there remains the fact that discussion has taken place during which the matter has been clearly stated. It now rests with the Commission which is responsible for this problem.

It is worthwhile drawing attention, in dealing with this question, to the complaint lodged by the U.S.S.R. against the United States regarding the " Mutual Security Act " of October 10th, 1951. This Act appropriates 100 million dollars to

finance the recruitment of *selected persons in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, or persons who have fled from these countries, to group such persons in military units to serve the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, or for other purposes.*

In revealing the true character of this Act, Mr. Vyshinsky dealt a serious blow to the warmongers. It was shown that the United States :

— was interfering in the internal affairs of other states,
— was thus violating the principles of international law,
—was making itself guilty of acts of an aggressive character by financing operations whose aim was to provoke armed uprising, espionage and diversions in these countries.

This particularly clarifies the flights of American planes over these territories and the parachuting of agents, which have been revealed.

Though the Soviet Union's complaint was rejected by the Commission and by the General Assembly, particular significance attaches to the fact that there were many abstentions, including India, Egypt and Pakistan.

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THE W.F.T.U.'s proposals for the establishment of a practical programme for the raising of the workers' living standards, particularly through the reduction of armaments, were not adopted as such. They nevertheless led to the adoption of a resolution which draws attention to the difficult conditions of the working class and demands the raising of their living standards. While this resolution does not indicate the causes of the evil—the policy of war preparation carried out by the capitalist powers—it is nevertheless a victory for the W.F.T.U. And although there is no question in this resolution of allocating credits from the budgets by reducing armaments, it is interesting to note that a similar proposal was put forward by the Indian delegation. This proposal called for a reduction of armaments and the utilisation of funds thus made available for economic reconstruction and development, particularly in the under-developed countries. The resolution invited each of the member-states to make known before December 31st, 1952, upon what principles and to what degree they are prepared to carry out a progressive reduction of armaments and to contribute to the necessary international funds.

This proposal shows a clear desire for disarmament.

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IT is worth noting that the Economic Commission adopted by 24 votes to 20, with 7 abstentions, a proposal recommending that the Assembly ask the Economic and Social Council to submit to the Seventh Session of the General Assembly a detailed plan for the establishment, as rapidly as circumstances permit, of a special fund from which grants and long-term loans at low-interest rates may be provided, at their request, to the under-developed countries to help them speed their economic develop-

ment and to finance programmes which may not be able to ensure the redemption of the capital invested, but which are of fundamental importance for the economic development of the countries concerned.

This text was adopted by the Commission against the desires of the United States.

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THOUGH some interesting decisions were taken in favour of the trusteeship countries, it is no less true that the General Assembly was not favourably disposed toward the colonial countries.

The complaint charging France with violating in Morocco the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights, was rejected by a committee of the Assembly by six votes (Canada, the Dominican Republic, France, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States) against four (Iraq, Poland, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia) and four abstentions (Chile, China, Mexico and Thailand). The General Assembly adopted the committee's decision by 28 votes to 23, with 7 abstentions, after a long debate in which France's colonial policy in Morocco was violently attacked by Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Egypt, Iran, Indonesia, Saudi-Arabia, India, Lebanon, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia.

Following this, the complaint made against France by Tunisia suffered the same fate on the pretext that. under the Protectorate Treaty, Tunisia is not entitled to put forward such a motion, and that only France can act on her behalf. This is a flagrant violation of the spirit, if not the text, of the Charter of the United Nations, which recognises the right of peoples to govern their own affairs.

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FINALLY, in this rapid survey of the work of the United Nations General Assembly, it is worth noting the discussion which took place on the joint motion put forward by France, Great Britain and the United States, calling for the setting up of an International Commission to make an investigation in the German Democratic Republic and in the Western occupation zones to determine whether conditions would permit the organisation of " really free elections."

The Soviet Union pointed out that such a question was the concern of the Germans alone, and supported the proposal of the German democratic forces to hold elections throughout Germany in order to establish a united, peaceful and democratic Germany, to bring about the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

The Western powers' text was adopted in the General Assembly by 45 votes to 6. with 8 abstentions.

EVEN before the adjournment of the United Nations General Assembly, what conclusions can be drawn from all this?

a) That the will of the peoples for peace, and the proposals of that world assembly of the peoples, the World Peace Council, influence the decisions of the United Nations. This should encourage the strengthening of mass activities for peace and for the application of the decisions of the World Council.

b) That the responsibilities for the developing danger of war are becoming daily clearer, that the war-like policy of the United States and its satellites can no longer be hidden. Not only the irrefutable arguments of Mr. Vyshinsky, but also the fact that the United States and its Western satellites held an Atlantic Conference for war preparation in Rome during the session of the United Nations, opened the eyes of many who were previously undecided.

c) That the American majority in the United Nations is disintegrating. The authoritarian policy of the United States found itself in difficulties for the first time. Though the United States was able without difficulty to prevent discussion of the Soviet proposal for the admission of the Chinese People's Republic, the United States was defeated in committee on the admission of new members, where the Soviet proposal for the admission of these candidates en bloc was adopted. The United States was also defeated on the 1952 meeting of the Economic and Social Council and on the principle of an aid fund for the under-developed countries. No doubt they can have their own way in the General Assembly, where the simple majority does not apply, where a two-thirds majority is required, but these facts are nevertheless significant. The unseemly haste and the brutality with which they are attempting to establish their domination have upset some of their partners. Fear of the disastrous consequences of their policy is also helping to diminish their prestige.

d) That the action of the French people, and particularly of the French workers, in making known their desire for peace by their petitions and by their delegations, which became more numerous every day, and which expressed their profound disagreement with the policy of their Government, had a deep impression on the foreign delegates who received them. It could almost be said that the General Assembly worked in permanent contact with the best elements of the French nation, and that this mass action, even if it did not give immediate results, was of a positive character.

Irrespective of the voting results, an important step was made in safeguarding peace. On December 21st, 1951, Mr. Vyshinsky declared : " Truth will find a way out of this room, and it will find its way to men who wish to know it, who will know how to defend it and who will help it to defeat falsehood."

And to defeat falsehood is to win peace.

Alain Le Léap,

General Secretary of the French C.G.T.,
Vice-President of the W.F.T.U.

THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE W.F.T.U. TRADE DEPARTMENTS

By LUIGI GRASSI

Member of the Executive Committee of the Italian General Confederation of Labour; assistant to the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, in charge of the Trade Departments.

THE discussions which took place at the meeting of the W.F.T.U. General Council, and the resolution unanimously adopted on the unity of the workers in the fight to raise their living standards and against the economic and social consequences of war preparations, show clearly the way forward for the future activities of the Trade Unions Internationals, Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.

Since their formation, about two years ago, the Trade Departments have already carried out considerable work, from the point of view both of strengthening their links with the workers of all countries of the world, and of studying the demands of the workers in the various industries.

The Trade Unions Internationals have developed widespread activity in their own spheres—the various occupational groups—for the economic and social demands of the workers in the different sectors of industry. Their Administrative Committees have examined and formulated demands valid for workers of the same industrial category in all countries of the world.

The Trade Unions Internationals have carried out a great deal of activity against war preparations, against intensive exploitation and speed-up, with its accompanying increase in the number of labour accidents; and for the economic, social and cultural development of the workers, for social progress and peace.

Some idea of this activity can be gained by recalling the Miners and Metal Workers Conference[1] and the struggles against the consequences of the Schuman Plan which followed this Conference, the Conference of Transport Workers[2] and of Agricultural Workers[3] in Latin America, the "Teachers' Peace Caravan" organised last summer by the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, the Conference of Seamen of the Western Mediterranean at Genoa, the participation in the work of the various commissions and sub-commissions of the International Labour Office, which made it possible for the demands of the various categories of workers—metal workers, miners, agricultural workers, teachers, etc.—to be brought before these international bodies.

As champions of unity of the workers throughout the world, the Trade Unions Internationals have given considerable help to the activities of the national federations, organising demonstrations and international solidarity campaigns. They have supported, by all the means provided by the community of interests of any given industry, the great united struggles of the workers against the economic and social policy of the international trusts and cartels, against the policy of war preparation. All this has been carried out despite the attempts to divide the workers made by those who seek to destroy unity.

[1] See article by Peggy Higgs in World Trade Union Movement No. 11, 1950.
[2] See article by Carlos Fernandez in W.T.U.M., No. 14, 1951
[3] See article by Ilio Bosi in W.T.U.M., No. 13, 1951.

The Influence of the Trade Departments Grows Unceasingly

THE Trade Unions Internationals have gained considerably in strength since their formation. In the very short space of two years, the number of affiliated members has grown by 8 million, increasing from 42 million to 52½ million on the eve of the W.F.T.U. General Council meeting.

This is striking proof of the great strength of the 12 Trade Unions Internationals of the W.F.T.U. It must be noted, however, that certain occupational categories of workers, though organised within the W.F.T.U., have not yet their own Trade Department (oil workers, civil servants, public service workers, gas and electricity workers, etc.).

The confidence of the workers in their Trade Departments is growing continuously, in spite of all repression and reactionary attacks. More than 300 trade unions or trade union federations in 52 countries are now affiliated. More than 30 of these organisations, in 16 countries, belong to National Trade Union Centres which are not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. These include trade unions or trade union federations in Australia, the United States, Finland, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand, Austria, Belgium and others.

The Economic Struggle—Essential Task of the Trade Departments

ON the basis of the positive experiences and also of the weaknesses revealed, what tasks have the Trade Unions Internationals to fulfil in order to apply correctly the W.F.T.U. General Council decisions?

The resolution of the General Council says that it is necessary "*to recognise that united action or trade union unity are won by unceasing and persevering struggle in the factories and in the trade unions. United action or trade union unity can be achieved by putting the problems interesting the workers before them in a simple and clear manner, by helping them to formulate their demands, by being ready to defend even their most modest demands.*"

This is of capital importance for the Trade Departments, whose central task is the united fight for the workers' demands.

In all the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries the workers are waging a determined fight for increased wages and for an increase in the purchasing power of wages in view of the continuous increase in taxes and the cost of living, and against the varied forms of super-exploitation which are the basic reason for the abandonment of health and safety measures at work.

Thus, the activities of the Trade Departments must include systematic study, and determination of the content, of the specific needs and aspirations of the workers, based on the actual conditions in the industries and the struggles being carried on by the workers themselves in each industry and in each branch of industry.

In this connection, the Trade Unions International of Chemical and Allied Workers has drawn up a programme dealing with health measures at work, covering demands of particular importance in this industry for safeguarding the health of the workers. The experiences gained in the land of Socialism and in the Peoples' Democracies will contribute greatly to the drawing up of a programme for an effective fight against accidents and industrial diseases in the chemical and allied industries.

Another example is provided by the Building, Wood and Building Materials Workers' Trade Unions International, which in line with the desires of the workers of these industries in the capitalist countries, has brought forward in a concrete way the question of fighting for the elimination of seasonal work, or failing this, the payment of wages which take lost time into account. This Trade Department is also fighting against labour accidents, against intensive exploitation and its evil consequences, and for health measures at work.

In all the industries which they cover, the Trade Unions Internationals are co-ordinating the struggles of the workers in the various countries for the improvement of their living conditions, on the basis of the specific demands of the industry concerned.

The Fight Against Super - Exploitation

KNOWLEDGE of the actual conditions of work and payment in each industry is of particular urgency now that the American trusts and their agents, in their preparations for war and their search for increased profits, are carrying out a violent campaign for increasing capitalist "productivity," linking wages to production and separating them from the cost of living.

In the case of France, workers have been sent to the United States so that they should become propagandists for the American methods of super-exploitation.

In Italy, the government has set up a National Productivity Committee, from which the greatest Italian trade union organisation, the C.G.I.L., has been excluded, thus revealing the real class character of this "National" Committee.

The struggles of the workers of the Ford, Fiat and Renault factories and of the Hamburg and New York dockers prove that the workers, including the American workers, know quite well what the American trusts mean by "productivity." They mean unlimited exploitation, dismissals, suppression of the right to strike, increase in the number of labour accidents and industrial diseases, and inadequate safety measures and health provisions in the factories.

A very important step was taken in this sphere by the Metal and Engineering Workers Trade Unions International, which organised an International Action Week against Super-exploitation, Speed-up, Overtime, Accidents, Illness and Unemployment. This campaign had a profound effect in all the capitalist countries.

Industrial Solidarity with Colonial and Dependent Countries

THE fight for the basic rights of the workers must not be confined to the capitalist countries, but must be extended to the colonial and dependent countries in order to improve the extremely wretched working and living conditions of native workers.

These conditions are widely known: insufficient labour legislation, no labour code, extensive use of female and child labour, forced labour in certain colonies, starvation wages, racial discrimination and segregation, confinement to shanty-towns, etc.

In many cases, workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries have no trade unions, that is to say, they lack the very weapon which is essential for them in the fight for their own interests.

One of the fundamental tasks of the trade union movement is international solidarity, and the Trade Departments have set themselves the aim of advising the workers of these countries on how to set up trade unions and to strengthen trade unions which already exist.

Exchange of Experience

THE W.F.T.U. General Council made yet another important recommendation *"to examine and to popularise experiences drawn from the struggles of workers in different countries,"* and *"to set up wherever possible, bearing in mind the positive experiences of workers in France, Italy and other countries, united action committees in the factories as well as provisional committees and trade union co-ordination committees, to undertake all other forms of activity leading to unity, and to promote alliances and strengthened co-operation between unions of different outlooks."*

What does this mean, applied to the Trade Unions Internationals? It means that the Trade Unions Internationals must examine and transmit to the national unions and federations the experiences of the struggles which the workers of a given industry are carrying on in the factories, in the villages, and on the national scale in the various countries, against super-exploitation and speed-up, for increased wages, for jobs for the unemployed and for the operation of a new national economic policy.

The Trade Unions Internationals, then, must examine the positive and negative experiences and the organisational forms which the workers devise and put into operation to achieve unity of action and to force the acceptance of their demands.

The experiences gained in the fight for unity are becoming increasingly valuable, bringing to light forms of organisation which vary considerably according to the countries and the trade union maturity of the workers.

Let us take, for example, the fight going on in the capitalist countries, particularly in Italy and France, with the object of forcing the acceptance of a new constructive economic policy; a policy which, by giving first place to the real national requirements. would put an end to the favoured treatment enjoyed by a small monopolist group and would correspond to the needs of the mass of the workers.

A new departure in organisation, particularly in Italy, has been the calling of a conference in each factory belonging to a particular trust, and then of a conference for all the factories of the trust. These conferences are attended not only by the organised workers, but also by the unorganised workers, as well as by the natural allies of the industrial workers, the peasants, small property owners, artisans, small shopkeepers and small industrialists.

Such conferences are a means of strengthening unity among all sections of the workers employed by the particular trust, technicians, workers, and office employees. Further, these conferences help to create unity between the workers and the rest of the population, whose basic interests are threatened by the policy of the trusts and the government. In providing the opportunity for a meeting ground for common interests, the conferences become the starting point for the formation of the most varied forms of committees for the protection of joint interests.

The French and Italian experiences show clearly the great possibilities existing for the formulation of common demands for the whole working population, regardless of political opinions or religious beliefs. This is shown, for example, in cases where a factory is threatened with being closed as a result of the government's policy of industrial restriction. This threat affects every section of workers in the particular factory, and has repercussions in other sections of the population both in the town and the surrounding countryside. A movement for unity such as the formation of a committee against the closing of the factory, which brings together the representatives of the workers, the shopkeepers, artisans, peasants, etc., can lead to success in the fight against the closing of the factory and thus for the development of production.

A further example. The production and the price of fertilisers is of interest not only to the workers of the factory manufacturing these products, but also to the growers who use the fertilisers and, in general, to all consumers of agricultural products, to the entire population. That is why conferences called by the workers of a factory or a trust manufacturing fertilisers reveal the common interests of very diverse sections of the population and establish the basis for the search for a plan of united action for the safeguarding of common interests. The same applies to the production of agricultural machinery.

The Trade Departments must analyse the experiences of this kind gained in certain countries, draw the necessary conclusions and make them known to the national unions and federations. In this connection, it would doubtless be useful if the Trade Departments were to develop an exchange of correspondence between factory workers of the same branch of industry in different countries. The workers would then be able to carry on a direct exchange of experiences, discuss them and adapt them to the situation in their own factories.

The generalisation and the joint utilisation of experiences is of the greatest interest to the workers and the trade unions of the colonial and dependent countries.

For instance, the positive and negative results of the struggles of the New Zealand and Uruguayan dockers, the Japanese miners, the Egyptian workers and the Iranian oil workers, will be extremely useful.

We should like to refer again to the Latin-American Transport Workers' Conference which was convened jointly by the Trade Unions International concerned, the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L., in May 1951. The nationalisation of transport undertakings controlled by foreign capital was strongly demanded at this conference.

But does the problem of foreign economic stranglehold exist only in Latin America and only in the transport industry? Of course not. In Latin America itself, one of the most important industries, the food industry, is in the hands of foreign capitalists. The same can be said of countries of Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

The Need to Develop International Solidarity

THE struggles of the workers in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, in the trade union sphere as in all other spheres, are becoming increasingly hard. The imperialists are resorting to the most brutal methods of repression in order to carry out their war preparations and to increase the exploitation of the workers. This places upon the Trade Unions Internationals the need to provide effective fraternal aid to workers engaged in struggle.

In addition, the innumerable obstacles which the leaders of the split in the international working class movement place in the way of any national or international relationship between the workers, their attempt to divide the workers, their unfailing negative replies to invitations made to them for joint action to protect the democratic rights and liberties of the workers and safeguard peace, place upon the Trade Unions Internationals the responsibility for developing great solidarity activities to strengthen the international industrial unity of the workers of all lands.

International solidarity among all workers, regardless of race, nationality, political opinion, trade union affiliation or religious belief, above all takes the form of concrete aid for the workers of any country or any industry during the course of the difficult struggles which they are waging for their right to life, to a decent existence.

These are the basic tasks which the Trade Departments have to undertake, the most important of which is the achievement and the development of unity of all workers.

We must redouble our activity to re-establish trade union unity, to strengthen unity between workers and technicians, between manual and intellectual workers, between the workers and the other sectors of the population who are fighting against the policy of the trusts.

The Trade Unions Internationals can make a major contribution to the application of the unity policy of the W.F.T.U. by widening their influence, and above all, by strengthening the international unity of the workers of the whole world for the winning of better working and living conditions and for a stable and lasting peace.

A MESSAGE FROM THE W.F.T.U.

to the

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

and to the

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

On the occasion of the International Youth Day of Struggle against Colonialism, to be held on February 21st, the World Federation of Trade Unions sends its warmest greetings of solidarity and sympathy to the youth of the colonial countries who are fighting to protect their rights, for peace and for national independence.

Ever since its formation, the W.F.T.U. has fought and continues to fight for the rights and aspirations of the peoples to decide freely their own destinies, and it appeals especially to young workers in the oppressed countries to unite in the fight for the improvement of their living conditions, for their rights and freedoms, for their complete national independence and for a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers which will ensure world peace.

The W.F.T.U. expresses its admiration and respect for the young heroes and martyrs who have fallen in the cause of national liberation, particularly in Korea, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Egypt, Iran, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco and for those in all the colonial countries who are fighting courageously against imperialism, against the foreign invaders and occupying forces, against colonial wars of extermination and for the right to life and liberty.

On the occasion of February 21st, the W.F.T.U. expresses its most active solidarity with the youth of the colonial countries, and exhorts them to take part with the working class, the peasantry, the intellectual workers and all the forces of progress and democracy in the population in the fight for national liberation, for the right to choose their own governments, for the ending of all forms of colonialism and of imperialist domination, for a society freed from all exploitation and oppression, and for world peace.

The World Federation of Trade Unions

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary.

Vienna, January 20th, 1952.

THE EVENTS IN TUNISIA

Events of an extremely serious character are taking place in Tunisia, where the French Government is trying by the use of fierce repression to stifle the people's movement for national liberation. Shots have been fired in different parts of the country, killing and wounding a large number of people. A number of leaders of the United Trade Unions of Tunisian Workers (U.S.T.T.) and of other organisations which are defending the national demands of the Tunisian people have been arrested.

In view of this wave of repression, the W.F.T.U. has sent a telegram to the U.S.T.T., assuring the Tunisian people of its complete solidarity. At the same time, it has sent a solemn protest to the United Nations against the violation by the French Government of the fundamenal principles of the United Nations Charter.

The texts of the two documents are given below.

Cable sent to the United Trade Union of Tunisian Workers (U.S.T.T.)

The World Federation of Trade Unions expresses its complete solidarity with the Tunisian people who are fighting against French imperialism, and supports the militant united action of the U.S.T.T. We protest energetically and indignantly against the arbitrary arrests of leading nationalists and progressives and against the bloody repression which has marked the arrival of the new Resident-General. We pay our respects to the victims of this repression, and we assure all who are imprisoned, particularly Belhassen Khiari and Jacques Bellaish, Secretaries of the U.S.T.T., of our entire solidarity.

LOUIS SAILLANT

Cable sent to the President and the General Secretary of the United Nations

The World Federation of Trade Unions has learned with indignation of the murder of Tunisian workers in Tunis, Ferryville, Bizerta and Mateur, the arrest of Jacques Bellaish and Belhassen Khiari, Secretaries of the United Trade Unions of Tunisian Workers, and other leaders of Tunisian organisations, as well as the wave of brutal repression organised by the new French Government. The workers of the whole world condemn the employment of terrorist methods against the just aspirations of the Tunisian people. Recent events show that the people of Tunisia are united in their will for social progress and national independence. The action of the French Government is contrary to the existence of peaceful relations and equality of rights among all countries, and is thus opposed to the very principles of the United Nations Charter. The World Federation of Trade Unions declares that it fully supports the struggle of the Tunisian people. The World Federation of Trade Unions, in the name of its 80 million members, protests against the attacks on the functioning of the Tunisian trade union organisations, which should be guaranteed by the French Government, and requests that a commission of enquiry charged with bringing to light these violations of trade union rights be sent to Tunisia. The W.F.T.U. asks you to intervene energetically with the French Government in order to obtain the release of those imprisoned and deported, respect for trade union rights and for the unanimously expressed will of the Tunisian people.

LOUIS SAILLANT
General Secretary.

THE FIGHT AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

By Dr. HECTOR DESCOMPS

Specialist in T.B. attached to the Beaujon Hospital, Paris.

THE delegation of twelve French doctors in which I took part this summer, and which carried out a study tour from Moscow to Leningrad and then to Tbilisi, visiting large cities and remote mountain areas, was able to form an impression of the main lines and general conceptions governing medicine in the Soviet Union and note their application and results.

The fight against illness there is not seen as the exclusive prerogative of certain specialists, doctors and hospital staff, seeking, with good will to be sure, but with limited means, to meet the most immediate needs.

On the contrary, it is a vast undertaking which is given primary importance by the State and which in every way bears out the name given to the responsible Ministry—*Ministry for the Protection of Public Health.* This Ministry is concerned with all aspects from medicine in the usual sense, and health services in the towns and collective farm villages, to the conditions of work and the great productive effort which is creating modern, healthy living conditions.

This is much more than medicine in the social sense. Society as a whole takes into account the lessons of medicine and hygiene as the foundation of human society.

Without any doubt, this is shown especially clearly in the fight against tuberculosis. In combating this social scourge, appeal has been made to means which go beyond current therapy, applying preventive measures of all kinds and permeating the whole social life of the country.

The fundamental idea guiding this activity comes from the great physiologist and doctor, I. P. Pavlov, for whom man could not be divided into various independent organisms. He contended that illness strikes at the whole organism. Further, he considered that it is illusory and useless to consider the individual in isolation, apart from his environment.

We know how in all countries conditions of life influence the incidence and seriousness of illness. In the Soviet Union, however, this is taken into account *in practice*. Every effort is made to improve living conditions.

Slums have disappeared, not only in the great cities like Moscow and Leningrad, but also in the countryside, where modern State and collective farms have replaced the medieval peasant huts. Electricity reduces the labour of the workers even in the countryside.

Increased production of foodstuffs has coincided with the revaluation of the ruble and the raising of the purchasing power of wages.

Specialised services superintend the construction and the hygiene of housing, work places and schools. A large number of holiday centres, parks of rest and culture and sports grounds have been opened. The towns are surrounded and interspersed with green space—30 per cent of the total area of Moscow, 20 per cent of Leningrad in spite of the climate, 38 per cent of Novorossisk, etc.

All this clearly influences resistance to illness, and especially resistance to tuberculosis, and conditions to a large extent the effectiveness of medical services.

Prevention the Dominant Factor in Soviet Medicine

THE fight against tuberculosis is, like all Soviet medicine, dominated by preventive measures.

The whole population, both in town and country, is submitted to systematic examinations. The local doctors keep a check on patients who might not consult him unless they are ill. He is responsible for health in his locality.

But he must not be content with tracking down illness. He must seek out those who are weak or tired, those who are likely to become victims of tuberculosis, and, together with the personnel of the clinic, the factory doctors and the trade union dele-

The French medical delegation being addressed by E. Smirnov, Minister for the Protection of Public Health of the U.S.S.R.

gates, he must find out how these people who are susceptible to illness live and work.

The necessary measures must then be taken : paid time off, change of job or a stay in a rest home, for example. These rest homes, known as sanatoria, are very numerous and are under medical supervision. In 1939, there were more than 3,500 of them, with a capacity of 422,000 places. Though considerably damaged by the war, they have been restored and completed, and their budget exceeds two thousand million rubles a vear.

The night sanatorium also serves a very useful purpose. We visited that of the Red Proletarian factory in Moscow. It is a kind of boarding house with 50 beds which allows men and women workers to continue to work while saving them any extra fatigue such as that involved in transport, housework and domestic tasks, etc.

In a pleasant and healthy atmosphere, these workers have quiet forms of distraction and receive visits. They can spend Sundays at home. They receive extra food or special diets as well as the necessary medical care, and the stay in the sanatorium is completely free of charge.

Side by side with this general prevention of illness, there is a whole specialised system for the specific fight against tuberculosis. There are first of all a great many *clinics* (1,600 in 1948 and the number has been far exceeded now). There is at least one per district. In the country where the population is spread over large areas, anti-tuberculosis health stations have been set up for every 3 to 5 collective farms and there are even *mobile clinics* which carry out systematic radiography in some of the most distant regions such as Yakutia (Siberia).

The entire organisation is co-ordinated under the direction of a *Tuberculosis Institute* which exists in each Republic and large region, and at the top, by the Ministry for the Protection of Public Health. The number of specialists in tuberculosis is very high. In addition to the curative establishments and anti-tuberculosis clinics, they are also found in all polyclinics and their attached hospitals. For example, on a collective farm in the Caucasus mountains, 80 kilometres from Tbilisi, there is a hospital with 100 beds for the 15,000 inhabitants, with a lung specialist among its 21 doctors (of whom 11 are specialists of one kind or another).

The prevention of tuberculosis has been helped during the last two years by the compulsoiry vaccination of children with B.C.G., in the whole of the Soviet Union. Over the wide areas in which vaccination has already been carried out, there has been an almost complete disappearance of infant tuberculosis and the dreaded meningitis. Increased production of the vaccine will permit the extension of vaccination to the whole of the Soviet Union.

We cannot emphasise too strongly a factor in preventive medicine so often neglected in many countries : that is *the health education of the population*. Essential principles of hygiene and the elements of medicine which help everyone better to understand the prevention and treatment of disease, are conveyed to the people by means of lessons at school, radio talks, talks in workers' clubs, films, tracts, and in books in the libraries which appear everywhere.

This health education goes hand in hand with a considerable and rapid raising of the level of general instruction and sets in motion a veritable process of emulation among the people as each one takes an active part in the fight on the health front against disease.

Some of the French delegation visiting the "Red Proletarian" plant in Moscow. Second from the left is I. T. Belov, foreman of the plant and a Stalin prizewinner. With him, from left to right, are Dr. Victor Lafitte, psychiatrist at the St. Antoine Hospital, and secretary of the editorial board of "Le Medecin Francais"; Prof. P. Wertheimer, of the Faculty of Medicine of Lyons, surgeon; Dr. H. Descomps, T.B. specialist of the Hospital of Beaujon; Prof. G. Bourguignon, member of the Academy of Medicine, specialist in electro-radiology.

Workers at the Dukat tobacco plant in Moscow being given prophylactic treatment in the plant's clinic.

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Tuberculosis Treatment

THE treatment of patients is carried out under good conditions as there are sufficient numbers of hospitals and sanatoria to satisfy all needs. These are distributed over the whole of the Soviet Union, permitting the invalids to remain near their families. There are also mountain sanatoria in the Caucasus and sanatoria by the sea, especially in the Crimea, as well as children's sanatoria and establishments for the treatment of bone or compound tuberculosis.

Every effort is made to see that these establishments are pleasant and inviting. Diet is given special study.

Centres of pulmonary surgery, and rehabilitation-for-work centres established by the trade unions in each region complete the anti-tuberculosis arsenal. The number and distribution of establishments makes it possible to treat patients immediately, thus avoiding aggravation and contagion through remaining at home.

Special mention must be made of the Institutes for the Fight Against Tuberculosis, in view of their importance and their complex role. There is at least one in each Republic. We visited on two occasions the Moscow Central Institute, situated in a pine wood 2½ miles from the city. It is administered in an admirable manner by Professor Lebedyeva, who is also very active in the Peace Movement.

It comprises a hospital section of about 600 beds and a scientific section comprising laboratories for all

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A night sanatorium in a large textile establishment in Tashkent.

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branches of instruction pertaining to tuberculosis. The clinical and scientific sections are both richly endowed with supplies, equipment and personnel. Clinical and research work can thus go hand in hand and assist each other.

The activity of the Institute takes three forms :

(1) the practical organisation and coordination of the anti-tuberculosis fight in the territory covered by it;
(2) scientific research;
(3) the preparation of medical cadres and hospital staff for the anti-tuberculosis fight and for research as well as further study courses for all doctors.

Instruction and research is under the direction of a Scientific Council which studies, discusses and prepares jointly the work of each section. Once a week there is a conference of all the scientific workers with doctors from Moscow or elsewhere. Out of these collective deliberations there results a common opinion on the significance, the general plan and the direction to be given to each branch of medicine, in relation to the general plan proposed each year by the Academy of Medical Sciences.

A Congress of the Institutes for the Fight Against Tuberculosis from the whole of the Soviet Union is held annually.

This year at the Moscow Central Institute, work was carried on by 96 research specialists (doctors of medical science, professors, etc.), along with about 800 people including hospital attendants and technical staff.

The Moscow Central Institute of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. This institute specialises in anti-tuberculosis work. At the right is the director of the institute, Madame Professor Lebedyeva greeting Dr. Weili-Hailé, gynecologist.

Medical care begins with the very young. A children's clinic in Moscow under the supervision of the Ministry of Public Health. At left, Dr. F. Lamaze, gynecologist, former clinic chief of the Faculty of Medicine in Paris. Right, Dr. Weili-Hailé, member of the French Academy of Medicine, and president of the National Union of Doctors for Peace.

Its budget for 1951 was nearly 15 million rubles.

With such a large technical personnel and curative establishments so numerous and well equipped, the methods of treatment employed compare very favourably with ours, but the essential thing is that they are available to all who are ill.

The fresh air and rest cure, and the hygienic-dietetic cure are the basis of treatment. Nevertheless, through non-tiring occupations, amusements and the achievement of a certain communal life, they seek to avoid too complete a break between the life of the invalid and that of the person in good health.

Great importance is also attached to the maintenance of a tranquil mind among the patients by having their families nearby, with the assurance of material security for them and of a remunerative job adapted to the strength of the patient when he is cured.

They also take advantage of their stay in the sanatorium to develop health education.

The methods of *collapse-therapy* (pneumo-peritoneum, artificial pneumothorax, thoracic surgery) are in great favour. The total or partial removal of the diseased lung are practiced, although less frequently, than in America or Holland for example. Thoracic surgery, which is widespread, is usually carried out under a *local anaesthetic,* sometimes with psychological preparations as for painless childbirth.

Another view of the Moscow Central Institute.

Streptomycin and P.A.S. (para-amino-salicylic acid) are used a great deal. Very active research is being carried out on the best method of utilisation, on substitutes, the way it acts, etc.

The same care is taken of the patient on the resumption of normal life after his cure, as is devoted to the prevention of disease among those who are weak and subject to illness. There are work facilities, reserved employment, adequate holidays, night sanatoria, and systematic medical observation which reduce to a minimum the risk of a relapse.

Steady Improvement of Living Conditions will Conquer TB Scourge

AS a whole, what are the essential features that emerge from this summary account?

They are, first of all, that the *prevention* of tuberculosis, as well as other diseases, *comes well before* therapy and is not separated from the whole of social life. It is above all by progressively raising general living conditions that this plague can be vanquished.

That, however, does not dispense with the necessity for vaccinating all children with B.C.G., active research to lessen the fatigue of those disposed to illness, or the treatment of the sick as quickly as possible with all the methods at the disposal of modern medical science.

Medical attention is entirely free. The expenses are borne by the State which, according to the Constitution itself, is responsible for the health of its citizens. The large budget for the protection of health and physical culture (22,000 million rubles in 1951 for medical care and scientific research) makes it possible to give every necessary care to everyone at the proper time.

Those who are ill are ensured the maximum freedom from worry in order to get better : the maintenance of wages at 80 to 100 per cent guarantees security for their families during their illness; the right to return to their work is guaranteed after cure.

Those are the characteristics of all Soviet medicine, clearly seen in the fight against a scourge which was formerly a social menace. They explain that these therapeutic methods give far superior results than those obtained in many other countries.

There are very naturally many aspects of this great work that still remain to be solved. These are studied and discussed openly in both the ordinary and the professional press. The power and speed of creation in the socialist world guarantees the rapid completion of the already colossal work undertaken.

Before 1917, tuberculosis was extremely widespread and hardly treated in Russia and her colonial territories. The enormous mortality was 4 in a thousand in 1913-15. There were only 43 poor clinics, run by charitable societies.

At the present time, the disease is becoming rare, and changes are envisaged already in the purpose of a certain number of curative establishments. Since the last war in particular, enormous progress has been achieved. *The number of tuberculosis patients is now one-sixth of what it was five years ago.*

The fight against tuberculosis does not monopolise the achievements of medicine, however. Similar methods have produced comparable results in the fight against infant mortality, malaria, venereal diseases, cancer and even contagious diseases of childhood, which are disappearing in certain regions.

Soviet Medicine Works for Peace

SUCH are a few of the strictly objective observations which some French doctors gathered during a visit in which they were warmly welcomed everywhere.

We were also able to ascertain that the admirable medico-social work which we examined is only a part of the great peaceful work of building a new world. It is profoundly moving to witness the enthusiastic efforts of millions of united people bringing culture and science to all, building homes for all, building giant dams and canals which are transforming nature, changing climates, providing industrial energy and bringing into cultivation territory as great as the area of France.

Our whole delegation, composed of doctors with very different political and philosophical ideas, was struck by the obviously peaceful atmosphere which they met everywhere. We are sure that the Soviet Union does not want war. We are sure that the Soviet Union cannot prepare for war while it is devoting its energies to seeking the well-being and health of all its inhabitants.

The Increasing Well-Being of the Miners of North-East China

by **KING CHIH-FU**

of the National Committee of the Chinese Miners' Trade Unions

FORMERLY slaves, the miners of North East China have become the masters of their country since the liberation. Formerly, under the yoke of their enemies, they fought back by wrecking machines, and by sabotaging their work in all ways. Today, animated by love for their country, they are working actively, protecting machines and constantly raising production.

Steady Rise in Production

DURING the past two years, the miners of the North East have brought forth 116 model workers at whose head are Se Yui-hai, and Chang Tse-fu, who have led 150,000 miners of the North East in the fight for increased production. The old methods of extraction, equipment, and the organisation of work have been improved. Production has increased, safety is ensured, the quality of output has been improved, and finally, prices have been reduced. They have thus created great wealth for the country.

Taking the index for 1948 as the base of 100, production in 1949 was 201, and in 1950, 244. This increase was maintained in 1951. The State miners increased their yield in 1950 by 30 per cent compared with 1949. As for the quality of the coal, an investigation of seven mines showed that the proportion of small coal has fallen to 89.68 in 1950 (on the basis of 100 for 1949) and that it is continuing to diminish.

Concerning the technique of extraction, the old backward methods have been replaced by the modern system of long wall working. Up to the present, 64 per cent of the mines employ this method. The mechanisation of works is constantly developing; it is the most important aim of the miners.

The vast majority of the mine-workers themselves assume responsibility for safety measures. In the spring of 1951, the North East Miners' trade union assembled the experiments made in this field and gave a tremendous impetus to the movement for safety

A technical course for miners in People's China to increase productivity and the standard of living of the workers.

A group of Chinese miners discussing the productivity plan for their mine.

put forward by the miner Se Yui-hai. They have thus been able to make great progress.

Improvement of the Miners' Living Conditions

WE shall deal with the wages first. Before the liberation, miners' wages in the North East were very low. During the time of the war lords, the overseers (agents of the rulers) were in charge of the workers' wages. After receiving the workers' wages from the employer, they deducted the lion's share for themselves, falsifying the accounts, and distributed the rest in equal shares among the miners. During the Manchurian puppet government's rule, the overseers were even more vicious. Under their rule, the miners led a life of poverty and starvation, and were on the brink of death.

Only after the liberation were they delivered from this wretched existence. Wages have increased with the development in production. In comparison with 1948, the wage index was 126.4 in 1949, mounting to 151.8 in 1950 and to 178.3 in 1951.

Measures have been taken in all the mines to put into operation a system of wage differentials, the beginning of a more logical wage system. The living conditions of the North East miners have, in a word, changed beyond recognition.

Since 1949, the miners of this area have benefited from a social insurance system which, for the first time in their history, has relieved them from the difficult and hitherto unsolved problems arising from births, old age, sickness, deaths, accidents and physical infirmity. From April 1949 to February 1951, 28 per cent of office employees and workers have received social insurance benefits. From 1949 to the end of 1950, the miners' trade unions established 3 old age pensioners' homes, 2 homes for invalids, 3 orphanages, and 4 kindergartens. In 1951, they opened 17 rest homes in the various mining regions. The miners also have a large sanatorium of their own.

Social insurance benefits, which represented in 1949 34.5 per cent of the total social security receipts, reached 84.7 per cent in 1950. This increase was due to larger payments made to the miners for medical expenses and by the improvement in the health service in the mines. Social insurance payments for medical expenses have risen from 3 per cent of total wages in 1949 to 5 per cent in 1950, and 7 per cent in 1951.

State investments for housing construction are rising every year. The amount spent on housing in 1950 exceeded that spent in 1949 by 27 per cent, for canteens 5 per cent and baths 10 per cent.

The number of clubs and schools for workers' children has also increased. In order to deal

The New China pays a great deal of attention to the health and welfare of the workers. Here is a sanatorium for miners in Fushan.

with any future difficulties, the trade union established at the end of 1949 mutual aid societies in which, according to the statistics of the two mining valleys of Kio-hoa and Chie-sie, 60 to 70 per cent of the workers and office employees participated.

Because of the work done for women, the miners' family life has been improved in every way. In the various mining regions, 125 clinics have been opened where 178 mid-wives give advice on infant hygiene. At the same time, women have played an important part in giving aid to the relatives of those in military service.

Culture and leisure for the workers is also emphasised. A miners' basketball team.

Leisure and Cultural Activities

FOR the past two years, the demands made by the mechanisation of production have given rise among the miners of the North East to an enthusiastic interest in culture and study. In 1949, 41,847 miners undertook study courses and in 1950, the number rose to 58,991, or 42 per cent of the total number of workers and office employees. The number of technical instructors doubled in 1950 compared to the year before. The number of teachers as well as pupils increased still further in 1951. New educational buildings are continually being erected and the old ones repaired. Study centres have risen up from nothing. At present there are already 196 apprenticeship schools and 118 regular evening schools. Teachers' qualifications are constantly improving. Another aspect of the progress made in the cultural sphere is the reduction in illiteracy among the miners. More than 80 per cent of the miners were still illiterate in 1949. The percentage fell to 71 per cent and then to 61½ per cent in 1950. We foresee the liquidation of illiteracy at the end of five years.

The organisation of leisure for the miners is developing rapidly. Already installed in the mining areas are 76 clubs and Red Corners averaging one club per 1,900 workers. There are also 19 theatre cinemas, each having a capacity of 750 people, and 35 libraries. Folksong and dance circles and the amateur theatre are also flourishing. There has been a big upsurge in sport activity. The poverty-stricken conditions which formerly characterised these mining regions have disappeared forever.

The Chinese workers rose up and became the masters of their own country. They work with enthusiasm, constantly increasing production and thereby improving their material well-being and their cultural life. What is true for the whole Chinese working class is also true of the miners in the North East who, under the leadership of the People's Government and together with the workers of different trades throughout the country, are fighting for progress in all spheres, in production as well as for the betterment of working and living conditions.

MILITANT U.S. UNIONISTS OPPOSE TYING WAGES TO PRICES

By

RUSS NIXON

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

This article, written as part of the discussion on the sliding scale, initiated by Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Workers (T.D. of the WFTU), analyses the position of progressive American trade unionists and explains why the problem of the sliding scale is viewed differently among European and American workers. Those interested in following this discussion should refer to the following articles: Henri Jourdain The Fight for a Sliding Wage Scale. *WTUM No.* 19 (*October* 5, 1951).

Hugh Bryson, President, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, Comment on Henri Jourdain's Article, *W.T.U.M. No.* 24 *(December* 20, 1951).

William Senther, International Representative, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, The Discussion on the Sliding Scale—A Comment, *WTUM No.* 2 (*January* 15-31, 1952).

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WHAT is known as "the sliding scale" in Europe is generally called "the escalator clause" in the United States. There are important differences, as we shall see, between the two. In the United States, although there are variations in detail, the escalator clauses provide that hourly wage rates move up and down according to changes in the Federal Government's Bureau of Labor Statistic's Consumer Price Index. The tying of U.S. workers' wages to this price index is most vigorously advocated by those whom H. Jourdain, Secretary of the WFTU Trade Department of Metal and Engineering Workers, describes as "the Anglo-American trade union bosses of the ICFTU." The escalator principle is supported and was initiated by big business interests in the United States, particularly in the automobile and electrical industry. The anti-labor U.S. Congress and the Truman Administration which is pushing a war economy on America, not only support this principle but have expanded it into a basic part of the war economic program so far as wages are concerned.

In contrast, all the progressive and militant elements in the American labor movement are strongly opposed to escalator clauses. Trade unions which are not wedded to the Truman Administration's war economy and which are jealous of their free trade union rights to engage in militant collective bargaining, such as the West Coast Longshoremen, the Fur and Leather Workers, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the United Mine Workers of America, take a vigorous position against the tying of wage rates to the government's price index.

Whereas in Europe "the sliding scale"—the adjustment of wage rates to the price movements—is seen as a major objective in the struggle of the European workers' fight against the poverty-creating results of the armament program, in the United States the "escalator clause" is seen as a serious backward step in labor's struggle for a constantly rising standard of living. How are these different views to be explained? A closer look at the situation in the United States may help to clarify the issue.

The Sliding Scale in Collective Bargaining Contracts

THERE are about four million workers in the United States whose collective bargaining contracts include an escalator clause. There have been some escalator clauses in American collective bargaining contracts, but these never covered as many

as a million workers until recently. Actually, many "company union" arrangements* provided for escalator clauses and these provisions were later removed at the demand of the trade unions when genuine organisation of the mass industry workers was achieved The well-spring of the new upsurge of escalator clauses in America has come from the automobile industry. At the initiative of President Charles E. Wilson of the General Motors Corporation and with the approval of the President of the United Automobile Workers Union (C.I.O.), Walter Reuther, the wages of workers in the General Motors, Chrysler, Ford and Kaiser-Frazier Auto plants were tied to the government's price index. James B. Carey, President of the section of the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers split off from the U.E., has quickly moved to tie the wages of General Electric and Westinghouse workers to an escalator clause. The Government's dictated settlement for a large section of the railroad industry established the escalator principle for railroad workers. Increasingly, in recent months, collective bargaining contracts have adopted escalator clauses, to the great satisfaction of the bosses.

With the imposition of Federal government controls on wages in January, 1951, the escalator principle has become the centre of the government's wage freeze program. At the outset of the wage control program, government officials, with the agreement of industry, made it plain that they intended to limit wage increases according to changes in the government's price index.

It must be emphasised at once that neither in the individual collective bargaining contracts nor in the national wage freeze policy has the escalator clause been granted as a result of the militant demand of the workers. Rather, the contrary is true; such adjustment are offered as a sop, an inadequate wage adjustment seeking to undermine the militant fight of the workers for what they rightfully have coming to them in wage increases. The escalator clause is to avoid *full* adjustment for cost of living increases, by permitting a *partial* adjustment for rises in the cost of living. It is used as a bosses' tactic to trap the workers into the war economy.

To illustrate more fully: for example, frequently in collective bargaining a boss is met by united, militant union demands and the workers have a just case for (let us say) 20 cents an hour increase. Under these conditions, the boss will offer ten cents an hour in the hope that he can divide the ranks of the workers and avoid paying the full raise the workers have a right to. This is a common experience in collective bargaining. The escalator clause in America is being used in this way as a cheap counter-offer by the bosses in national collective bargaining and in the government's national wage policy. Doubtless the bosses would prefer to give *no* wage increases. However, this should not blind us to the fact that the escalator clause is being used to avoid paying *full* increases that are justified and necessary to avoid lowering of the living standard of American workers. As the head of the government's economic program, the former President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Eric Johnson, boasted recently before a Congressional Committee:

> "I can assure you from the depths of my heart, that if it were not for wage controls now in this tight labor market that wages would go up much higher than they are under wage controls."

By wage controls, Johnston meant "escalator clause."

The "escalator clause" is used to sweeten and disguise the bitter dose of the lower living standards that go with the war economy. The U.S. military budget to pay for the war in Korea and to build a great war machine throughout the world is settling heavily on the backs of the American working people. It has already destroyed the vast possibilities of improved standards of living and now is grinding down the living conditions of the workers in our country. Now guns are beginning to mean a great less butter in America.

The war economy aim of lowering living standards to pay for guns is achieved through a coordinated program of high taxes, high prices and low wages. Although inflation has not hit the United States as it has France and Italy, the steady rise of the cost of living is hurting the American common people. Very deliberately, the government has failed to control prices because high prices sustain the profiteers and force down the purchasing power of the workers, adjusting them to the war economy. Taxes, the main part of which in the United States are taken out of every worker's pay check, have risen to great heights. The average worker is today paying approximately 25 per cent of his total income in direct and indirect federal, state and local taxes. Most of these taxes are not included in the government's price index used to adjust wages. The main objective of the wage control program, *including its escalator clauses,* is to prevent the collective bargaining strength of the unions from raising wage rates sufficiently to offset the rising taxes and prices, and thus successfully to maintain the living standards of the workers.

In spite of sellout by most trade union officials and the creation of much confusion and misunderstanding through a deluge of propaganda, the American workers do not accept the government's war program to the extent of being willing to pay for it through lowered living standards. While imposing an economy that means reduced living standards, great efforts are being made to disguise this fact from the workers. The so-called cost of living wage adjustments are part of this disguise which is already wearing thin. The disguise is being seen through by more and more workers who are demanding, not escalator clauses, but general, full-scale adequate increases in wages.

The Government Price Index Falsifies Living Costs and Cheats Workers

THE escalator principle is commonly referred to as a cost of living adjustment. This is a misrepresentation. The escalator clauses in U.S. collective

*Reference is to Company-dominated phoney unions used by bosses to prevent real organisation of workers into militant trade unions.

bargaining contracts and in the government's program of wage control, swindle the workers even in the limited terms of wage adjustments for rises in the cost of living. All ranks of the labor movement are united in their view that the Bureau of Labor Statistic's Consumer Price Index does not measure the full rise in the cost of living for workers. Even the Federal Government's Bureau of Labor Statistics when pressed, admits its price figures do not cover cost-of-living changes. This fact has not prevented the general misuse of the federal price figures as measures of changes in the American cost of living governing wages. Even many of the trade union officials who admit the facts accept and try to sell to their members the escalator clause based on these government prices as a cost of living adjustment.

A few months ago, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers issued a detailed critical analysis of the Bureau of Labor Statistic's Consumer Price Index titled *The Facts About High Living Costs*. The U.E. study shows that the workers' living costs as of the middle of 1951 had risen at 176 per cent since 1939. This compares with the reported increase of 87 per cent shown by the Bureau of Labor Statistic's figures. The U.E. pointed out, for example, the the B.L.S. figures do not cover direct payroll taxes which add more than 45 points to the cost of living index since 1939. Furthermore, on the basis of extensive data, much of it from the government itself, the U.E. has shown that even as a price measure, the B.L.S. Index is biased against the working people. The U.E. study showed that the government Bureau of Labor Statistics had manipulated its price figures and index numbers in such a way as to minimise the reported increase in the cost of living. Extensive evidence was produced to show that the B.L.S. made little or no allowance for quality depreciation, inadequately covered the special rising costs of living for low-income groups of Americans, particularly the Negro wage-earners, and otherwise manoeuvered and adjusted the statistics so as to understate the actual increase in the workers' cost of living.

Not only do the government figures used in the escalator clauses swindle workers even as far as the amount of rise of the cost of living is concerned, but since the figures are issued considerably after price increase and since the wage adjustments are made only every three to six months, there is a constant lagging of wages behind the rise in the cost of living creating more and more poverty.

A main feature of the escalator clause is the two-way adjustment—wages go down when prices go down. Thus after U.A.W.-C.I.O. President Reuther put over the escalator clause on the automobile workers, a wage cut of two cents an hour was put into effect from the richest corporation in the world, from June 1948 to August 1950. During that period decreases of five cents an hour cancelled out increases of three cents an hour based on prices. In those two years, General Motors made profits of 2.4 billion dollars, equal to $1.29 for every hour worked by its employees. Because of the resulting opposition to the escalator clause, Reuther was forced, in July 1949, to reaffirm the "historic opposition" of the Auto Workers (C.I.O.) to escalator wage clauses and to promise that this was "an experiment that would not be repeated."

On March 6, 1950, when the General Motors workers lost two cents due to the escalator clause, the U.A.W.-C.I.O. chief of General Motors chain, Johnston, stated :

> *"We deeply regret that the General Motors Corporation has taken advantage of the drop in the Bureau of Labor Statistic's Cost of Living Index and reduced the wages of its workers by two cents per hour . . . We contend that the profit position of General Motors makes such a reduction morally indefensible. When the contract was signed, it was hardly anticipated that G.M. would set a world record of more than* $600,000,000 *in profits after taxes."*
>
> (United Automobile Workers, *March* 1950).

Yet less than three months later, the U.A.W.-C.I.O. officials agreed to a five-year contract including the escalator clause and other damaging contract terms in exchange for a union shop, check-off clause which Reuther used to stifle militancy and democracy in the ranks of auto workers.

Analysis of the General Motors Contract

IT seems that Brother Jourdain's statement in his recent article on the sliding scale that "Reuther had had to put in the contract the clause on the sliding scale" because of the pressure of the auto workers represents a serious misunderstanding of the facts. Actually, the escalator clause, when originally adopted in 1948, was put over on the workers by Reuther as a means of blunting their demands for a really adequate wage increase. When the escalator clause was renewed in 1950, it was part of a no-strike, speed up, five-year contract with many anti-labor features.

While theoretically it is possible to speak of a pure cost-of-living escalator clause, in fact the adoption of the escalator principle has been tied with other contract features gravely damaging to the strength of unions and the workers' welfare. In the contracts negotiated by Reuther and Carey in the auto and electrical industry, the escalator clause is part and parcel of the other features of the long five-year contract. In the first place, the five-year escalator clause package wipes out the Union's right to strike or engage in normal union functioning during the entire five-year period. Thus paragraph 154 of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. G.M. contract reads as follows :

> *"The Union waives the right during the life of agreement to bargain for anything covered or not covered by the Agreement, even though such subjects or matter may not have been within the knowledge or contemplation of either or both the parties at the time they negotiated or signed this Agreement."*

Commenting upon this "waiver clause," the President of the General Motors Corp., C. E. Wilson, stated :

" If this doesn't say there are not going to be any strikes for five years, I don't understand the English language."

In addition, the Reuther-General Motors contract includes a clause that states :

" The right to hire, promote, discharge or discipline for cause; and to maintain discipline and efficiency of employees, is the sole responsibilities of the Corporation, except that Union members shall not be discriminated against as such."

Also part of this package is an automatic wage rise each year for the five years of the contract of 2 per cent per year, supposedly to compensate for increased productivity. In return, the union officers gave up the fight against speed up, and General Motors productivity is increasing five times as fast as the company is raising wages due to increased output.

The escalator clause is one of the main features of the straightjacket pattern being fastened on the American workers. It is being pushed by bosses who like the limits it sets on Union demands and by the wage control program operating in service of these same bosses, in service of poverty-creating requirements of our tremendous military expenditures. It is no accident that the largest industrial interests in the country are boasting loudly about the accomplishments of their escalator clause contracts. For example the research organisation of the major U.S. industrial interests, the National Industrial Conference Board, stated in its special report a year ago on *Cost of Living Provisions in Union Contracts* :

> *"For better or for worse, wages of employees in an imposing segment of the nation's economy are now wedded to the cost of living (sic). It may rightfully be called a shot-gun wedding— since it was the gun blasts of Korea that really tied the knot.*
>
> *" In certain respects, the development is remarkable. On the part of the labor union officials it represents an almost complete about-face from their traditional bread and butter bargaining policy of getting what the market will bear."*

And the multi-millionaire President of the multi-billion dollar General Motors Corp. gloats in the public press about what he calls the cost of living provision in the U.A.W.-C.I.O. labor contract, stating :

> *"I claim that this provision in itself is neither inflationary nor deflationary. As a matter of fact, it tends to resist inflation to some extent, since wages are only adjusted upward several months after the cost of living has increased and the facts recognised. In* 1949 *and the spring of* 1950 *wages were reduced a total of* 5 *cents per hour in accordance with this provision.*
>
> "I am personally convinced that if it there were no Unions and no labor contracts like General Motors in the automobile industry, the increase in wages would already have greatly exceeded what has occurred."
>
> (Wall St. Journal, *August* 30, 1951).

In contrast, the Unions which refuse to give up the fight to advance workers' welfare or their collective bargaining rights are battling the escalator clause straight-jacket. Thus, William F. Schnitzler, President of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America (A.F. of L.) said in October, 1951, that :

> *"An escalator clause has no place in democratic labor-management bargaining. It leaves no opportunity for either side to fight for what it believes is the right solution. Everything is cut and dried beforehand. . . .*
>
> *"This International Union must . . . now train all its energies and resources on gaining for its members a 'saving wage.' The men and women who produce the nation's basic food products are entitled to a 'saving wage,' and income which will permit them to set aside a few dollars each month and accumulate a down payment on a home or promote the education of their children.*
>
> "We will win this fight, too, but we can only win it through hard-hitting collective bargaining. We will get a saving wage by battling our way up hill; we won't get it by 'taking the escalator' ! "

And, of course, the United Mine Workers of America, speaking through their President, John L. Lewis, contemptuously reject the escalator principle. Speaking before the giant U.A.W.-C.I.O. Local of the 60,000 Ford workers in Detroit last June, Mr. Lewis said :

"I am informed that in your industry you have what is known to the Mine Workers of this country as the sliding scale of wages. That's what the Mine Workers have been calling it since 1874, *when it was first introduced into the coal-mining industry. And they have found that except in times of emergency and scarcity for artificial reasons, the sliding scale always slid in the wrong direction. And now in* 1950 *or thereabouts, somebody has dressed it up, called it by another name, and induced the United Automobile Workers organisation to accept it.*

"Several weeks ago, I sat in on a small conference in Washington. There were a number of eminent industrialists there . . . Among the industrialists there was Mr. Charles Wilson, whom General Motors paid $620,000 *in wages last year . . . Mr. Wilson used about an hour of time in an informal way to tell about the beauties of the sliding scale plan you have in industry here. He said that he invented it while in the hospital with a broken leg . . . He took it to the Board of Directors in General Motors and they agreed with him that it would be a good thing for General Motors to adopt it. Then he took it to the Union officials and they liked it and they went for*

it very strong. So you've got it. And Charlie Wilson claims he invented it, and to the best of my knowledge it's the first time I ever heard him claim that he invented anything that was any good for you. I think he invented it for General Motors; in fact, I know it very well.

"I don't want it in the mining industry and the United Mine Workers don't want it—any 'broken leg' contracts of that kind."

In the United States, the main task of the trade unions today is to gain unity in the fight against the stranglehold of the wage freeze with its escalator clause limitation on wage advances. Throughout the entire labor movement, the rank and file workers, driven by their basic economic needs, are pressing union leadership to break through the limits of the escalator clause. Some unions have already been able to force their way past the escalator clause barrier to increased worker income. As the negotiations in the major sections of American industry develop in the coming months, the trade unions will be pounding against the rigid lines of the escalator clause and the wage freeze.

An Explanation of Differences in French and U.S. Workers' Attitudes

ON careful consideration, what has appeared to be a contradiction between the position of the French workers, for example, in their fight for the sliding scale, and the position of militant unionists in America fighting against the escalator clause, proves to be unimportant. There are differences in the situation in each country which require different tactics if the welfare of the people and the strength of the unions is to be protected.

The crux of the differences in approach to the general principle of the sliding scale and the escalator clause—the automatic adjustment of wages to price changes—lies in this: In the United States, the escalator clause is put forward by the bosses to create a *ceiling* on wages, whereas in Europe the sliding scale is projected by the workers seeking to establish a *floor* under wages from which base the trade unions can fight for new wage gains. It is true that the escalator clause in the United States could conceivably be used as a floor, provided there was sufficient militancy and unity to force wage gains beyond the escalator clause provisions. But the point must be made that if the trade union movement in the United States had that amount of militant unity and strength, then the need of the escalator clause as a floor would be eliminated because the trade union movement would be strong enough in its free collective bargaining to achieve gains covering and going far beyond the increases in the cost of living. It is clear also that the escalator clause in the United States in its technical details and in the misuse of government statistics inadequately measuring the cost of living increase is quite different from what is meant in Europe by the sliding scale.

I have recently read in the C.G.T. newspaper, *Le Peuple*, an account of the so-called sliding scale negotiated in a fur and leather plant by the Force Ouvrière. The C.G.T. refused to join this contract because it was tied to the inadequate price statistics of the French government. After a few months duration, the swindle character of such a perversion of the sliding scale caused the Force Ouvrière to petition for renegotiation of the contract, thus bearing out the original judgement of the C.G.T. Here in the United States, in fighting the escalator clause, we are actually fighting the imposition of such a contract upon all American workers.

A difference in approach also arises, without doubt, from the different conditions of collective bargaining. In the United States generally, a union has exclusive bargaining rights in a plant for all the production and maintenance workers, and a definite and increasingly lengthy contract term during which there is a virtual moratorium on strikes and collective bargaining. It is probably also significant that in France, for example, the trade union movement is just freeing itself from a long period of government control of wages and returning to free collective bargaining, whereas in the United States there is beginning a period of government controls on wages and the elimination of free collective bargaining.

Also, perhaps because of the different conditions in the economic resources of the United States and the war-devastated areas of Europe, the immediate aim of European workers is to avoid the serious lowering of their living standards through the armaments burden that is reflected in rising prices. At least until very recently in the United States the outlook here, based on the tremendous wealth of the country and the vast profits of the corporations, has realistically been to gain significant improvement in living standards. In some ways, perhaps, this explains the emphasis in Europe on seeking a floor to real wages, and the emphasis in the United States on avoiding a ceiling on real wages.

The implications of the escalator clause in the United States are defined in large measure by the fact that many dominant trade union officials, including those who support and sustain the government's wage control programme, and who are sponsors of the escalator clause, are completely wedded to a pro-war policy and a class-collaboration trade union programme. The contrast is startling and significant, for in the trade union movements of France and Italy, for example, the situation is completely reversed and the trade unions have militant, worker-conscious, anti-war leaders waging an uncompromising struggle on all fronts for the well-being and peace of the people.

Fundamentally, the workers' fight for the sliding scale in Europe and against the limitations of the escalator clause in the United States seeks to protect the standard of living of the people from the burdens of the war programme. In each situation, what is needed is unity of the working people in the struggle for strong trade unions, free collective bargaining, and the improvement in the standard of living of the people—aims to be won only in peace.

British Engineers Fight For Higher Wages

• *By a Manchester Engineering Worker*

IN its drive to gear British economy to the Yankee war machine, the ruling circles in Britain expect the engineering industry to play a decisive part. Mr. Gaitskell, in his Mansion House speech of October 30, 1951, said : "The engineering industry must provide both for increased armaments demand and for increased export." In fact, increased armaments can only be produced by reducing the production of both capital and consumer goods for export and the home market.

Already there is a decline in exports at the very time when the apologists for the ruling class shout that Britain must export more to pay its way.

Workers Suffer While Engineering Profits Soar

THE motor industry is amongst the first to be hit by shortages of steel and other metals used for arms, resulting in short-time working and dismissals. The steel shortage is a growing factor in reducing the export drive in a number of industries, as well as the production of capital equipment products for British industry.

The purchasing power of the workers has been sharply reduced, resulting in a slump in the clothing and furniture industries. Manufacturers are piling up stocks and putting their workers on short time. This is exactly what the Government wants, as they plan to drive another 500,000 workers into the arms factories.

Britain's arms budget was £760 million in 1949-50. In September 1950 it was raised to £1,200 million, and in April 1951 to £1,490 million. The total for the three years 1951-1954 is to be £4,700 million, with the Yankee organisers of war now demanding a further increase to £6,000 million. The report of the Select Committee on Estimates (Rearmament) states "the expenditure on aircraft is to be stepped up to £120 million a year, resulting in a huge demand for increased factory space and labor."

The Ministry of Labour figures show 141,500 employed in the aircraft industry in the middle of 1948 and 160,000 in July 1951. Government propagandists call for ½ million workers to enter the arms industry, and efforts are being made to contract the consumer goods industries, such as clothing, hosiery, textiles and furniture, where short time and prolonged Christmas holidays are the order of the day.

However, it is obvious that the financial sharks take more than the cream off the top, as they did in the 1936-1941 rearmament programme. This resulted in the huge expenditure by the Government producing record profits for the shareholders of aircraft companies, but a shortage of aeroplanes when required in the 1940 Battle of Britain.

The engineering employers are already reaping rich rewards from arms contracts. Five hundred and twenty companies, with a share capital of £254 million, made gross profits of £234 million in 1950. Net profits were £76 million, or one third of the share capital, and one-fifth increase on the profits made in 1949. At the same time, these 520 firms hold £473 million in their Reserve Funds, which is nearly twice as much as their share capital.

In 1951, profits were still higher, while the exploitation of the worker was increased. The official index of production shows that in the first 5 months of 1951 output per worker was 62 per cent above that of 1946. Relating profits and production to the number of workers employed in the industry reveals a still more striking position. Where it could be said in 1950 that the employers' profit was equal to £3 per week for every worker, manual and clerical, employed in the industry, in 1951 the profits were equal to £4 a head per week.

Engineers Discuss Fight for Peace

THESE facts have made themselves apparent to the engineering workers, not in the form of dry statistics, but in realities in their living and working conditions. As a result, there has been widespread fundamental discussion on the question of rearmament and the fight for peace. An illustration can be taken from the 1951 National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which went on record unanimously as follows :

"We urge the Labour Government to continue pressing for a just and peaceful solution and a mutual understanding of the world's problems by the people of Eastern and Western nations. With this aim in view, we instruct Executive Council to urge the Labour Government to support the calling together of the great powers U.S.A., Great Britain, France, U.S.S.R., India and the Chinese Republic in order that all problems may be brought to light."

This resolution reflects the discussion taking place in workshops and trade union branches.

During the general election, the growth of political activity reached a high level. The Amalgamated Engineering Union shop stewards quarterly meetings in Sheffield and Manchester passed resolutions calling for peace to be made the central issue of the election, and for unity to defeat the Tories.

The quarterly meeting in London North endorsed the call for a Five Power Peace Pact and expressed confidence in the workers' ability to prevent a third world war. Mass electoral campaigns were carried out in many factories by shop stewards committees and Smash-the-Tory Committees were set up.

In no previous general election have there been so many or such large mass meetings held both inside the factories and at the factory gates; yet it cannot be said that the fight for peace among the engineers measures up to the needs of the situation or is as intense as the fight for wage increases.

Background to Wages Fight

THE wage agreement of November 1950, based on the decision of the Arbitration Tribunal, was designed to split the workers by giving an advance to the lower-paid workers only. The overwhelming majority of workers in the industry get nothing from the agreement for an increase of 11s on the minimum rate for plain-time workers.

Piece-workers in particular were incensed by this agreement, and in Manchester they demanded a 17½ per cent increase on all piece-work prices.

At a meeting of shop stewards called by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, an Action Committee was set up. Day work was declared at Metropolitan Vickers and other Manchester

ABOVE: **Part of the big demonstration of Manchester engineers demanding the £1 wage increase.**

BELOW: **Manchester engineers marching to the huge demonstration in support of the demand for £1 increase in wages.**

works. Production slumped to 30-40 per cent, while the men received their day rate of pay.

The revolt spread to Barrow and the Clyde, the North East Coast, Sheffield and Belfast, London and the South, taking different forms of activity behind local demands in each factory and district. On the Merseyside a ban was placed on all overtime working.

The struggle was organised by the shop stewards and district trade union committees, with Action Committees in Manchester and Sheffield, having such an effect that, despite the pressure of the employers, the union executives refused to instruct their members to lift the ban on piece-work, and it continued generally for 8-10 weeks.

mittee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the conference of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers were in session, the *Daily Express* came out with a headline "Unions split on higher wages" and stated "a barefisted fight between leaders of two of Britain's most powerful trade unions started yesterday, although they were 300 miles apart." It proceeded in a vicious anti-working class way to contrast the demand of the A.E.U. for £1 increase with the General and Municipal Workers' policy of lower prices.

True, some union officials had given the press encouragement to print this sort of report when they campaigned against the policy of strike action during

A strike leader at the E.N.V. Engineering Company addresses the workers.

These struggles were marked by the growth of activity by the mass of workers, including many who had voted for arbitration in the Ballot vote early in 1950. This time they condemned arbitration in no uncertain terms.

Many successes were achieved and wage increases conceded before normal working was resumed; and a greater measure of clarity and unity was forged.

Campaign for the £1

THIS was the background to the new demand for £1 a week wage increase in 1951, a feature of which was that it was adopted for both men and women workers and for the youth in the industry. Thus, the campaign for the £1 increase embraced all workers in the industry.

The splitting tactics of the employers were again revealed by the Press. While both the National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the conference of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers were in session, the *Daily Express* came out with a headline "Unions split on higher wages" and stated "a barefisted fight between leaders of two of Britain's most powerful trade unions started yesterday, although they were 300 miles apart." It proceeded in a vicious anti-working class way to contrast the demand of the A.E.U. for £1 increase with the General and Municipal Workers' policy of lower prices.

True, some union officials had given the press encouragement to print this sort of report when they campaigned against the policy of strike action during the 1950 ballot. This time, however, the Press Lords' premature gloating at disunity received a severe rebuff.

The Annual Meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions adopted the demand for £1 increase unanimously, and a far from left-wing union official, Mr. Matthews, of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, stated: "We have expected the government to take more stringent measures to control prices and profits. Unfortunately, the government have not been able to face up to that issue, and we find our members in a most difficult position." (*Manchester Guardian*, 6.8.51).

Thus, the militancy of the rank and file found expression in closer working at top level. When the claim was made to the employers in October, it was shown that in the period when the gross profits of the engineering companies more than doubled, output per worker increased by half, the cost of living increased

Strikers at the E.N.V. Engineering Company talk to police who are trying to interfere with peaceful picketing.

by one third, the rate of wages of the workers only increased by 16 per cent. These facts were used in the campaign to organise support for the claim before the employers gave their reply.

The Group Executive Council of the Confederation, having been instructed to organise a publicity campaign, called mass meetings in the big engineering centres.

In Manchester, a meeting of shop stewards decided to organise a march and demonstration. This resulted in the biggest turn-out of employed workers seen in Manchester since the General Strike of 1926. Twelve thousand workers marched, the majority from Metropolitan Vickers in Trafford Park, whose workers marched 1½ miles to the meeting place. There were over 40 buses bringing workers from factories further afield, with youth and women contingents. The marchers carried official union banners along with slogans "Patience exhausted," "United for the £1."

The resolution already adopted by the shop stewards to call a token stoppage of work two days before the employers gave their reply was adopted with acclamation by the mass meeting. In Sheffield, the resolution adopted by a mass meeting demanded "that the Confederation prepare for strike action if our demands are not met."

The statement issued after the meeting on the Tyneside said: "We are not in a mood to countenance any protracted negotiations or to tolerate any agreement that separates one section of workers from another, similar to the 1950 agreement."

These meetings were followed by considerable factory activity. In Manchester, factory gate meetings were held to discuss the token stoppage. Despite the efforts made by some individuals to split the unity of the workers, and the fact that the workers at Metro-Vickers did not participate, the token strike was a tremendous success. Forty thousand workers employed by most of the big factories and innumerable small factories came out.

The following day, Belfast and Merseyside workers swung into action. On Merseyside, with Cammell Lairds 11,000 workers in the lead, nearly 40,000 workers were out. In Belfast, 30,000 workers took part in a half-day token stoppage staging a mass march and demonstration.

On the Clydeside thousands of engineering workers in a number of shipyards and factories took part in token stoppages and walk-outs in order to enforce the demand for the £1.

It can be estimated in Manchester that when the employers offered an increase of 11s. to all male workers and a further week's holiday with pay, some 50 per cent of the workers were prepared to stand for the full 20s (£1).

This did not find full reflection in the rank and file policy-making body of the Amalgamated Engineering Union National Committee, which decided to accept the employers' offer by 32 votes to 20. In the Confederation, whilst the Foundry Workers and the Electrical Trades Union were prepared to stand out for the £1, the other unions accepted the offer.

Fight of Women Engineers and Apprentices

THE true attitude of the employers was seen very quickly when the claim for the women workers was considered. This is taken through separate negotiating machinery by the four unions catering for women, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Transport and General Workers Union, General and Municipal Workers Union and the Electrical Trades Union. The women's rate of wages is 75s; the men's rate was 118s and has been increased to 129s. The employers offer to the women was less than the 11s offered to the men, thus endeavouring to increase the gap between men and women's wages.

It has long been the policy of the A.E.U. to demand that the rate paid to women should be not less than that paid to labourers which is now 11s. . The trade unions rejected the employers' offer, much to their credit, in an effort to establish the principle that women workers should obtain the same amount as that obtained by the men, and so establish a precedent for future negotiations.

The case now goes to arbitration, and it will require a very vigorous campaign and considerable pressure to obtain a favourable decision from the arbitration tribunal. The employers have also treated the young workers and apprentices with a certain amount of contempt, although they obtained a percentage increase of the 11s paid to the men. It does not go far to meet the demand of £1 increase.

In Glasgow, Manchester, and other centres, the apprentices have organised protests and demonstra-

tions. The apprentices on the Clyde have been very much to the fore, organising marches, meetings, and the widespread distribution of leaflets. In 1937 and 1941 the apprentices had to conduct unofficial strikes in order to bring home to the engineering employers the determination of the engineering apprentices to have their demands heeded. Today the employers are taking up the same adamant attitude to the demands of the apprentices.

New Struggles Developing

WHILE the wages issue has been the main front of the engineers' struggle, many disputes have taken place in individual factories. The strike at E.N.V., London, has lasted ten weeks, arising from a demand for the removal of a shop foreman who had shown persistent hostility to the shop stewards. One thousand men and women are standing solid and have won considerable support both in London and up and down the country.

At Metro-Vickers, following the split which prevented the workers taking part in the token stoppage, the management discharged a militant shop steward and works' committee man. The two thousand workers in West works, the section of the factory where he was employed, downed tools and were out for a week, but failed to get the whole factory behind them.

With the advent of the Tory Government, the attitude of the engineering employers in the immediate future is clear. The editorials of the employers' papers, the Sunday *Observer* and the *Manchester Guardian,* call for wage freezing and sharp increases in the cost of living, in order to reduce real wages, and so place the burden of the economic crisis caused by rearmament on the backs of the workers.

Intensified exploitation of labour is the approach of the Tory Government to the problems that British capitalism faces today. The engineering employers were never backward in seizing on such policies to lower the living and working conditions of their employees as a way to enhance their profits.

The engineering workers, for their part, reviewing their experiences, both positive and negative, are preparing to go into action. Trade union District Committees have adopted resolutions calling for a new claim for £1, 30s and £2 a week increases.

A big impetus to the wages campaign will be given by the Shop Stewards Conference to be held in Sheffield on March 2nd, organised by the Shop Stewards National Council, and Sheffield Shop Stewards Action Committee.

There is wide interest in the Vienna Conference of Metal Workers, organised by the Metal and Engineering Workers Section of the World Federation of Trade Unions, where consideration will be given to the problems confronting engineering workers throughout Europe, especially in the capitalist countries where engineering workers are faced with crippling arms programmes, and the need to develop a counter-offensive for full employment on constructive civilian production, for higher living standards, and for peace.

A strike meeting at the E.N.V. Engineering Company.

ECONOMIC NOTES

Living Standards in the U.S.A.

THE American monopolists and their marshallised friends in other countries want to fool the workers of the United States and the world by proclaiming the supposedly "high standard of living" of the American workers.

The U.S. Department of Commerce publication, *Current Population Reports*, recently gave some results of the United States census taken in 1950. According to the census, almost three-fourths (74%) of American families earned less than $4,000 per year. Yet the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics at the University of California reported that a minimum budget for "decent living" for a worker's family in the United States at the time of the census required an income of $4040.54. Thus, according to the official American data, *three-fourths of the American families did not earn the minimum necessary for a decent living.*

The census also shows that 39% (almost two-fifths) of the American families earn less than $2,000 per year, that is *less than one-half of what is necessary for decent living*, and that 23% (almost one-fourth) earn less than $1,000 per year, and 13.7% earn less than $500.

Such are the facts concerning the vaunted "American standard of living."

That all is not well with the standard of living of American workers is shown in a document of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report of the U.S. Congress. This official document, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office in 1951, is called *Making Ends Meet on Less than $2,000 a Year.* It is a survey of "the 10½ million American families who, according to reports of the United States Bureau of the Census, received cash incomes of less than $2,000 in 1949" (p.1).

The study contains actual interviews with representative families earning less than $,2000 a year:

" . . . Our families included fathers who are heads of small enterprises such as a machine shop, a pickle works, laundries. Others are salaried employees or skilled or semi-skilled wage earners—for example, a goldsmith, a mould maker, tool and sheet-metal workers, bakers, truckmen, postmen, among them; GI's on the way up; mothers keeping broken homes intact; together with a score of farm families and operators, sharecroppers and migratory workers. . . .

"Over a fourth of the urban breadwinners were skilled workers. Their incomes were low at the time interviewed either because of short work weeks or long and numerous lay-offs" (p. 4).

Here are some excerpts from the study:

ON FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER

"Whether a city family can be sure of an adequate diet on an income of less than $2,000 a year depends not merely on food prices but on the number of mouths at the table and on the skill and time the housewife can bring to bear in market and kitchen. . . .

"But poor diet is only one of the factors that may play disadvantageously upon the health of the very low-income family. At the same time improper housing, over-crowding, lack of warm clothing, tap the fitness and vitality of grown-ups and take their toll of the growing child in the process of body building" (p. 15).

"The housing shortage since World War II added something inexorable to the life of low-income families, which has been devastating to those of us who have seen it at first hand" (p. 16).

ON HEALTH

"Health remains the point of highest vulnerability. The defences of low-income families are really down when sickness strikes, and our common barriers against its onslaughts on health and livelihood are as yet painfully inadequate" (p. 3).

ON THE AMERICAN MINIMUM-WAGE LAW

"The failure of our minimum-wage laws to protect the standard of living of families weaves in and out of our stories" (p. 3).

ON CHILDREN

"We still wrangle in towns, cities, and capitals, State and National, about the housing shortage while countless children are being brought up in squalor" (p. 3).

ON AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

"When the immediate job of harvesting is through, they find that they and theirs are unwanted until the next crop" (p. 3).

The American government finds no other "solution" for poverty and discontent of its people than war. Even the authors of the study were forced to question this:

"There is frequent reference among these families to the war years as "good times" in the sense of being economically rewarding. They count over the comforts and conveniences that had come to them as a sort of inheritance from World War II —things, that is, they had been able to earn when jobs were steady, wages good, and prices "held to reason." To-day's defence mobilisation seems to be bringing us again into such a period.

"But have peacetimes no counterpart to offer?" (p. 2).

Yet a war programme can never increase the standard of living of any nation. The experience of the United States shows it too. A pamphlet, *The American Standard of Living* by Elizabeth Lawson, published in New York in 1951, recognises this:

"The standard of living of the workers of the United States, always a low one, has been still further lowered in the past year, and drastically so, by United States imperialist adventures abroad, particularly the Korean War, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the rapid preparations of World War III, and the consequent growth of fascism in our own country. A lowered standard of living is an inevitable counterpart of the imperialist war drive."

"We Charge Genocide"

THE Civil Rights Congress of the United States has recently filed a "Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government against the Negro People." Entitled *We Charge Genocide,* this 240 page document is a shocking indictment of the deliberate and calculated lynching, brutality, violence, and economic, political and social oppression of one-tenth of the citizens of the United States—the 15,000,000 American Negroes.

The perusal of this document will leave any humanitarian reader in a state of cold fury that such crimes can exist unpunished in a major world power, and particularly in that country whose leaders unctuously and self-righteously pose before the bar of world opinion as the guardians of freedom and democracy.

"Out of the inhuman black ghettos of American cities, out of the cotton plantations of the South, comes this record of mass slayings on the basis of race, of lives deliberately warped and distorted by the wilful creation of conditions making for premature death, poverty and disease. It is a record that calls aloud for condemnation, for an end to these terrible injustices that constitute a daily and ever-increasing violation of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." (From the Introduction to *We Charge Genocide*).

The petition begins with a review of the case and an offer of proof, giving something of the scope and historical background of the acts of genocide being committed against the Negro people of the United States.

The opening statement cites killings by police: killings by incited mobsters and gangs; killings by individuals overcome with rage that a Negro dares live and breathe; killings at night by masked men; killings by the Ku Klux Klan, the Columbians, the White Circle League and other terrorist groups that exist and flourish through sanction of government (some of them awarded the tax exemption granted to benevolent societies); killings by officials of government such as sheriffs and other so-called peace officers; killings always on the basis of race and colour.

The face of genocide. These two young Negro men, Dooley Morton and Bert Moore, were murdered in a brutal double lynching at Columbus, Mississippi. Such horrifying violence is only one of the many crimes against the Negro people of the United States which together form the major crime of genocide. (From the Civil Rights Congress petition to the United Nations, "We Charge Genocide.")

Mr. William L. Patterson, National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and an oustanding American Negro leader, in a speech prepared for delivery to the United Nations General Assembly, points out that:

"The petition reveals, particularly in the Southern States, the propaganda of justification that follows these killings. The vicious and malignant propaganda, the 'Big Lie,' which caricatures the Negro, presents him alternately as rapist, baffoon, ne'er-do-well, petty thief, lazy scoundrel — less than human . . .

"It is a justification for the genocidal crimes of yesterday, an incitement for crimes today and a provocation for crimes still not committed . . .

"The caricature is not the truth. Two true pictures do emerge.

however. You will see them if you look. One reflects the bestiality of the rulers of America; the other, the heroic resistance of the Negro people and the greatness of their leaders, like the scientist, William E. B. DuBois, or that incomparable figure, Paul Robeson. Thus, this definition of the Negro by caricature is significant as a guide to the character of its authors."

Part III of *We Charge Genocide* consists of 136 pages of grim evidence. Most people are familiar with the practice of violence, lynching and legal lynching in the United States. Day after day, the newspapers give an account of some new outrage perpetrated against the Negro people. The frequency of these events is apt to dull the sensibilities of even the most sensitive person—the press is read today, and forgotten tomorrow. For such persons, basically decent and humane, a reading of *We Charge Genocide* is strongly recommended. When the evidence—this veritable mountain of evidence—is piled up in short, terse, unemotional accounts of crimes covering the period 1945-51, the effect is to leave the reader stunned and indignant.

The petition closes with a "Summary and Prayer," in which the case is briefly reviewed and requests are made to the General Assembly for such action as will condemn, and prevent, the continuance of the crime of genocide now being committed against the Negro people of the United States.

"We plead as patriotic Americans, knowing that any act that can aid in removing the incubus of United States oppression of the American Negro people from our country is the highest patriotism." (*We Charge Genocide,* page 196.)

In his speech prepared for delivery to the General Assembly, William L. Patterson says:

"There is a dramatic disparity between the social forces of the United States which I have the honor to represent, and those for whom the Honourable Dean Acheson speaks. But if the power of evil men, caught in the act of murderous assault upon their own nationals, is not challenged by the United Nations, when and where shall hapless folk find redress for their grievances? Who will listen to their petition? No branch of city, state, or federal government in the United States but has heard the voices of these Black men, women and youth, yet no basic change in their status has been made. Now they have come here. This body is, for them, a court of desperate resort."

William L. Patterson is a courageous and loyal American. The Civil Rights Congress is a courageous and militant organisation devoted to the protection of the civil rights of the increasing number of victims of the regime of thought-control and the subversion of the rights of individuals which today characterises all levels of the United States government.

How does this pack of small-minded thought-controllers react to such courage on the part of real Americans and the organisations they lead?

The Civil Rights Congress is the subject of a vicious red-baiting campaign—as who isn't among advocates of peace and democracy nowadays? It has been listed on the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organisations, naturally without any opportunity to answer the charge. Its attorneys and representatives are blacklisted, given jail sentences for defending their clients, and its right to supply bail for victims of the Smith Act and other fascist-like legislation denied in the courts.

William L. Patterson is currently charged with contempt of a congressional committee for refusing to turn over records of the Civil Rights Congress. The chairman of this committee, during the hearings with Patterson, called him a "black son of a bitch" and physically assaulted him.

While Mr. Patterson was in Paris to present the petition to the General Assembly, that great defender of the rights of individuals, the State Department, ordered the American Embassy in Paris to cancel his passport, in an attempt to deny him the right to travel abroad, thus violating still another United Nations convention—the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Whatever steps the United Nations may take on this historic petition, the Negro people are determined to win their full rights, as the accompanying article *American Negro Workers on the March* shows.

JOHN WOLFARD.

American Negro Workers on the March

A NEW wind of freedom is blowing from the seven seas . . . it has brought upon the American scene a new Negro, sons and daughters of Labor. This new Negro comes with the song of freedom on his lips and steel in his heart, and believe me when I tell you that the new Negro isn't fooling about where he means to go from here.

We welcome the growing number of meetings and conferences being held to launch struggles for equal rights for Negroes. One recent conference for equal rights in the arts, sciences and professions made a profound observation in stating that "standards of truth and humanism cannot be maintained in our cultural media so long as the truth of the Negro people's lives is denied expression." Yes, for America to be a truthful nation, to be guided by truth, we must expose the falsity of the claim that there is no organised oppression of the Negro people, or that such oppression is "occasional" as some people would have us believe. Negro workers know that their lives, spiritual as well as physical, are hurt and mutilated because of the constant oppression which they suffer because of their color.

We agree with the charge that, in addition to the number of Negroes killed each year by legal and extra-legal lynchings, there is a far greater number

wiped out by the imposition of genocidal living conditions—wiped out by the high death rate caused by sub-standard housing. We in labor know that health is a result of income and other living conditions. We know and we have organised to fight the fact that while white families receive a median annual income of $2700 a year, Negro families receive a median annual income of only $1500 a year. Yes, because we are black our incomes are about 55 per cent of the incomes of whites. We further know that this income which we receive is 45 per cent below what the government itself says should be a "minimum decency budget." Yes, my friends, this question of equal job rights is basic to wiping out one aspect of the conspiracy of genocide against the Negro people.

On October 27, 1951, 850 Negro men and women, joined by 250 white workers, assembled in Cincinnati. These thousand workers spoke out against genocide as a policy of government, and there they organised to fight to change this policy. I am, of course, speaking of the magnificent founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council. Only a short time has passed since that convention; yet, those who are responsible for the oppression of the Negro—the big daily newspapers as spokesmen for the big business interests—are busy trying to discredit that convention. The *New York Times* carried a headline story entitled "Negro Labor Body Called Failure." The story quoted a Mr. Joseph Hall, Executive Director of the Urban League of Cincinnati, as stating that "the organisation's influence appears to have departed along with the convention." Mr. Hall implies that there was some influence while we were in Cincinnati. There certainly was.

Although the Cincinnati papers for ten days straight had created a newspaper barrage of hysteria, the steel workers and auto workers, representatives of lily-white executive boards, had urged Negoes not to attend—despite all of this, the convention was held, and what's more, actually broke down jim-crow in every single hotel in Cincinnati. What's more, there were absolutely no incidents; some of the colored policemen assigned to "guard" the convention told delegates that they felt like joining up themselves; and one of the white newspaper reporters actually voted on many of the resolutions—he got religion at that convention, and his dispatches showed it. The newspapers, both in Cincinnati and our august *New York Times,* printed straight stories telling the people what was happening at the convention. So much for the influence while we were there.

Our concrete programme . . . calls for a million signatures for the Fair Employment Practices Act by next May, for 100,000 new jobs for Negro men, women and youth; for the adoption of the model contract clause to end discrimination in interviewing, hiring, upgrading, apprenticeship training by all local unions; and for full support to all organisations fighting against any form of discrimination. As we make this program a reality through building local Negro Labor Councils and mobilising the people, the Negro people "who would be free themselves, must strike the blow," as Frederick Douglass, the great Negro fighter against slavery, once said. But as Negro leaders, including Douglass, have always known, "with millions of white men at their back whose hearts are responsive to the claims of humanity." Yes, there is a job for white progressives not to tell the Negro how badly he fares or that he must fight, but to arouse the conscience of white America, to fight among their fellow white people to end all aspects of jim-crow.

At the same time, we want white people to visit Negroes in their homes, not to attend an occasional rally or to join in an occasional demonstration (good as those things are) but because they have genuine friends living in Negro areas, with whom they have established close bonds of friendship that include sharing the sense of fight and enjoying the victories which we make each time we get together; and also better to understand the continuous hurt that it is to be a Negro today in the United States of America.

Yes, there is an end coming to this second class citizenship, to this genocidal oppression. It's all been ended in China, and the other colored people of the world in India, Africa, the Middle East, the West Indies, are in motion. They, too, are striking the first blow.

While we support the fight for freedom all over the world and, yes, in our own South, let us never fail to understand that the chief blow each and every one of us can strike is the blow where we live, where we work, and in our daily lives. Together we will end the crime of genocide.

Speech in New York, November 12, 1951, by EWART GUINIER, Vice-President, National Negro Labor Council, Secretary-Treasurer, United Public Workers of America.

Desire for Trade Union Unity Grows in Egypt

THE Egyptian working class movement suffers, as do those of most of the countries under imperialist domination, from organic divisions, accentuated by the existence of unsatisfactory legislation which up to now has prevented the organisation of trade unions on a national basis.

The tremendous upsurge of the national liberation movement, and the particularly important role played by the Egyptian working class in the struggle against British imperialism, have of necessity created a strong current of opinion in favour of working class unity, both in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the sphere of trade union organisation.

While the workers and the militant trade unionists

have been creating, together with the students, peasants, intellectuals and other representatives of the democratic movement, a broad united anti-imperialist front, representatives of several large unions, and in particular the Transport, Petrol, Radio, Textile and Seamen's Unions, met on September 9th, 1951, together with representatives of other sections of the workers and decided to form a Preparatory Committee for the establishment of a general confederation for all the workers of Egypt.

This Preparatory Committee issued a manifesto on September 10th, which was published in the principal Egyptian daily newspapers, and which appealed to the W.F.T.U. for help in its efforts to achieve working class unity.

This appeal to the W.F.T.U. for help in achieving the unity of the Egyptian working class is even more significant in view of the fact that it was made at the very time when a mission from the I.C.F.T.U. was installed in the Metropolitan Hotel in Cairo, which was using every means to persuade the Egyptian trade unions to affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U.

Defeated in its attempts to get the trade union organisations to affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U., the mission had to be contented with setting out for Khartoum. In the hotel at which they stayed there, they had two private interviews with trade union leaders, to whom they submitted a spying 8-point questionnaire.

Nothing illustrates better the reasons for the complete failure of the mission than the communique published by the Cairo taxi-drivers' trade union, the only organisation affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., which announced its decision to withdraw from the Free International Transport Federation (F.I.T.F.).

After briefly reviewing the struggle of the trade union since 1919 for national liberation, the communique gives the reason for the decision to withdraw from the F.I.T.F., stating :

"This decision was taken when it became evident that this organisation—the F.I.T.F.—is an imperialist institution in the service of hated imperialism. While other international organisations have protested against the barbarous attacks by the British forces on our brothers, the workers in the Canal Zone, this organisation has preferred to remain silent. . . ."

Further on the communique states in unequivocal terms the logical consequences which the Cairo taxi-drivers' union must consider after having taken the decision :

"The Federation knows that a large number of brothers are demanding that our organisation join forces with other trade unions. It becomes daily clearer that disunity weakens us and weakens our national struggle. That is why we appeal to all workers to join their efforts to those of the trade unions included in the Preparatory Committee for the establishment of a general confederation for all the workers of Egypt in order that it may be possible to carry out effective action for our cause and for the cause of our country."

Immediately after this declaration, a Committee consisting of representatives of the four Cairo taxi-drivers' unions was formed to discuss the basis for the constitution of a united taxi-drivers' federation.

The Preparatory Committee has made considerable progress since its formation. It now has the support of 109 trade unions and has registered great success both in the sphere of trade unionism and in the fight for national independence.

A general conference was called for January 27th, 1952, with the aim of setting up a General Federation of Egyptian Trade Unions, to decide on the policy and constitution of this Federation and to elect its Executive Committee.

IRADJ ESKANDARY.

Indonesian Oil Workers Form a Single Union

THE greatest Congress of Indonesian oil workers ever to take place was recently concluded at Djakarta—formerly known as Batavia. The purpose of this Congress was to create a unified oil workers' union from the seven existing small unions covering 60,000 workers and thus to have a single organisation representing and fighting for these much exploited people. Amalgamation was unanimously accepted.

The Congress, the opening session of which was attended by several representatives from political parties, including members of parliament, also discussed the struggle for peace, particularly the Appeals issued by the W.F.T.U. and the World Peace Council.

The nationalisation of the oil industry was also demanded and at the final session, resolutions on the following subjects were adopted :

1. The Indonesian Central Trade Union Organisation (S.O.B.S.I.) to be recognised as the only Indonesian central trade union organisation actively fighting imperialism;

2. The World Federation of Trade Unions to be recognised as the only actively anti-imperialist international trade union federation;

3. An immediate active struggle against imperialism and its supporters to be carried on;

4. A united struggle for peace in alliance with all peace-loving peoples of the world to be carried on with more energy by the formation of a broad anti-imperialist front, both nationally and internationally;

5. A struggle for the setting up of an Indonesian People's Democratic State.

All delegates signed the Appeal for a Five Power peace pact.

As is known, practically all Indonesian oil production is controlled by foreign capitalists—mainly Dutch (Royal Dutch), American (Caltex) and British

(Shell), Royal Dutch and Shell being linked together in the enormous Shell monopoly. Indonesian investments in these companies are extremely small and carry no weight in deciding corporate policy. Royal Dutch and Shell alone took over 26 million barrels of crude oil out of Indonesia in 1950. The Royal Dutch Shell Group net income (before payment of amortisation, income taxes, etc.) for that year was well over £184 million and net profits (including undistributed profits brought forward from previous years) amounted to over £89 million. Just imagine what the workers could do with a million pounds to spend every four and a bit days.

THABIB.

More on the Matsukawa Case

The following letter, dated December 25, 1951. was received from the Liaison Bureau with the W.F.T.U. in Japan, giving the latest developments in the Matsukawa Case. See W.T.U.M. No. 1 for the full story of this case.

CONCERNING the decision at the Second trial of the Matsukawa Case, we inform you as follows :

On December 20, 1951, Chief Judge Suzuki, in his decision on the Matsukawa Case, admitted that the decision in the first trial was "inappropriate" and he ordered a re-examination of the facts concerning the case at the Sendai High Court in Japan.

The announcement of the re-examination of the case by the Chief Judge is unprecedented in Japanese court history, and we believe that it means a really great success leading to the establishment of the innocence of all the victims, and to their release. The brilliant victory now obtained is completely due to the solidarity campaign for the Matsukawa victims waged by the W.F.T.U. and the working class and people throughout the world.

On behalf of the working class in Japan, we, the Liaison Bureau with the W.F.T.U. in Japan, express deep gratitude, through the W.F.T.U., to the working class and peoples all over the world.

We, who are convinced that the solidarity campaign for the 20 victims is one of the important struggles waged against the colonisation and remilitarisation of Japan attempted by the imperialists and their agents, are determined to keep on fighting for the unconditional release of the twenty patriots at the earliest date.

We ask the W.F.T.U., the working class and peoples throughout the world for their further co-operation with us in this campaign.

MICHIO WATANABE,
Liaison Bureau with the W.F.T.U.
in Japan.

Bombay Textile Bonus

EVERY year, cotton textile workers in the State of Bombay are awarded a small proportion of the surplus value they produce—in the form of a bonus. The Industrial Court considers how much of their profits the wealthy mill-owners can afford to repay to the tattered and underfed people who produced this wealth. On this basis, it announces that the bonus will be a certain percentage of the year's basic earnings. For 1950, it was 15 per cent. The announcement of the 1950 bonus was made in December 1951, nearly a year late.

The minimum basic wage in Bombay was Rs. 30* a month or Rs. 360 a year—if no time was lost on holidays or sickness. Thus the bonus amounted to Rs. 54. What munificence!

Total profits amounted to over 90 *million rupees.* There are about 180 cotton mills in Bombay State. Four of them made losses (and their workers received no bonus as a consequence); the other 176 made an average profit of a little more than half a million rupees each.

About 400,000 workers are employed in these cotton mills. An average of about Rs. 225 profit was made on each of them. Rs. 54 was the portion allocated by an Industrial Court.

In addition, the court refused to reconsider the permitted practice of exempting loss-making mills from paying a bonus. It found a union proposal that all profits should be put into a central pool from which equal bonuses should be paid to all workers, irrespective of the profits and losses of their employers, 'beset with legal and practical difficulties.'

The Court also observed that, "it would be a salutary principle not to scrutinise each item of income and see what contribution, *if any,* the workers have made to it" (our italics). Is the Court so innocent that it thinks that money multiplies itself?

The money comes from the ten hours a day labour of the mill workers, who are constantly having their work-load increased by being given extra looms to tend. It comes from labour in insanitary mills in a hot climate where even drinking water is not supplied. The Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee said : "The Government of Bombay should modify the Factories Rules in such a way as to make

*One rupee is one shilling and sixpence or fourteen cents.

it compulsory for all factories where more than 100 workers are employed to arrange for an adequate supply of cool drinking water according to standards to be prescribed by the Chief Inspector of Factories . . . "

The money comes from workers who are so poor themselves that even on their inadequate diet, in the ragged clothes and slum-living conditions, at least half the families are in debt. Sickness and the death of a wage earner are financial catastrophes that put these poor workers in the power of the money lenders who charge fabulous rates of interest.

The conditions in which the Bombay cotton mill workers live are on a level with their miserable incomes. As a Government of India report admits: "The housing conditions of industrial workers in Bombay city have been a by-word and a reproach for a long time now." That was in 1946. They are much worse in 1952.

Some of the mills provide not homes, but rudimentary and insanitary shelter for their workers. These tenements, most of which are single-roomed, are called *chawls*. They are 10 feet square. Water and sanitation, if such a hygienic-sounding word can be applied, are shared by hundreds of people. Electric light is supplied only in the corridors.

These boxes ten feet square were originally intended for four people. Now, even this disgraceful overcrowding is surpassed and as many people as can crowd in huddle together in a way not tolerated on modern pig-farms. And even on these *chawls*, profits are made—not on the dizzy levels of the textile industry proper, but a steady 3 per cent.

In 1935, 73.86 per cent of the families of industrial workers lived in one room tenements. Five years later, it was 81 per cent. Today it is certainly worse.

Even so, not all the textile workers can squeeze into the *chawls*. Many sleep on the pavements.

MARY WOLFARD.

The Seventh Plenary Session of the Soviet Trade Unions

THE seventh Plenary Session of the Soviet Trade Unions was held in Moscow at the beginning of December. It examined the following questions:

(1) The application of collective agreements on the railways.

(2) Work among the trade union militants in the factories.

The report on the second question was made by the Secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, I. Gorochkin. He described the important role of the Soviet trade unions in the building of communism. To fulfil this role more effectively, the trade unions must draw much larger numbers of workers into practical trade union work. At the present time, more than 11 million trade union members take part in the work of various trade union organisations in the factories.

I. Gorochkin pointed out that it is necessary not only to organise a systematic check-up of tasks assigned to them, but to give them more practical help and greater support. It is essential to increase the role of the militant trade unionists in the field of socialist emulation, in the exchange of new experiences, and in the organisation of meetings on productivity. Check-up meetings as well as elections to rank and file organisations must further this end. There must be a larger participation of the best workers and all those who enjoy the confidence of their comrades in trade union work. Women and young people must fearlessly be given responsible positions. Particular attention must be paid to the various commissions set up by the factory committees for various types of trade union work.

The work of the militants depends to a large extent on their trade union studies. During the first nine months of last year, 1,400,000 militants took special courses on trade unionism. But I. Gorochkin was able to announce that the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions are planning courses for 3,200,000 trade union militants in 1952.

The speaker then raised the question of the systematic interchange of the experiences of the best trade union organisations, a question directly related to that of the education of militants, which requires constant strengthening of the contact among rank and file militants.

To improve the organisation of studies and the exchange of experiences it is necessary to hold regular meetings of militants. These play a major educational role and improve the development of criticism and self-criticism and raise the level of leadership. We must organise regular "militants' days" and make greater use of cultural institutions and the press.

The seventh Session also examined the report of the meeting of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which took place in Berlin last November. After emphasising the importance of this meeting, L. Soloviev, Secretary of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, pointed out the necessity of doing everything possible to strengthen the bonds of solidarity and friendship among all the workers of the world. It is also necessary to make the creative and peaceful work of the Soviet people known to all. L. Soloviev also remarked that despite the difficulties created by the governments of the capitalist countries, the number of foreign workers' delegations which visit the Soviet Union is increasing all the time: in 1950, 54 workers' and trade union delegations, and in 1951 more than 70 coming from all countries and continents, visited the U.S.S.R.

United, the workers of the U.S.S.R. and all other countries of the world will be able to defend the great cause of peace.

S.M.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

RUMANIA

Freedom and Rights Won by People Under New Democracy

In the Rumanian People's Democracy, the working people have widespread rights, rights they never enjoyed in the past. These rights are established and guaranteed by the basic law of the State—the Constitution of the R.P.R.

The Constitution, which was adopted in 1948 by the National Assembly, is completely different from the old bourgeois-feudal constitution. It establishes the broad freedoms and rights gained by the Rumanian people under the People's Democratic Government; national independence, the right to be free and master in one's own country; the right to choose one's own way according to one's own interests; right to dispose of one's labour and the wealth of the country, and to improve one's living conditions.

Articles 19 and 20 of the Constitution of the R.P.R. refer to the fundamental right to work and leisure. It is clear that in the Rumania dominated by the bourgeoisie and big landowners, with a chaotic economy and subject to crises, there could be no question of the right to work. This right became a reality for the workers under the People's Democratic Government.

Perspectives opened up by the Five-Year Plan and the grandoise electrification scheme mean an increased demand for labour. . . . In order to meet this demand, trade training has soared in the R.P.R. In 1950, more than 108,000 workers became qualified; during the five-year plan, special courses will be studied by nearly 600,000 industrial workers. This broad movement of trade training applies not only to industrial but also to agricultural workers. About 60,000 tractor drivers, 20,000 agricultural and animal husbandry technicians will become qualified during the five-year plan.

On the basis of planned development of the economy of the country, the right to work inscribed in the Constitution becomes a living reality. The future of the workers of the R.P.R. is assured, the spectre of unemployment and poverty no longer exists, and they have every possibility of becoming qualified and taking part in the management of enterprises and in the State apparatus.

The right to leisure was also not ensured in the old Rumania. Although the law fixed a six-day working week and Sunday leisure, it was not respected, nor was the provision of annual paid holidays for the workers. The most beautiful places in Rumania, the Black Sea coast, the seaside resorts, were for the use of the royal family and a small circle of privileged persons.

To-day, all these places exist for the benefit of the workers. The Labour Code gives each worker the right to rest. The trade union rest homes and various institutions have been given over for the benefit of the workers, free of charge, making possible holidays under the best possible conditions.

Under the old régime, the big majority of the people were deprived of their political rights. Soldiers, civil servants, the majority of the youth, and women, did not have the right to vote. The number of voters was therefore very restricted.

The conditions are completely different under the People's Democracy. More than nine million citizens voted in the elections for the People's Councils on December 3, 1950, whereas in 1937 only 4,647,000 people voted.

Other political rights—the right to organise, to hold meetings, etc.—are guaranteed in the Constitution of the R.P.R. by the fact that the necessary material means for the exercise of these rights are put at the disposal of the masses of the people. . . .

Freedom of the Press and speech is a valuable right won by the Rumanian people in struggles waged by them, and it is fully enjoyed in the R.P.R. . . .

The Press, which has all material means at its disposition, serves the working people and is rapidly developing. In the R.P.R., more than 300 periodicals are published, with a circulation of more than 5,000,000 copies, in addition to tens of thousands of factory and wall newspapers, with about 700,000 correspondents. Not only is no sort of oppression used against the workers but, on the contrary, they are encouraged to give their opinions of public affairs, to criticise, to expose deficiencies in State organs. . . .

One of the principles of the policy carried out by the bourgeois-feudal régime was that of religious discrimination. Religions other than the Orthodox (State religion) and the Catholic Church (which, on the basis of the Concordat of 1927 constituted a State within a State), were submitted to invidious persecution, even to the extent of being banned. The repression and terror to which the Jews, Mahommedans, Baptists, Adventists, and others were subjected was well known to the world.

Now all these people who experienced so much humiliation under the old régime enjoy equal rights under the People's Democratic Government. Discrimination and inciting hatred against people of any religion are forbidden and severely punished by the laws of the R.P.R. Under the Constitution of the R.P.R. and the law on religion passed in 1948, the various religions have the most complete liberty and total equality. . . .

The facts given here prove that the working people of the R.P.R. have won, under the People's Democratic Government, the right to be exploited and enslaved no longer, to decide their own fate, and to build freely a happy future. These great victories constitute the bases of all the other rights and freedoms of man enjoyed by the working people of the Rumanian People's Republic.

"Informations Roumaines,"
28.12.51.

GREAT BRITAIN

Nationalisation Without Socialism

We have not noticed any fundamental change either in the structure or in the industrial relations of nationalised industry. On the contrary, we have found that every

concession gained has been won by the tried and tested method of traditional trade union practice, and not by advancing some new theory of trade union function. Likewise, the nationalised authorities have treated our claims and submissions by the time-honoured methods of all employers, and in some cases we have found them far harder to deal with than many of the private employers.

For this situation, we put no blame on any of the persons concerned. They were carrying out a function inherent in the employer-employee relationship which is the essence of capitalist industrial relations. As it was put by a speaker at the 1949 Trades Union Congress, "the boards of nationalised industries are the buyers of what we sell." And what they buy and what we sell is living labour power, the creator of all wealth and of all profit.

Until this relationship is abolished, the traditional trade union functions will remain, although their techniques may change as circumstances change.

It can now be seen, and the return of a Tory Government will soon make it plain for all to see, that nationalisation has not altered the essential characteristic of capitalist production relations. And any trade union theory based upon the assumption that it has will mislead not guide, and will complicate still further the already complex system of collective bargaining which springs from and is the result of the employer-employee relationship of capitalist industry.

"Electron" (Journal of the Electrical Trades Union), December 1951.

ITALY

People Act to Save Glass Works

The small industrial town of Colle Val d'Elsa, in the province of Siena, has been the scene of great working class struggles during the past few weeks. The entire population of 13,000 has defended the town's magnificent glass works, the means of livelihood for 500 families, against the attempt of the industrialists to close them down. This struggle showed the spirit and fighting capacity of the workers, peasants, shopkeepers, artisans, the local organisations and the whole population.

The workers had carried on the struggle for many weeks both inside and outside the factories. These glass workers, true to their glorious traditions of organisation and struggle, put up a resistance which won the sympathy and admiration of all, including even the authorities. They have shown that to-day it is a question of defending our national heritage. The pottery workers, metal workers, building workers, paper workers, agricultural workers, and share croppers joined in the struggle and developed a broad and lasting solidarity, taking part in meetings, delegations and strikes which showed how firm and active is the unity of the workers of the province.

Artisans and shopkeepers gave their support to the strike movement, the latter giving the strikers credit amounting to tens of millions of lire. The unity created in the Citizens' Committee formed for the defence of the industry was a splendid example of popular solidarity which contributed decisively to the workers' victory. The spirit of the struggle brought into action all the citizens' organisations, the political parties and all the mass organisations. These included: the Union of Italian Women, which held meetings of women and of wives of the glass workers; the youth organisations, which held demonstrations for all sections of the youth, including those belonging to Catholic Action; the local administration, with the participation of the Mayor and all members of the local Council. Even the Provincial Administration appointed a Commission of the Provincial Council, consisting of both majority and minority members, in order to take official action for the settlement of this question and to protect industry. Representatives of all the political parties, the bishop and the Members of Parliament for the province developed an effective unity on the question.

Scores of delegations of workers, artisans, women and young people went daily for weeks to the local and provincial authorities to express the determination of the entire population to safeguard their traditional industry.

After many days of discussion, some of which took place at the Ministry of Labour, an agreement was reached which allowed nearly all the 500 glass workers to start work again and granted them 30 million lire in wages which was due to them but had been owing for months.

The greatest source of joy, however, for these heroic workers, is that of having been able to save for their town, their province and their country, one of their most typical and best-known industries. Throughout the struggle, the flag of peace floated over all the establishments, a gift from the young women of Siena. It was under this flag that the glass workers fought. Their victory is that of all the forces of labour and peace who want to save Italian industry from a policy of war and poverty.

"Il Lavoro" (Organ of the C.G.I.L.), No. 45, December 1951.

AFRICA

Education Figures Reveal Discrimination

African youth, who fight for their national independence and for a better future, are even obliged to fight for the right to an education, as the following figures show: **Algeria:** In 1949-50 there were 331,684 school children, half of whom were Europeans. Number of children of school age: 1,526,000 Mohammedans, 175,000 Europeans. **Morocco:** 1950, there were 114,407 school children out of 1,600,000 Mohammedans of school age. **Tunis:** 1950, 125,000 school children out of 775,000 Mohammedan children of school age. European children: 60,000 school children out of 61,000. **Madagascar:** 1949-50, 160,944 school children out of 830,600 children of school age.

The result of such conditions is illiteracy, as is shown by the following figures on illiteracy taken from the report of an investigation conducted by the United Nations Trusteeship Council. The Sudan: 99.5 per cent; Egypt: 85 per cent; South Africa: 90 per cent among Africans and 80 per cent among the Indians; Zanzibar: 80 per cent; etc. In Kenya, the school budget was divided in the following way: £591,000 for 29,000 European school children; £427,000 for 124,800 Asian school children; and £227,000 for African school children. In Somaliland, in 1947, only 585 children got any kind of education and that out of a population of 700,000.

"Information Service" (Bulletin of the World Federation of Democratic Youth), 14.12.51.

U.S.A.

The Attack on Mexican Labourers

Mexican labourers are forced to work like slaves on the land and in American factories under the most primitive conditions and subjected to a most shameful policy of discrimination.

During the latter part of November an example occurred which shows how the American slave-traders make a mockery of the conditions laid down in the Mexico-American Treaty for the hiring of labour. At Tiptonville, Tennessee, a group of 70 Mexican workers abandoned the plantation of the slave driver, W. T. Jamison, and in a protest demonstration went on foot to Memphis to make known to the Mexican Consul the contract violations concerning housing, food and payment. They really have no lodgings. Their food is composed of disgusting left-overs, and their wages are withheld from them.

Thousands of their fellow countrymen subjected to conditions similar to those described above, hired in such an ignominious manner that the Mexican Government seeks to hide the conditions, return to Mexico and indignantly describe the terrible treatment and persecution of which they have been victims, no longer in the state of Texas only, but in all districts where they were sent for slave labour.

The farmers have appropriated large sums representing the wages of the Mexican workers, and they do not pay the wages established by the Mexico-American Treaty. In many cases, the workers have had to appeal for solidarity to the workers' and farmers' organisations of the United States and Mexico in order to be able to return to our country. This situation has practically nullified the contract for the hiring of Mexican labourers in the United States for it has been completely violated and the Mexican workers have no way of protesting.

American farmers, not content with the iniquitous exploitation of the Mexicans, have pretended to modify the hiring contract in such a way that once and for all the Mexican workers will be completely abandoned and totally subjected to wretched exploitation by all types of slave drivers who, in the United States, are seeking slave labour.

"La Voz de Mexico," 9.12.51.

GUATEMALA

New Provocation by the United Fruit Co.

On November 13th an article on Guatemala by the American journalist, Drew Pearson, appeared in Cuba. In it he predicted that "civil war in Guatemala is becoming a distinct possibility," imputing this danger in an irresponsible and ill-disposed manner to the unification of the Guatemalan working class movement which had just been achieved during the course of a Congress held under the banner of the Confederation of Latin American workers (C.T.A.L.).

Drew Pearson was particularly annoyed by the decision taken by the Congress for Trade Union Unity to "support the Government (under the presidency of Jacobo Arbenz) in its fight against the spread of imperialism."

Pearson's commentary, by its tie-up with Washington and with North American monopoly circles, forecast that new provocations would break out at any moment against the democratic regime which exists in Guatemala today.

During the last few weeks, the United Fruit Company has taken every opportunity to ignore the Constitution, to disobey the social legislation of the country and to provoke a critical situation for the Arbenz Government should the company fail to divert the government from the democratic policy it has pursued up till now.

In this atmosphere, a Convention has just been held in Guatemala of anti-communist delegations representing reactionary and obscurantist elements in the country who dream of the days of the dictator Ubico.

The coincidence is not accidental. Behind the provocations of July and the anti-communist convention which has just ended lies the hand of United Fruit. If proof is required, we have only to consult the Guatemala newspaper, "Nuestro Diario," which condemned the financing of the Convention by the banana plantation monopoly, giving the photostat copy of a receipt for monies paid to the expense fund by the Company.

The manoeuvre is very clear, for one can see that the anti-communist Convention is only another provocation by United Fruit, stimulated by Washington, against the democratic regime existing in Guatemala today in order to overthrow it and re-establish the absolute tyranny which previously held sway in that small and courageous brother country.

This situation shows how closely we must follow events in Guatemala and how necessary it is to maintain solidarity with the valiant people of that country.

"La Ultima Hora" (Havana), 29.11.51.

ECUADOR

October 29—Unity Day

Trade union unity has been the main basis of the success won by the working class in its struggle for justice and well-being. This is irrefutably shown in the history of our fight for economic demands. Recent struggles remind us that unity is the most important factor for victory.

The strength of unity in the workers' liberation movement has just been revealed to us in the most concrete way. October 29th, 1951, will be written in the history of the struggles of our proletariat as the highest symbol of class unity that has ever been recorded in our country.

Thanks to the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador (C.T.E.), all the workers of this country experienced for the first time, in their strong demand for bread and their rights, for equality and security for the future, the deep and noble sentiment of unity and fraternity. Workers from all branches of industry rose up as one man and cried out their revolt with a single mighty voice.

The Ecuador railwaymen played an important part in the victory of the strike organised by the C.T.E. The strength of the Union of Railwaymen is seen throughout the whole nation. All trade union branches and local committees of the Southern, Northern, Sibambo-Cuenca, Guayaquiil-Salinas, Bahia-Chone and El Oro lines waged a courageous battle against reaction and the oppressors who hold the highest government positions and who have never considered, nor solved, a single vital problem to relieve, even in part, the terrible famine which preys on the working class of Ecuador and the people as a whole. Never before has there been such discipline among the railwaymen.

"Information Bulletin" of the Ecuador Railwaymen's Federation (Quito), 31.10.51.

U.S.A.

Yankee Imperialism and the I.C.F.T.U.

How "free" or "independent" or "non-dominated" the I.C.F.T.U. is or isn't, is a matter of opinion. U.S. big business, in the columns of the July 21st issue of "Business Week," expressed a very definite opinion which smacked of great satisfaction. It said: "Though disguised lest it give Communist propaganda a further opportunity to charge American dominance of non-Communist unions abroad, U.S. influence was almost unchallenged at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' Convention that ended its Sessions in Milan, Italy, this week. It was exerted through American union delegates who came from A.F.L., C.I.O. and Independent Unions.

"The U.S. State Department might not want to sponsor all the positions taken by the I.C.F.T.U., but it would not seriously quarrel with any of the resolutions passed. The cold war has made the work of the big United States unions abroad virtually a State Department enterprise. In actual fact . . . they can be much more effective than any official government agency in an area that really counts: the foreign unions."

15th Annual Convention, U.E. District 5 (Canada), **"Report of District Officers,"** p. 76.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

December 28

BUDAPEST.—The World Federation of Democratic Youth issues a working document for preparations in the various countries for the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth, to be held in the summer of 1952.

January 1, 1952

ITALY.—With unprecedented force, 12,000 agricultural workers of the city and province of Ragusa go on a general strike called by the trade union organisations to protest against the refusal of the Prefect to decree that employers must give them employment. They are joined in a protest demonstration by workers in the provincial capital led by the miners, who have been struggling for higher wages. Police attack the demonstration and make many arrests.

January 2

KOREAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.—The Trade Union Federation protests to the Japanese Government against the fact that Koreans living in Japan are obliged to register as citizens of the so-called Republic of Korea.

NETHERLANDS. — The conference of the United Trade Unions (E.V.C., affiliated to the W.F.T.U.) ends in Amsterdam after discussing the struggle for raising the workers' standard of living The proposal for raising living standards is based on three fundamental principles: increasing purchase power, work for all, and housing for each worker and his family.

CHILE.—The National Organisation of Office Workers calls a strike in support of their demands for wage increases and against the repressive policy of the Government, which is making illegal all efforts of workers to enforce their demands.

January 3

UNITED STATES.—A campaign for national delegates to the American Continental Peace Conference, to be held in Rio de Janeiro from January 22 to 27, opens in New York. Sponsors include Hugh Bryson, president of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, and others.

— Three Nazi - like concentration camps are being constructed in Arizona and Oklahoma under the provisions of the Fascist-type McCarran Act.

FRANCE.—The C.G.T. publishes a message to the workers of Western Germany which says in part: "Be assured that French workers who in 1923 opposed the occupation of the Ruhr by the interventionist army, who in 1940 opposed the Hitler occupation, and who to-day oppose the American occupation, support you in your legitimate aspirations for the improvement of your living conditions and to ensure peace and a unified, peaceful and democratic Germany."

January 4

WESTERN GERMANY.—The right-wing leadership of the trade unions names representatives to the so-called Productivity Council, which up to the present time has consisted of industrialists and Bonn Government representatives. The aim of the council is to speed up the application of American industrial methods for war to increase the exploitation of the Western German workers.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The conference of the Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools opposes the "witch hunt" and instructs its executive committee to take all practical steps to end political discrimination.

ITALY.—The last election for works committees in the enterprises of Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardia, Veneto and Emilia, regions in the north of Italy, show a great victory for the unified trade unions (C.G.I.L.), who obtained 75% of the vote.

January 5

ITALY.—The Executive Committee of the Turin Trades Council calls a general strike of all industrial and commercial workers throughout the province from 10 to 2 o'clock to defend liberty and democracy, and against the economic crisis provoked by the arms programme This follows continued attacks against workers in the Wamar and Lancia plants, and in the Fiat plant, which discharged the director of social security of the plant, a militant Left-wing leader.

AUSTRIA. — According to official figures, unemployment at the end of December had increased by 64.7% in comparison with November.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The first trade union university in Germany opens at Bernau. The school is named after the former trade union leader, Fritz Heckert.

January 6

GREAT BRITAIN.—Representatives of 200,000 teachers protest against the refusal of local authorities to allow cost of living salary adjustments. The executive committee of the National Union of Teachers decides to give full support to the effort of the teachers to establish their claim.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The National Congress for the Protection of Children ends in Berlin. Eighty representatives from all parts of Germany took part. They opposed any attachment of the Bonn Government to the American war programme as menacing the well - being of children.

GUATEMALA.—The Minister of the Interior announces that the Government "will no longer permit anti - Communist demonstrations." This announcement is made in view of a proposed national convention of anti-Communists for January 27.

HUNGARY.—Food prices drop as a consequence of recent measures to curb speculation. The price cut is 20 per cent. for fat, 18 per cent. for butter, 16 per cent. for milk, 15 per cent for eggs, 12 to 13 per cent. for poultry and sugar, 10 per cent. for flour.

UNITED STATES.—Denouncing the police murder of a Negro leader in Florida, Paul Robeson calls for a great gathering of Negro leaders to plan joint action to resist the terror unleashed against the Negro people. The suggested meeting place is Washington, D.C., or some major southern city, and the time February 14, the birthday of Frederick Douglass, outstanding Negro leader of the emancipation movement in the 19th century.

January 7

ITALY.—The strike of 12,000 agricultural workers which has lasted since December 31, is suspended following the promise by the agricultural employers to give jobs to unemployed agricultural workers during the winter, under conditions to be established in a new provincial wage agreement now under consideration.

EGYPT.—About 3,500 Egyptian employees of the Suez Canal Company go on strike to protest against the British occupation of the Suez Canal Zone. All movement through the Canal is halted.

AUSTRIA.—Hundreds of thousands of workers go on a short general strike in protest against the restoration of his property and estates to the former Fascist leader Starhemberg, whose armed Heimwehr killed 193 workers and wounded hundreds in clashes in February, 1934.

FRANCE.—A huge meeting is held in Paris to demand the liberation of the 34 imprisoned Spanish workers. Alain Le Léap, vice-president of the W.F.T.U. and Secretary of the C.G.T., is among the speakers.

UNITED STATES. — The Supreme Court upholds a fine of $750,000 under the Taft-Hartley slave labour law against the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, as a result of a Taft-Hartley damage suit brought by the Juneau Spruce Company because of an I.L.W.U. picket line on its premises.

GUATEMALA. — A judicial court orders the American monopoly United Fruit Company to comply with a recent Labour Appeals Court order or have its estimated $25,000,000 investments "embargoed." The company is ordered to pay $500,000 in back wages to 3,700 employees, and to rehabilitate immediately its banana plantations devastated by hurricanes.

January 8

GREAT BRITAIN. — The British Tory Government announces a new and vicious intensification of the "witch hunt" affecting 11,000 people. These include anyone employed in atomic establishments, from simple workers to technicians and scientists, as well as any civil servant engaged in work considered as "vital" to State security.

PRAGUE.—The World Peace Council announces that up to January 1, 596,302,298 persons in 60 countries had signed the appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

NORWAY. — Two coal mine explosions take the lives of fifteen miners in the Spitzbergen Islands in the Arctic Ocean.

January 9

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The People's Chamber approves the draft law for general elections to the National Assembly and sends it to the president of the Bonn Government. The law gives the vote to all persons 18 years of age or more. Chancellor Otto Grotewohl suggests a commission of five members from the G.D.R. and five members from Western Germany to find methods of organising All-German preparations for such an election.

UNITED STATES. — The American Society for the Advancement of Science and the American Philosophical Society protest against the Government's use of discrimination against teachers because of their opinions, pointing out that the situation in America is similar to that in 1933 in Germany and Italy.

WESTERN GERMANY. — A confidential Gallup poll organised by the U.S. High Commissioner shows only 16% of the people favour rearmament, while the rest "persist in refusing even to speak about this question."

January 10

WESTERN GERMANY.—Five thousand Hamburg workers in a large meeting declare their opposition to the ratification by the Bonn Government of the Schuman Plan. The wave of protests against the Schuman Plan has touched many plants in Western Germany.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Fifty-three per cent. of the miners have shown their opposition to the new pension scheme recommended by the Right-wing leaders, by refusing to pay contributions. British miners still refuse to accept the introduction of foreign workers in spite of the pressure of the Right-wing executive of the National Union of Mineworkers.

January 11

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. B. Gardner, General Secretary of the 800,000 strong Amalgamated Engineering Union states that the British trade union movement should not help the Tory Government to abolish the nationalisation of steel or compromise on the principle of public ownership of the industry. This is in contrast to the T.U.C. General Council's reply to the Government promising further reconsideration of its proposal for denationalisation.

ALBANIA.—The people celebrate the sixth anniversary of the People's Republic.

BULGARIA. — The preliminary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions elects its Presidium, composed of 26 members. Todor Prachov is re-elected president.

AUSTRIA.—The Peace Partisans of the Schöller-Bleckmann plants address a letter to the shop stewards of all industrial enterprises in Austria urging them to refuse to produce arms for the Government or for any foreign army.

PAKISTAN. — Five hundred oil workers end a 13-day strike when the Government agrees to an inquiry. Employed by Burmah Shell in Karachi, they were striking for higher wages and annual bonuses. The strike affected only clerical workers and refuelling operators at the airport.

January 12

GREAT BRITAIN. — Lancashire miners elect Jim Hammond, popular Communist, as their president by a very substantial majority. This is the first time the president has been elected by a secret ballot of the rank and file. Previously he was elected by conference delegates.

— A joint meeting, representing over 250,000 teachers, demand assurances from the Government that the period of a child's school life will not be shortened. The Government had proposed reducing the school period by one year to help meet the cost of the arms programme.

TUNISIA.—Despite a police ban the Peace Congress is held in Tunis.

January 13

WESTERN GERMANY.—A conference of Bavarian youth organisations is held in Munich against military service for the youth. Participants in the congress, including trade union officials, resolve to call

the youth of Western Germany to act together against thls menace and to take part in a Central Conference to be held at the beginning of April, 1952. In Rhine-Westphalia 600 youth delegates also unanimously reject the remilitarisation and the introduction of compulsory military service.

— Hamburg dockers unanimously refuse to discharge a ship loaded with armaments for the army of Eisenhower

— A National Conference of Miners is held in Essen with more than 1,000 delegates representing 500,000 miners in Western Germany and 200,000 from the German Democratic Republic Delegations of French miners also take part. The Conference elects a Central Committee of German miners for the Struggle for Peace and Unity, composed of 50 persons.

CHINA.—A plan for the development of agriculture in East China is announced which will bring output up to the highest pre-war level. This is to be done by more extensive use of fertilisers, the provision of implements, selected seeds, the development of livestock, and the establishment of experimental farms.

January 14

UNITED NATIONS. — The Social Commission of the U.N. decides to study a Polish Government resolution calling for the immediate release of the 34 Spanish workers imprisoned at Barcelona and threatened with the death sentence by France.

EIRE.—The Minister for Industry and Commerce declares that the record trade deficit of £125 million makes "reconstruction" immediately necessary and that Irish workers will be faced with further reductions in their already low living standards.

INDIA.—The Soviet Ambassador announces that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to supply capital goods to India for rupees or any other currency. "You can buy from us anything you want and we are willing to buy from you what we require."

January 15

EGYPT. — In Cairo more than 100,000 people take part in a demonstration against imperiallsm on the occasion of the funeral of the resistance fighters. The government declares a state of emergency.

AUSTRIA.—A conference of Works Committees of the largest heavy industry plants in Austria is held in Leoben. The conference asks the government to change its economic policy, to refuse to include Austria in the American armament programme and to establish normal commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies. The conference also adopts a programme of workers' demands and invites all Austrian workers to unite in the fight to achieve these demands.

January 17

BURMA.—About 3,000 Burmah Oil Company workers strike in protest against the Company's refusal to increase the cost of living allowance. The All-Burma B.O.C. Union states that if the demands are not met the strike may spread to other oilfields.

PARAGUAY.—W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant sends a telegram to the President of Paraguay protesting against the ill-treatment inflicted on the trade union leader Obdulio Barthe who is in prison. The message demands that he be freed immediately.

KENYA.—Hundreds of thousands of Africans sign a petition demanding that Africans be allowed to occupy and farm unused land in territories reserved for Europeans. European settlers occupy 16,700 square miles of the most fertile land in Kenya, taken from the Africans over the past fifty years without compensation.

TUNISIA. — A huge demonstration takes place at Ferryville against the refusal of the government to receive a delegation from patriotic organisations whlch wished to demand the independence of Tunisia and protest against the attempts of the French government to stop Tunisia from having recourse to the United Nations. The police fires on the crowd, killing one and wounding several others. At Bizerte police prevent demonstrators from entering from a neighbouring village. The United Trade Union of Tunisian Workers (U.S.T.T.) calls for a strike.

January 18

TUNISIA. — The Resident General has caused the arrest and deportation to the south of Tunisia of many leaders of the Neo-Destur (Nationalist party), the Peace Movement, Communist Party, and the United Trade Unions of Tunisian Workers (U.S.T.T.). In Tunis there are many running battles between the people and the police. The Congress of the Neo-Destur takes place despite the ban. The strike call of the U.S.T.T. is honoured by the workers and the General Union of Tunisian Workers (U.G.T.T.) also proclaim a strike.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Colonel Young, London's Police Commissioner, is selected to reorganise the 130,000 strong Malayan Police Force whose job is to guard British rubber plantations. His past experience includes police reorganisation in the Gold Coast following discontent and strikes there.

RUMANIA.—The Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference in Moscow accepts a preparatory plan for Rumania's participation in the Conference to be held from April 3 to 10, 1952.

January 19

TUNISIA.—New incidents break out throughout the country. At Mateur, in particular, police have killed 7 and seriously wounded 10.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The chief of the Security Administration of the Bonn government announces that compulsory mlltary servlce will be introduced as soon as possible.

BURMA.—The strike at the Burmah Oil Company ends when the All-Burma B.O.C. Workers' Union is notified by the Government that the company has applied for arbitration and that continuance of the strlke would be illegal.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

FEB. 16—29, 1952 ★ No. 4

ITALIAN WORKERS PLAN FOR NATIONAL RECOVERY

Silvio Leonardi

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SECURITY CONFERENCE

Louis Saillant

Legal Action and French Workers • Belgian Miners' Successes • Japan Not For Sale
The Sliding Scale in Australia • Rumanian Health Services • Spotlight on South Africa,
Syria, Iraq, U.S.A., Nicaragua, U.S.S.R. • and other regular features

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The General Council recommends the Executive Bureau, the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) and all trade union organisations to set up wherever possible, bearing in mind the positive experience of workers in France, Italy and other countries, united action committees in the factories as well as provisional committees and trade union co-ordination committees, to undertake all other forms of activity leading to unity, and to promote alliances and strengthened co-operation between unions of different outlook.

Resolution on the Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise their Living Standards and Against the Economic Social Consequences of War Preparations.
(General Council, Berlin, November 21, 1951).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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Preparations for a Broad International Conference to Ensure Progress in Social Security

WHEN the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., which met in Vienna last July, decided to promote an International Conference on Social Security, its decision was based on a general analysis of the economic and social conditions of the mass of the workers throughout the world. This analysis showed, on the one hand, the magnitude and diversity of the attacks in the capitalist countries and the dependent territories against the workers' standard of living—an inevitable consequence of war economy—and, on the other hand, the growth, in number and strength, of actions to win economic and social demands—the workers' reply. It also brought to light the irresistible progress of united action, both within the working class, and by the working-class in unity with all sections of the victims of war economy.

We have mentioned the variety of the attacks against the workers' standard of living. One of the ways of debasing the living conditions of the workers, among so many others, is aimed particularly against social security. The cash benefits to which social security entitles the workers, in the case of sickness, death, disability or unemployment, etc., in those countries where benefits exist, form an integral part of their family budgets. To reduce social security benefits or to refuse to grant them means that the capitalists appropriate a larger part of the national income of a given country, at the expense of the share received by the workers, who produced this income. It is also one of the ways in which new funds for financing a war economy are found.

The W.F.T.U. has decided to organise with increased vigour the fight for the protection, improvement and, where necessary, introduction of social security, as part of the general fight to improve the workers' living conditions. That is the aim of the International Conference on Social Security which will take place next autumn.

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TAKEN on a world scale, what is the situation in social security? On the one hand, in the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies, we see a high level of social security—continuous expansion and the transfer of the right to administer social insurance to the trade unions. In the capitalist countries, however, we see, in varying degrees, the inadequate and incomplete state of social legislation, the obstacles in the way of improving it, the attempts made to reduce or distort it and to dispute or limit the right of the trade unions and workers to administer it.

Thus, we find at the present time, side by side with the complete and highly developed over-all system in the Soviet Union and the more recent constantly developing systems of the Peoples' Democracies, a wide range of systems, from the inadequate social security schemes of France, Great Britain, and Italy, the partial and limited social insurance systems in Denmark, and Switzerland, a rudimentary programme of social security in the United States, and finally, the absence of any administration or system of social insurance, even partial, in the dependent and colonial territories.

Present international policy and its economic consequences in the countries under capitalist rule, bring the serious danger that all existing social security legislation will be curtailed, and that the introduction of social security in the countries and territories in which it does not exist will be summarily shelved.

Should the ruling class in the capitalist world want to reduce the wide variety of social security systems, it will most likely attack the relatively advanced systems by bringing them into line with the lowest.

The workers in the capitalist countries have a different point of view on this variety and on bringing them into line on a lower level. They say that what was possible in certain capitalist countries such as Great Britain and France at the end of the war should, with greater reason, be possible and even subject to improvement seven years after the war. They also say that if the workers in certain countries have, at this time, succeeded in obtaining a more or less advanced social security system which complements their wages, the workers of other countries, including those of the colonial and dependent countries, can and should fight for the benefits of social security. Is this not immediately possible in view of the great size of capitalist profits?

Finally, the example of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, countries where the workers are masters of their destiny, demonstrates the power of the workers in introducing and organising social security, their ability to make

it more and more efficient and to relate its function more and more closely to their concrete, and even smallest, needs. In the Soviet Union, where the National Health Service dates from 1917, the administration of Social Insurance was handed over to the trade unions in 1933. During the last two years, the same thing has happened in several of the Peoples' Democracies, in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Albania, as well as in the German Democratic Republic. In Poland this reform is now being carried out. What a powerful encouragement for all workers to fight for a system of social security for which they would themselves assume responsibility through having the right to administer it.

The W.F.T.U. has never swerved from its position of fighting to win, defend and improve social security. It has been faithful to the declaration of the first World Trade Union Conference which met in London in February 1945, even before the end of the war : *Social Security is a foundation stone of all civilised society.*

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IN the years following the second world war, the unity and strength of the working class in a number of countries forced the passing of new social legislation. Thus France, Great Britain and New Zealand adopted or improved general systems of social security. Other European capitalist countries extended their legislation. Some tentative steps were also taken in Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Guatemala, India and Egypt.

In the Peoples' Democracies, from the former partial and rudimentary system, social security has become one of the principal features of national life. It is guaranteed not only by the Constitution, but also especially by the important material means at its disposal.

In the Soviet Union, where social security has been in existence for 30 years ahead of the Peoples' Democracies, it has made tremendous progress in all the fields of its operation.

The whole international situation has changed since 1947. It was then that the open offensive of the imperialist policy of war and aggression began again, necessarily accompanied in the capitalist countries by general attacks on the workers' standard of living, resulting also in attacks against social security. These attacks are supported in great measure by splitting tactics and the weakening of trade union organisations. They have grown more and more brutal from 1947 to the present day.

Here are some recent examples :

In Great Britain, serious cuts in the medical and social services were introduced in 1951, and British workers are fully aware that this is only the beginning of a major attack. In fact, on January 29, 1952, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Butler, announced new severe measures leading to the lowering of the British workers' standard of living. These measures also affected social security

with the reintroduction of some payment for medical prescriptions, dental treatment and surgical appliances which had been free since 1945.

In France, the employers and their servant, the State, sabotaged social security by allowing their debts to accumulate. In August, 1951, the employers owed the Social Security Administration 94,000 million francs, and the State owed 58,000 million.* Having thus created "propitious" financial difficulties, the reactionary forces clamoured for social security "reform," leading to an increase in the employers' influence and a lessening of that of the workers, and the progressive reduction of benefits and services. They propose that allowances and medical care for illnesses of short duration be abolished, and a far-reaching attack is being directed against the system of pensions for the 400,000 railway workers and the special scheme for the miners which has existed for a long time.

In Italy, the government wishes to "reform" social security in the same way, by preparing plans for its "simplification." The C.G.I.L. has taken a stand against this.

In the United States, the rudimentary character of social security has not prevented some states from cancelling unemployment benefits for seasonal workers. And President Truman declared in his annual economic report in 1952:

"In education, health and social security programs, we must continue to be highly selective, deferring improvements and extensions not clearly necessary now in support of the total defence effort."

Even in the International Labour Organisation there has developed in the last few years an attack against the discussion of new social security conventions, chiefly under the leadership of the United States Government delegation.

The arguments employed by the reactionary forces will not fool any worker: too large an expenditure on social security would lead to a reduction in public and private investment; it would lead to unemployment and a lowering of living standards; it would destroy the budget balance and cause an increase in taxes, etc. The truth, however, is a matter of simple arithmetic. When military expenditure is increased, civilian expenditure cannot even be maintained, let alone increased. It is not possible at the same time to increase that part of the national revenue appropriated by the capitalists and that allotted to the workers.

In addition to direct restrictions on social security services, the employers and their governments have at their disposal an indirect method of achieving the same result. This is inflation, which has already reduced the real value of cash benefits and especially of long-term benefits to a far greater extent than reductions caused by direct restrictions.

So far as the colonial countries are concerned, imperialist capital does not even trouble itself with making demagogic explanations for the absence of any social security measures. Thus the British government, in a report to the U.N. Trusteeship

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* About £94 million and £58 million respectively.

Council, writes cynically about Kenya: *"The natives count on their family, clan or tribe"*; and on Nyasaland: *"No social aid service exists, and, given the structure of African society, it has not been considered useful to create an organised system of social insurance."*

The attack against the workers' standard of living in general, and against social security in particular, is being carried out in all the capitalist and dependent countries. The form, extent and intensity of the attack varies from one country to another. The basis is the same everywhere.

In these circumstances, there exists on a world scale an interest common to all workers in the field of social security, and the International Conference on Social Security must demonstrate this common interest in a better manner than we have done hitherto. It must show that the diversity of conditions in the various countries and territories, and the wide variation in occupations and political opinions of those concerned, have one common denominator—awareness of the simple and incontestable fact that every gain in social security improves the workers' living conditions, that every attack on social security worsens living conditions, that the joint fight for social security is a form of activity by which both men and women workers can protect the family budget, whatever else they may think or do.

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NEVERTHELESS, though this diversity has a common denominator, as we have just said, it must also be emphasised that it makes difficult any attempt to find a precise programme which would be valid everywhere.

What must be done, however, is the drawing up of a general programme which expressed the aspirations of all those concerned with what social security ought to be, and which can become the subject for the widest discussion. This general programme could serve as a basis for regional or national programmes and be completed by programmes for demands and immediate activities corresponding to the specific given situations.

It is necessary to organise around the Conference and at the time of the Conference, a movement of interest and united action for progress in the defence and winning of social security. If movements for these demands take place, if meetings and conferences on social security are organised, then the Conference will naturally find its mass basis; the question of the election of delegates to be sent to the Conference will be correctly solved and the work of the Conference itself will be based directly on the real working masses. It is along these lines that the National Centres and all trade union organisations should continuously direct their policy.

It is also necessary both during and after the Conference to organise a wide exchange of experience among the trade union organisations of the various countries. For no real progress in social security can be obtained without the organised and co-ordinated action of the workers and their trade unions. The comparison of trade union experiences will bring this activity to a very much higher level.

Finally, and above all, broad unity must be created to support the fight for social security: unity of the working class, unity with every category of worker and with all sections of the population who are interested in winning. protecting and improving social security.

This is a sure foundation on which the united action of the workers can and must be crystallised, so evident and simple is the justice of social security demands. Unity of action around social security can and must be extended to the small peasants, artisans, independent workers, and to sections of the middle class in general.

The setting up of trade union social security committees will facilitate the activity of W.F.T.U. affiliated organisations in favour of social security.

It is principally on the basis of Social Security Action Committees in the factories and other working-places that united action by workers of different viewpoints and trade union affiliations, as well as unorganised workers, must be organised.

Local Committees to defend, extend and improve social security should stimulate the broadening of united action to encompass all sections of the working population.

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AT the present time, and more particularly as part of the preparation for the Conference, the international trade union movement is trying to define as concretely as possible its social security demands. The principles already formulated stipulate a single, free, general system of social security, covering all risks, considered as a fundamental right for the whole working population, and over which the trade unions have the indisputable right of administration and control.

Discussion among the workers and trade unions must be on the different branches of social security such as sickness, accidents, etc., and on each aspect of its functioning.

The wider the discussions in progress, the more fruitful the work of the International Conference on Social Security which must inaugurate a new stage in the fight for social security throughout the entire world.

LOUIS SAILLANT

The Work Plan of the Italian General Confederation of Labour

by SILVIO LEONARDI

THE Work Plan of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) and the action carried out within the framework of this plan by Italian workers obviously reflect a situation peculiar to Italy, a situation which must be described, at least in its fundamental characteristics, to give an understanding of the scope of this undertaking of the largest Italian trade union organisation.

Italy, which did not achieve its political unification until 1870, considerably behind other Western European countries, has never succeeded in reaching their economic level. There has therefore been very little growth in its national income, the possibilities for the accumulation of capital have been inadequate and, as a result, investment has been limited. In addition, the lack of employment opportunities in industry has tied the rural masses of the people to the land, leaving them in a backward state as far as agricultural methods are concerned. The greater part of the considerable increase in population has found no other outlet than emigration, which attained vast proportions during the period when the countries of immigration had not yet limited the entry of foreign labour, that is, up to the outbreak of the first World War.

Capitalism in Italy has not succeeded in performing the progressive function which it once performed in other countries. It has not even destroyed the feudal system, which still exists in various forms, particularly in Southern Italy. Italy has suffered all the disadvantages of the capitalist system without receiving any of the advantages. This negative aspect became even more pronounced with the advent of fascism, accelerating the formation of the narrow system of monopoly capitalism with which the whole country is now burdened.

The economic history of Italy can be briefly illustrated by statistics of the annual income per person, all expressed in lire at the 1914 value :

1870	373
1914	554
1928	460
1938	459

Following the second World War, conditions have further deteriorated as a result of the subjection of the Italian economy to the imperialist policy of the United States.

The income per person and the real wages of the workers have fallen to a level lower than that of 1938. Even the official statistics admit two million unemployed, but the real figure is certainly over four million, or one-fifth of the working population. The extreme poverty of the Italian people cannot be considered as transitory, but must be linked to the fundamental evils of the capitalist system, aggravated by the special evils of the economic and social structure of the country and the abdication of the ruling class on a national scale through the Marshallisation of the country.

Like all under-developed countries, Italy is a country of spectacular and terrible contrasts. On one side the wealth of a small privileged class, which absorbs a large proportion of the national income, and on the other, the appalling poverty of the majority of the population. On the one hand there is the extreme urgency of building homes, improving the land and increasing the production of consumer goods, and on the other hand the vast number of unemployed who are crying out for work.

Italy has the largest number of unemployed in relation to the working population of any European country, and it is also the country in which the shortage of living accommodation is most tragic and the per capita consumption of food is lowest. This is true also of steel consumption—a particularly revealing factor. (The annual per capita consumption of finished steel in 1949 was 200 kilograms in Britain, 150 kilograms in France, 145 kilograms in Switzerland and Belgium, 120 kilograms in Western Germany and only 40 kilograms in Italy.)

Scope of the C.G.I.L. Plan

IT is because of these conditions that the C.G.I.L. developed its Work Plan. The Plan deals both with the necessity for the maximum employment of all resources and every labour possibility by the Italian people in order to improve their situation and, at the

Dwellings constructed in the ruins of an ancient aqueduct in the suburbs of Rome.

same time, with the impossibility of solving this problem within the framework of the present economic structure and policy.

It is clear that in this situation, the C.G.I.L. was unable to limit its objectives merely to a struggle for a better distribution of the national income. The fundamental problem is that this income is too low and that the ruling class is incapable of raising it. Thus the struggle for a fairer distribution of the social product (for example, by an increase in wages at the expense of the colossal profits pocketed by the trusts) is inseparable from the fight against

Construction of a road near Rome by workers engaged in a reverse strike.

capitalist obstacles to an increase in the social product, that is to say, the struggle for an increase in civilian production as opposed to production for war preparation.

It goes without saying that the C.G.I.L. Work Plan must not be confused with planning the country's economic activity, as real basic planning is impossible within the contradictions of capitalist production and exchange. The Plan sets out to find a solution to some of the most serious problems which the submission of the ruling class to imperialist war plans has brought to the country; the closing down and dismantling of civilian industries, the subjection of Italian production to world rearmament production on the lines of the formula "guns before butter" and the agrarian "policy" of the great landed proprietors who allow large areas of cultivable land to remain fallow.

What were the proposals and demands of the C.G.I.L. Economic Conference, held in February 1950?

The basic and immediate economic problem in Italy is that of combining the resources of capital and natural wealth with the available human resources and to set the apparatus of production in motion. To this end, attention was concentrated on three fundamental points : the development of hydro-electric power by annual construction projects corresponding to a productive capacity of 2,500 million KW yearly, the improvement of housing conditions for the people by the annual construction of 1,200,000 rooms, the operation of a programme of land improvement and the transformation of existing agricultural methods at a cost of between 400 and 500 thousand million lire annually.

These figures considered in isolation do not reveal the full scope of the plan It is necessary to consider also what they imply for the whole of Italian economy.

Increasing the production of hydro-electric power does not only mean providing more electrical power for industry and electric light for the villages which now have none, but it also means reducing the amount of coal imports and giving orders to the engineering industry for the manufacture of the machines needed for the workshops and for the building of future power stations. The construction of homes means also the setting in motion of a whole range of activities and industries, such as transport, metallurgy, glass and furniture. The improvement of the land and the transformation of agricultural methods brings with it an increased use of tractors, fertilisers and agricultural implements, the building of roads and the bringing into service of various types of vehicles.

The natural resources required for this work exist within the country. In the first year of its operation, the plan would provide work for more than a million of the unemployed. In the second and third years, the productive investments would bear fruit and the absorption of the unemployed would be speeded up at an increasing rate and, for the first time in Italian history, would be in advance of the natural rate of population increase.

What the Plan Means

HOWEVER, in order to grasp the particular character of the C.G.I.L. Work Plan, it is necessary to bring out another of its aspects. There are in existence Government and private plans in the three main fields of activity mentioned above—hydro-electric production, building and agriculture. These plans are, however, too restricted in relation to the real needs of the Italian people. Government and private plans for building, for instance, envisage a construction programme less than one-third of the size of that envisaged by the Work Plan. The quantitative scope of the C.G.I.L. Plan and the profound changes which it proposes necessarily imply tremendously important qualitative changes.

Why do the present owners of the Italian electrical industry maintain their investments at a level lower than the needs of the Italian people? Because the Italian electrical industry is in the hands of a few monopolies, closely linked together, which find it to their advantage to construct little, to produce little and to keep their monopoly prices high. As a result, the investment of an amount such as that proposed in the Work Plan, which corresponds to the national requirements, implies the necessity of doing away with this system of monopoly and poses practically the problem of nationalising the electrical industry.

Similarly, the programmes for improving the land and transforming agricultural methods cannot be carried out if the present system of large estates is maintained. That implies a basic agrarian reform.

Even the financing of the works proposed by the C.G.I.L. leads to a reversal of the economic policy pursued by the present ruling class, which has sought to preserve the value of money by maintaining a low level of expenditure and consumption, that is, by trying to crystallise the present social system which corresponds to the interests of a few privileged individuals. As against this, the C.G.I.L. Plan considers that the development of productive activity is the best means of guaranteeing the value of money, and that all the disclosed and hidden resources of the nation must be employed to this end.

Agricultural workers occupy uncultivated land in Sicily.

Workers occupied the Reggiane plant closed by the management and produced tractors for peace-time purposes.

The Plan is Founded on Mass Action

IT is evident that the C.G.I.L. Plan is not born of abstract considerations, but of the actual experience of the struggles of the whole working population, including intellectuals, small businessmen, shopkeepers, etc. It brings together and co-ordinates the aspirations of the whole population as they have been formed in the face of hard reality. The Plan being in this sense the result of mass action, its success likewise depends on mass action. How can one imagine that the qualitative changes mentioned above could be effected, that the war policy with all its consequences for the economic plan could be defeated, unless this is forced upon the ruling class through struggle by the whole population, united in common effort for the defence of common interests?

The determination of the Italian workers, united with other sections of the working population, to fight for the C.G.I.L. Plan is revealed by the struggles which have followed the National Economic Conference called by the C.G.I.L. in February 1950, and above all by the National Congress for Industry and the Work Plan in June 1950. At this latter Congress, all the problems relating to Italian industry, metal, chemicals, engineering, etc., were examined in line with the policy outlined by the C.G.I.L.

We may recall the great movement of reverse strikes that is, the movement of the unemployed in certain localities and regions to carry out urgent and needful work such as the construction of roads, canals,

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The people of Bolzaneto (near Genoa) demonstrate their solidarity with the workers of the Ilva steel works, who had occupied the plant in protest against the mass dismissal of workers decreed by the management.

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etc.,* with the collaboration of the whole local population, a movement which broke down all political barriers. We may also recall the movements for the occupation of the land during which poor. landless peasants occupied the uncultivated land belonging to the great landed proprietors, and all the activities which took place to prevent the dismantling of many factories, especially in the heavy industry sector.

All these struggles were carried out within the framework of the Work Plan.

When, for example, the workers of an engineering firm such as the Reggiane factory were obliged to occupy the factory, which had been abandoned by the management, in order to prevent its dismantling and undertook the production of tractors for agriculture, this action was part of an overall plan. These

* See article by Maddelena Grassi, "The People of Cassino Organise a 'Reverse Strike'," in No. 17/1951 of **World Trade Union Movement.**

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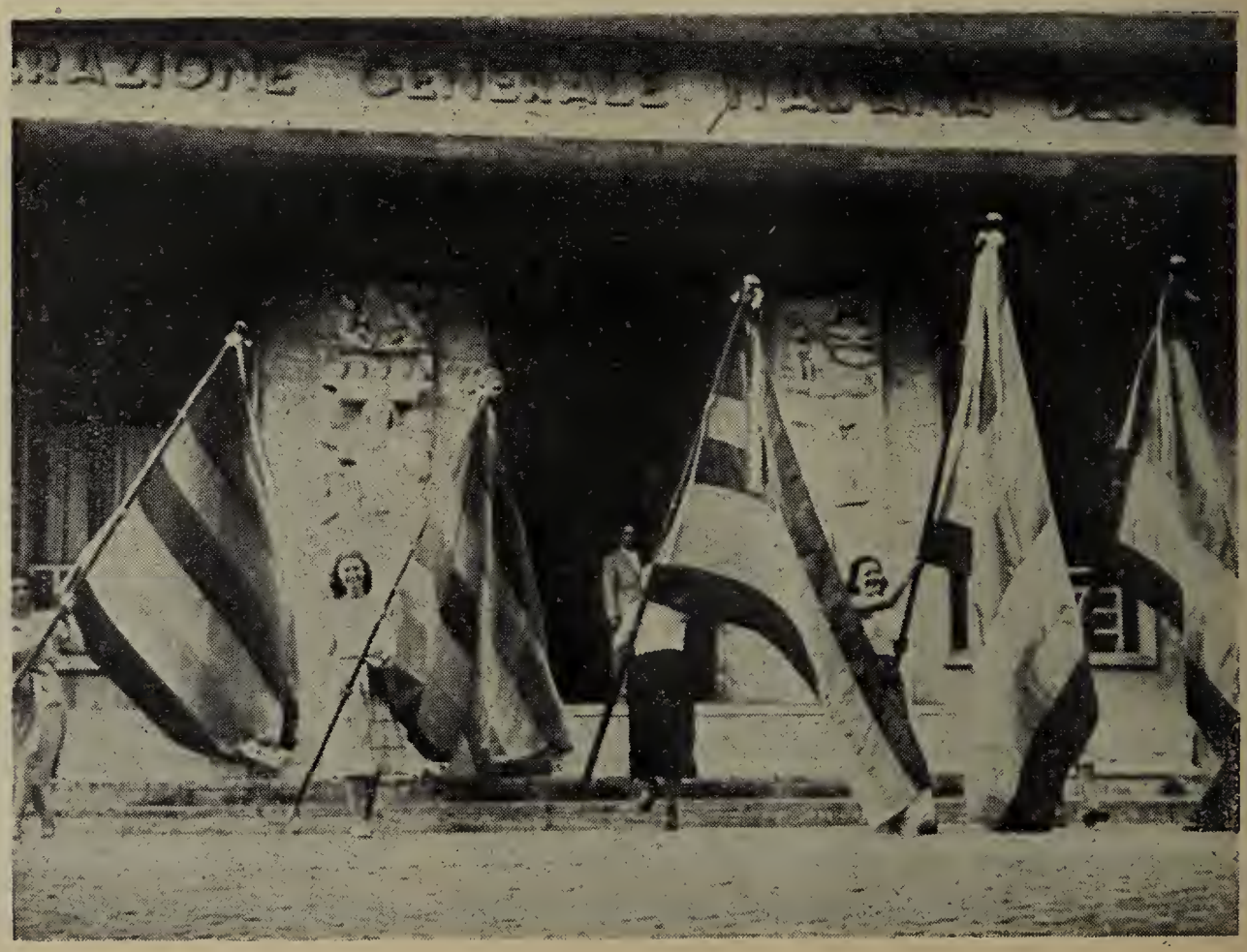
Peace flags displayed in front of the headquarters of the C.G.I.L. in Rome.



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workers took the best form of concrete action of solidarity with the peasants of Southern Italy, who were at the same time occupying the uncultivated lands of the great landed proprietors. In this way, the problem of Southern Italy is no longer placed in an abstract way. A real, common aim is given to the workers of both North and South, as the tractors produced by the heroic workers of the Reggiane factory could not be turned out unless, in the South, all the available land is put into cultivation, and, on the other hand, the occupation of the land would have no chance of success unless the peasants could obtain the implements needed for the cultivation of the land.

The Plan Serves the Italian People and Peace

THE fight for the application of the Work Plan is at the same time the fight for peace, since the maximum use of labour power, which can only be obtained through productive investment in the basic sectors of production, means also the breaking of dependence on foreign capitalist states whose imperialist policy reveals itself in Italy by the destruction of our economic bases such as electrical power and heavy industry.

After the Economic Conference of February 1950, the National Congress for Industry and the Work Plan, in June 1950, examined the situation in the principal branches of industrial production. It became clear from this examination that the principal cause of such things as the reduced activity of the Italian shipbuilding yards, which are only working at one-third of their capacity, or the crisis in industries such as machine-tools and tractors, arises from the obligation forced upon Italy by other powers, particularly the United States, which is preventing Italy from pursuing an economic policy in accordance with the needs of the Italian people. Several industries would have sufficient work if they were not forbidden to export to the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies, from which coal, grain and other products needed by Italy could be imported. The fight for the Work Plan is the fight for freedom in Italy: our country must be able to determine the economic content, and thus the political content, of her future.

The Work Plan also expresses in the broadest possible way the continually growing unity of interests which is uniting all the workers regardless of politics, religion or trade union affiliation, together with other sections of the population. There has been a wide participation in the struggle, under the most varied forms. Credits have been opened by small shopkeepers for the families of workers of occupied factories, who frequently received no wages for many months. Materials have been supplied to the factories by small businessmen, and the entire population has taken part in certain regions during the reverse strikes.

The objective of the Work Plan is not to plan the national economy, but to put forward proposals immediately acceptable to all men of good will without any political distinction, through which the Italian people may express concretely their desire to use all their energies to combat a state of unbearable poverty and attain a living standard worthy of human beings. By refusing to adopt the proposals of the C.G.I.L., proposals which were drawn up with the help of technicians of repute, and by continuing in its policy of national abdication and submission to foreign interests and to imperialist war policy, the Italian ruling class has assumed a very heavy responsibility.

How the French C.G.T. Protects the Workers' Legal Rights

By JACQUELINE AIMOT

TO speak of the *legal defence* of the French workers is to reveal one of the forms of struggle of the French working class against capitalist exploitation.

It is, in fact, in an old bourgeois democracy such as France, one of the important forms of activity which is based on the history of the French trade union movement and cannot be dissociated nor even isolated from other forms of working-class activity.

I. Labour Law Linked to Workers' Struggle

FROM a bourgeois point of view, labour law, with its legislative and judicial forms, is a bargain between wage-earners and their exploiters. In reality, the experience of the working class movement shows that labour law is at any particular time the result of the relation of forces in the class struggle.

Labour law does not differ from the normal rules of law in the capitalist regime. It is still the expression of the ruling class. But perhaps it is more subject to working-class pressure than other branches of law.

The historical development of labour law reflects the different stages in the struggle of the French workers. As G. Lyon-Caen, Professor of Law, says in the C.G.T. legal revue, *Droit Ouvrier* :

"It is clear from the outset that labour legislation has not been granted by a State wishing to be impartial and above classes and social struggles. It is not a law of arbitration. To reduce labour law to an interventionist policy of protection or to a policy of mediation is to distort its history. Labour law has developed in the degree to which the working class has organised itself and perfected its means of struggle. It represents at any given moment the relation of opposed forces, now progressing, now receding, according to the social situation. It is a law born of the pressure of the workers on parliament, the government or the employers, a law that has been won, not given . . . Labour legislation appears as a series of gains won by the working class over the employers and the State power as a result of economic and political struggles—advantages which are often lost and regained and which contribute to improving the conditions of the workers without ever succeeding in transforming their situation completely."

In fact, the whole history of the working-class movement shows that labour law, such as it is, has been the result of victories by the workers, after long struggles to obtain satisfaction on specific points.

But we must take note of the fact that the workers must not only fight to win a right, but also to have it enforced and to see that it is maintained.

Let us take, for example, the fight waged by the French workers for a right which is particularly essential under a regime of capitalist exploitation, the right to strike, which Brother Benoit Frachon has called *the final weapon of the workers.*

This right has taken nearly a century to win, and it is now again being strongly attacked.

Only in 1946 was the right to strike won by the workers' great struggle and recognised in the preamble to the French Constitution. Nevertheless, a whole legal process has been in operation from 1946 to 1951, attempting progressively to restrict the scope of this document. Attempts have been made, for instance, to differentiate between an industrial strike and a non-industrial strike, a distinction which does not correspond to anything either in the wording of the texts or in actual fact.

Is it a political strike or an industrial strike, in our Marshallised France, to fight against the Schuman Plan for a coal and steel pool, which threatens thousands of workers with unemployment and deportation? Is it a political strike or an industrial strike when the dockers refuse to transform their hard calling into a dirty trade of transporting arms? Can one label as industrial or political a strike which aims to force the Minister of Labour to convene a meeting of the National Commission for Collective Agreements for the purpose of raising wages?

They have tried other tricks, saying that it is proper to use the right to strike, but forbidden to abuse it. But what is abuse of the right to strike? Is it, for example, the measures of protection taken by striking workers against provocateurs?

The reactionary forces, while formally maintaining the right to strike, now want to restrict even further its scope and its sphere of application. The government has already suffered a setback in this attempt, its proposal for compulsory arbitration having been rejected by parliament as a result of the unity of

the workers. However, the employers and their representatives in parliament have not given up, and at the present time, there is a whole spate of proposals to regulate the right to strike.

But the right to strike is a right which is not easily taken away from the workers, who go on strike even when it is forbidden to do so, one of the many examples, among others, being the heroic strike of the miners in 1941 under Hitler's occupation.

We can say, then, that the working class fights tenaciously to improve and defend the rights it has won in past struggles. Labour law in France is still clearly inadequate.

As far as dismissal of workers is concerned, French legislation gives no real guarantee to the wage-earners, even though in 1945 a regulation attempted to force the employers to consult the Factory Inspectors prior to any dismissal. In practice, as a result of legal devices, the employers dismiss their employees arbitrarily and at will.

A second example also shows that labour relations in France are class relations: a wage-earner who is paid when he leaves his employer signs a receipt showing the amount paid him. If the receipt has the note "payment in full" written on it, and if the worker has not protested within 8 days of his signing the receipt, he loses all right to contest the validity of the amount received. Even if the worker proves that his employer has violated his rights and robbed him, the fact that he had signed a receipt whose significance he did not realise prevents him from claiming what is due him in the courts.

Labour law, such as it is, does however bring some relief to the situation of the workers, and we cannot remain silent about the improvements made when the great working-class militant, Ambroise Croizat, Secretary of the Metalworkers Federation, was Minister of Labour, from the end of May 1945 to 1947. Important progress was made during this period, especially in the following spheres: Works Committees, health and safety, workers' medical services, social security, family allowances, old age and other pensions.

The workers are determined to defend these rights as well as the right to strike. They are fighting to obtain the most liberal application of the law and to extend its scope by means which we shall examine later.

II. Meaning and Importance of Legal Action for the French Trade Union Movement.

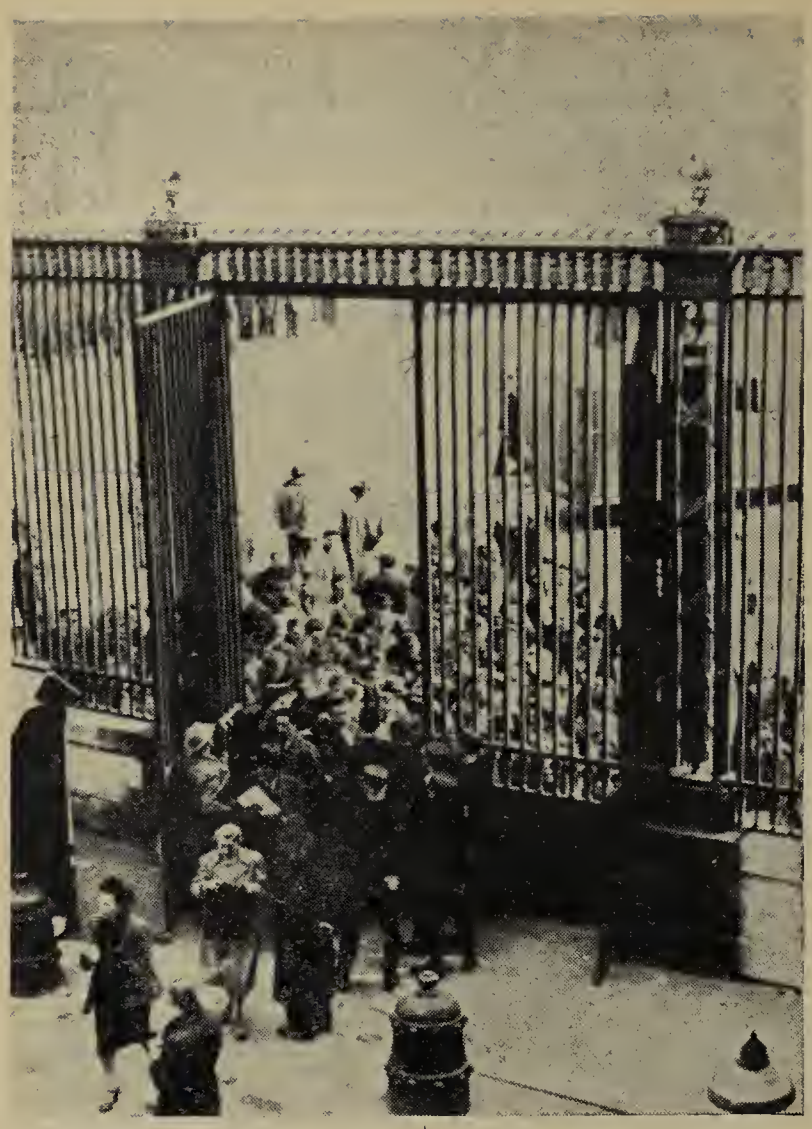
IN these circumstances it is understandable that the French trade union movement has been concerned since its foundation with legal questions.

It is usually said that these questions are over-estimated in some quarters and under-estimated in others. We think rather that legal action is not always given its correct place within the framework of the general struggle of the working class.

Some reformists over-estimate the importance of legal action because they tend to isolate it and do not see it as one method among the others. Some think that a radical change could be made in the position of the working class through legal reforms.

There are others who call themselves "revolutionaries," who, by contrast, distrust legal forms of action, thinking that the working-class movement should only resort to direct action, and who replace the real defence of the workers by revolutionary phraseology.

During the trial of working-class militants Marie Lambert and Alain Signor, the power of mass action supporting legal action could be measured by the size of the police forces displayed. The photo shows the police massed around the Brest Law Courts.



Henri Baron, deputy mayor of St. Denis (Paris suburb) and several workers were tried for exercising their right to strike. During the whole trial delegations of workers came to the Palais de Justice to demand the liberation of the arrested strikers.

But today the C.G.T., which includes all currents of the French working-class movement, has learnt from the past and is trying to place legal action in its correct place within the general framework of trade union activity.

Of course, the final aim of the C.G.T. is still that laid down in its Constitution—*the disappearance of wage-earning and employing classes.* This is not, however, achieved in a day, and Article 1 of the Constitution also says that the objective of the C.G.T. is *to defend the moral and material, economic and professional* interests of the wage-earners.

The trade union movement must in fact use all means at its disposal to defend the workers. That is why Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the C.G.T., recently said to the leaders of the C.G.T.: *a militant trade unionist must be a complete militant, an educator, a legal adviser, etc. . . .* and Brother Gaston Monmousseau wrote: *Besides the workers' rights taken collectively, there is also the right of the worker considered as an individual, which is not the least in importance . . . The trade union would fail in its mission if it did not take in hand the defence of the worker as an individual.*

Legal action, which makes it possible to settle personal questions, is very real to the workers. The fact that his interests are taken up by the trade union can sometimes provide a way by which the worker comes to understand the need to belong to a trade union, and thus strengthens the authority of the trade union.

We must not forget the large number of unorganised workers, to whom it is necessary to show the value of the trade union and who can be brought to see this through the defence of their personal interests, for the trade union's role is to defend all the workers, and not only its own members.

In this way the workers learn that they cannot defend themselves alone but will succeed only if united.

Taken in the sense of the general principles outlined above, this means that legal action must not be isolated from other forms of activity.

Well conducted legal action is always publicised within the factory, or even, in important cases, in the factories of the locality or of the department. Petitions are organised to support court cases and, in cases of miscarriage of justice, the trade union organises popular protests. When a victory has been won in the courts, it is publicised by the trade union organisation and becomes a new factor promoting confidence in such activity.

It can thus be seen that mass action backs up legal action and that the legal fight strengthens the fight on day to day issues.

III. Social Institutions at Disposal of Wage-Earners for Protection of Workers' Rights

THROUGH a century of working class struggle, the workers have won certain institutions which help them to protect their rights.

WORKERS' AND STAFF DELEGATES were established by a law passed in 1936, improved in 1946, and which makes them compulsory in all firms of more than 10 employees. They play a very important role in defending the workers' rights, extending far beyond legal action, as shown by the definition of their role laid down in the law:

"The function of these delegates is as follows:

To present to the employers all individual and collective claims which may not have been satisfied directly, relating to wage rates and job classifications, the labour code and other laws and regulations concerning workers' protection, health, safety and social insurance; to bring to the attention of the factory inspector all complaints or observations relating to the application of the legally prescribed regulations which it is their responsibility to see carried out."

THE HEALTH AND SAFETY COMMITTEES, set up in 1947, composed of employer, staff doctor, person in charge of safety measures, legal adviser, and representatives of the employees, among other duties, must

"inspect the establishment to ensure the application of the statutory and legal provisions and the health and safety measures, to ensure the maintenance of protective appliances."

FACTORY INSPECTORS are officials who are being increasingly subjected to the class pressure of a government in the service of the employers. Nevertheless, their powers are important for they are responsible for inspecting the application of labour legislation in the various fields of health and safety, wages, working conditions, etc. . . . They have the right to enter places of work and must be accompanied by a workers' delegate.

By intervening with the factory inspectors and exercising pressure on them to make them carry out their tasks, the workers do sometimes obtain satisfaction and have penalties imposed on employers who do not respect the law.

THE CONSEILS DE PRUD'HOMMES are bodies composed of equal numbers of employers and workers who continue to work at their trade. They are responsible for settling labour disputes between employers and wage-earners employed in industry or commerce, and their procedure is less slow and cumbersome than that of the ordinary courts.

This legal right, won by the workers more than 150 years ago, is prized very highly by them, and it represents an advance on normal legal procedure, even though it does not give the workers complete satisfaction. In fact, the procedure should be further simplified, and there should be right of appeal to another body with equal representation of employers and workers instead of to the ordinary courts.

We must note, nevertheless, that the working class has recently won the right to have workers defended before these joint bodies by trade union militants instead of by lawyers.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY CLAIMS DEPARTMENT was reorganised in 1946 within the framework of the French social security scheme. The Social Security claims departments are presided over by an ordinary magistrate and include assessors elected by the socially insured. The role of these commissions is to settle disputes between the socially insured and the social security administration. The defence of the rights of the socially insured is thus one of the tasks of the trade union movement.

IV. The C.G.T.'s Legal Activities

THIS legal defence must first of all be carried out on the job, in the factories and offices. Workers' representatives and trade union secretaries must be able to advise the workers on their rights, and defend them against the employers, if necessary in court. We should distinguish between three aspects of the question : Legal Information Departments and legal councils, Documentation, and the development of militants especially devoted to legal activities.

1. Legal Information Departments and Legal Councils

For the large trade unions, and whenever possible, legal information departments are set up near work places for the workers' convenience in getting advice. Failing this, the legal information departments are situated in the local or departmental union headquarters.

These legal information departments are organised by the legal councils of the departmental or local union branches. The legal councils are themselves directed by a militant of the trade union movement assisted by militants qualified as " legal specialists,"

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Workers crowd into the entrance of the Legal Information Service of the Paris branch of the building workers' union (C.G.T.).

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members of *Conseils de Prud'hommes,* trade unionists specialising in social security, and labour lawyers.

The national leadership insists that the legal councils be directed by militants of the trade union movement so as not to risk being distorted by legalisms which sometimes happens when militants become too specialised. This is essential to ensure that legal action is never dissociated from the other forms of trade union action.

Let us take an example. Workers' representatives in a factory are dismissed by the employer after incurring his displeasure as a result of activity for workers' demands. These dismissals are illegal, since they do not respect the rules protecting workers' delegates. What should the trade union do? It will organise protests throughout the factory by petitions from the workers and stoppages of work. Parallel with this, it will, with the legal commission, take court action against the employer demanding that he reinstate the delegates. By letting the workers know that legal action is being taken against the employer, it will give them confidence and encourage them to fight.

Further, when the trial takes place, it will bring the workers from the factory to sit in the public gallery of the court, which will show the judges that the delegates are backed by the mass of the workers, and there is no doubt that this considerably influences our judges. It can thus be seen that the integration of legal action with the whole activity of the trade union helps to bring victory.

2. *Documentation*

Trade union militants need documentation in order to carry out their tasks, and to enable them to advise the workers.

A number of publications are issued by the C.G.T., corresponding to the varying needs of their members :

Firstly, *Le Peuple,* the official organ of the C.G.T., gives the general line of action of the trade union organisations and also provides the legal directives.

The *Fichier Confédéral de la C.G.T.* consists of a resumé of labour and social security legislation in the form of memoranda issued each month. Keeping these memoranda up to date enables any trade unionist to give advice on current questions to the workers.

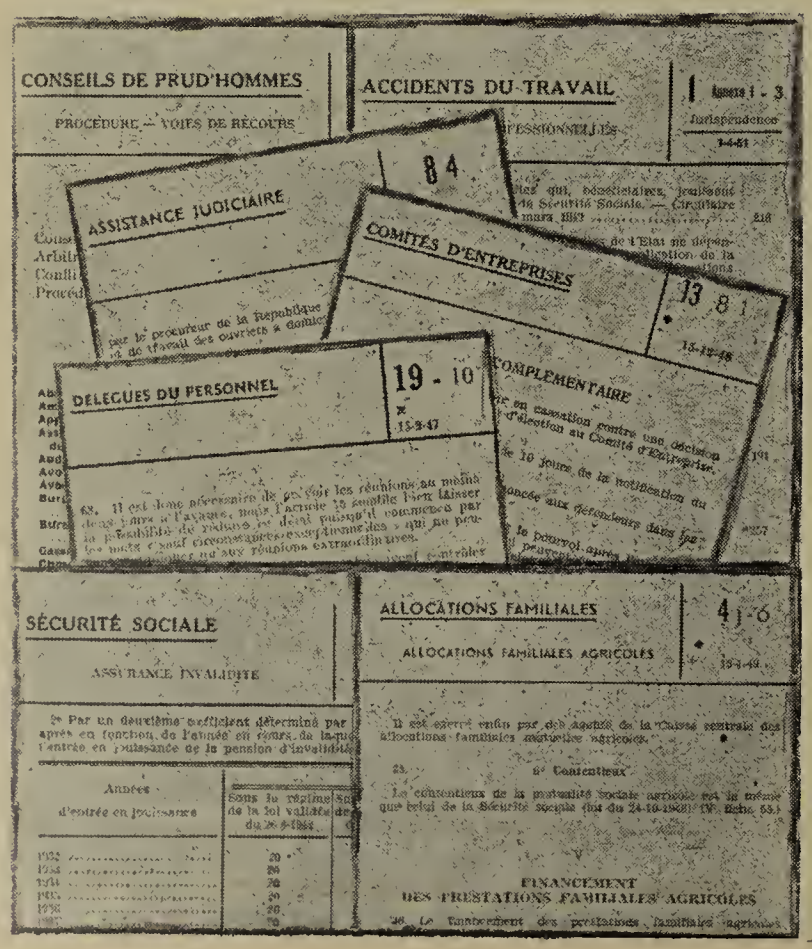
Le Droit Ouvrier is a legal review which is intended to help members of the *Conseils de Prud'hommes* and of Legal Councils in their work in the courts. It carries a compilation of legal decisions, especially those favourable to the workers, and the study of legal doctrine giving interpretations on problems of interest to the workers.

This Review is edited and directed by leading trade unionists, members of *Conseils de Prud'hommes* and progressive lawyers, under the direction of Henri Raynaud, Secretary of the C.G.T.

La Vie Ouvrière, the great mass weekly paper of the French trade union movement, issues a number of publications, including a legal handbook. The need of the workers for legal advice is so great that this paper has an important legal service which replies to letters and publishes information on its legal page and in the handbook.

There are also a number of booklets published for workers' representatives on factory committees and *Conseils de Prud'hommes.* Without giving a complete list, we must draw attention to the *Bulletin des délégués du personnel,* the legal columns of the *Revue des Comités d'Enterprise,* and to the papers of the national federations, the legal bulletins of the departmental trade unions, etc.

Information cards issued by the Legal Service of the C.G.T.



3. *The Development of Militants Charged with Legal Duties*

a) First among these are the workers' representatives, members of works' committees and of health and safety committees, who are the principal advisers of the workers on legal matters and whose functions require them to unite legal action with the struggle for trade union demands within the factory.

b) These also include the members of the *Conseils de Prud'hommes.* These councillors are elected on lists put forward by the trade unions. It is essential, therefore, that the trade unions should take care to make a good choice of the militants who will have to act as judges and who must never forget that they are first of all workers. (They remain workers in fact, since their council duties do not prevent them from continuing to work at their trade.)

We must interest all the workers in these elections, and we must require the councillors to be at the disposal of the workers to give them legal information, as described above. It is absolutely necessary to help the councillors to maintain at all times their class feeling, which must stimulate them in their activity.

A meeting called by the workers of a Paris metro repair yard for the liberation of Henri Martin, the courageous seaman of the French Navy who opposed the war in Viet-Nam. By mass action and legal action the workers fight to preserve all liberties.

c) Social security militants. The workers also need to be defended in social security questions, and perhaps we have been rather behind in this activity. In fact, only recently have we realised that it is necessary to defend the workers *against* the Social Security Administration. For too long, we have had a tendency to think that the Social Security agencies, with their elected Administrative Councils, could not be against the workers. Now we see the Minister of Labour placing restrictive interpretations on the laws, and the influence of the employers being exercised on the Administrative Councils. That is why it is necessary that the worker-administrators on Social Security agencies should be continually on the alert to protect the workers' interests.

Further, assessors elected by the wage-earners sit on the tribunals specially set up under the chairmanship of a regular magistrate to study disputes between the Social Security Administration and the insured. Like the members of the *Conseils de Prud'hommes,* they must give attention not only to seeing that the workers' rights are respected, but that they are also extended.

The work of all these militants is co-ordinated on the departmental level by the C.G.T. Departmental (County) Trade Union Organisations.

To help the development of these militants, meetings and days of study are organised on a local, departmental or national level, as well as national conferences, which allow for the study of questions and the exchange of experiences.

The importance of legal action also necessitates legal councils on the national level, both for the national unions and for the Confederation. We must stress particularly the role of the Confederal Legal Council which, under the direction of the Confederal Bureau, co-ordinates the activities of those responsible for legal problems and supervises their documentation and training.

It determines the orientation on the national level in important trials before the Supreme Court of Appeal or the *Conseil d'Etat* (Council of State). It also seeks the most favourable interpretation of existing legislation for the workers and studies modifications to be introduced in such legislation.

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IN conclusion, we can state that action in the legal sphere "pays" just as well as other forms of trade union activity.

We can see what this activity means to the workers by looking at three aspects of it.

Financially—legal action wins back for the workers several hundreds of millions of francs yearly from ever more grasping employers.

From the point of view of strengthening trade union activity and recruiting—the interest taken in the individual demands of workers frequently brings these workers to a very deep attachment to the C.G.T.

One example among many is the case of an unemployed worker in Lyon, who had never been a trade unionist, who was living in a hotel because of the shortage of other accommodation, and who was finding it difficult to obtain the family allowances to which he was entitled. One of the C.G.T. administrators of family allowances intervened on his behalf, without asking him, and succeeded in securing him his rights. Six months later this C.G.T. administrator

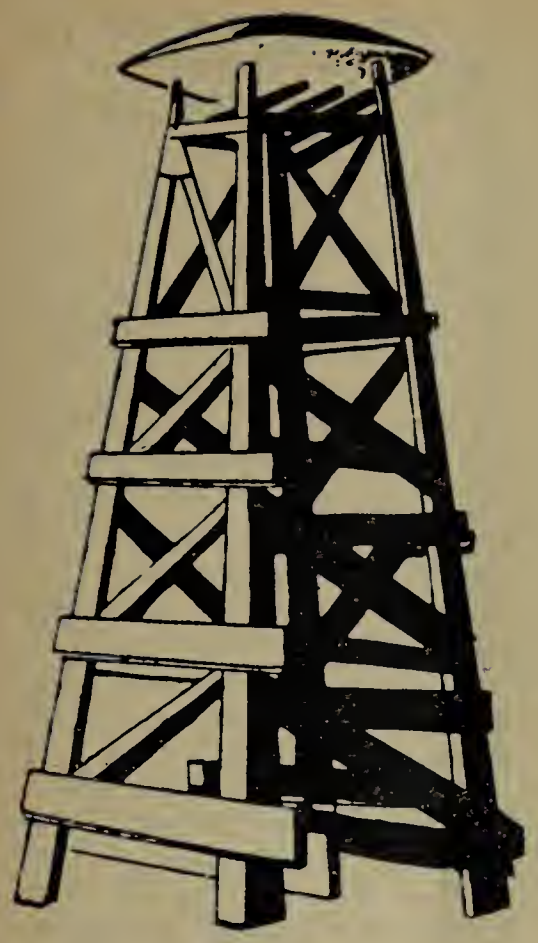
received a letter from this worker saying that he had now found a building construction job, that he was now secretary of his local trade union branch and that he had recruited to the C.G.T. his 12 fellow-workers. He added that this seemed to him to be the best way of thanking our C.G.T. administrator.

On questions of principle—legal actions have made it possible to gain extremely important points and to win considerable successes. For instance, we have won in the courts the right of trade unionists condemned to imprisonment for, say, strike action, to retain their rights to become trade union officials. The Government wanted to behead the trade union movement by forbidding any trade unionist sentenced to three months imprisonment from becoming a trade union official. Many of our members had been subjected to this ban for various activities for which they had been convicted.

Thus, all the work carried on by the C.G.T. in the legal sphere is directed towards one end—to strengthen the workers' struggle against their exploiters, the employers and the government in the service of the capitalists. It is an honoured task of the C.G.T. to ensure the defence of the French working class and of all wage-earners, a defence which does not consist solely in the defence of labour law. The attack on the workers is not limited to this point, but is directed against all their liberties. On orders of the American imperialists, the French government, forced to fight with its back to the wall, no longer hesitates to violate its own laws and to resort to methods of a fascist character.

During the past three years, workers have been killed because they insisted on their right to eat and to live, their right to speak and to call for peace. Many working class militants have been imprisoned. Henri Martin, the sailor of freedom, is in jail. The C.G.T. unites all French democratic forces, fights in defence of all the rights and freedoms of the workers. It helps and supports the work of the *Secours Populaire,* the organisation which provides for the defence in the penal courts of workers prosecuted for their activity.

This work has already brought great success. Trade union militants have been acquitted and freed as a result of mass pressure. The C.G.T. is continuing with this activity for the release of all imprisoned militants, and in particular of Henri Martin, so that France may become a country in which the rights of the workers are respected in an atmosphere of national independence, freedom and peace.



Belgian Miners' United Unions Win Important Victory

By C. VAN DEN BOOM

IN October, the workers in the Belgian mines elected their trade union pit delegates. These elections are of great importance because the delegates exercise considerable influence on the miners' struggles.

Nominations are put forward by the trade unions, but the delegates are elected by all the workers in the pits. They are responsible for the daily defence of the fundamental interests of their comrades at work, and for all their lesser demands. Their tasks in the larger struggles between the miners and the colliery barons are no less important, however, because as the elected representatives of all the miners, they often play a determining role.

It is therefore of paramount importance to see that the delegates elected are militant delegates, capable not only of dealing with the day-to-day issues in the pits, but also with the more general demands of the miners. It is also important for the progressive unions and more particularly the United Trade Unions (affiliated to the Miners' Trade Unions International, Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), to see that their candidates are elected.

The importance of these elections has escaped neither the coal-mine employers, the right-wing trade union leaders of the Miners' Independent Centre (affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.), nor the leaders of the Free Miners' Centre (Christian T.U.). They have all done their best to prevent the Miners' United Unions from taking part in the elections with their own lists of candidates. As a result of their manoeuvres and the interminable discussions, carried on in an attempt to keep the United Unions out, the elections were held more than six months late. But these efforts only proved that it was impossible to legally eliminate the United Trade Unions, since they have their representatives on the Joint National Commission for Mines. It was above all their fear of protests from the miners which led the employers and right-wing trade union leaders to abandon their manoeuvre.

Preparation of the lists of candidates and the electoral campaign itself took place under particularly difficult circumstances. The different trade union Centres fought, as a matter of fact, with very unequal means. The employers themselves did not remain inactive either, supporting more or less openly the candidates of the reformist and Christian Centres against those of the United Trade Unions.

The three trade union Centres had the greatest difficulty in finding workers in any of the pits who fulfilled the legal conditions and would agree to become candidates. More than two-thirds of the miners are unorganised. Almost half are immigrants; among them the Italians alone comprise 40,000 miners, and the immense majority of them are unorganised.

The Miners' United Unions, numerically the weakest and distributed among a restricted number of coal fields, were able to present candidates in less than 50% of the pits. (They did not put forward any candidates at all in the Limburg Valley.)

On the other hand, while the reformist and Christian Centres had financial means at their disposal (certainly not derived from membership dues), which enabled them to make use of every method of propaganda and agitation, the United Unions could only count on the devotion of their members and militants. The latter allowed themselves at times to be impressed by the strength, more apparent than real, of their adversaries, and by their widespread campaign, largely employing dishonest means. Thus the "argument" dear to the right-wing leaders of the Independent Centre and repeated by them a thousand times during the electoral campaign—that "the United Trade Unions are dead and the miners will prove that by their votes"—gave rise to hesitations among the members and militants of the United Unions and almost paralysed their activity.

In these circumstances, the results of the elections are a real victory for the United Trade Unions, who obtained, in the places where they presented lists, about 33% of the votes. In certain pits, they even received more than 50% of the votes. In the old mining areas (with the exception of Limburg), they held second place, coming ahead of the Free Miners' Centre (Christians). In 55 pits, out of a possible 135 delegates, the United Unions obtained a total of 78 delegates.

These elections are full of lessons for the Miners' United Unions. These must be learnt by the militants in order to help them to

change fundamentally their conception of their responsibilities towards the mining proletariat and of the possibilities of leading the miners into the fight and to victory.

The results of the elections are an indication that a large number of the miners are in favour of the United Trade Unions' programme of demands and activity. This section of the miners is, in general, the most militant section. They are the ones who call on the United Unions to take the lead resolutely in the miners' fight and who clearly discern the great possibilities of success.

These results also show the dangerous disproportion which exists, on the one hand, between the number of miners who have confidence in the United Unions and vote for their candidates and, on the other hand, the small number of members of the United Unions. The United Unions must undertake an intensive recruiting campaign for new members so that they become the trade unions of the mass of the workers not only as a result of their influence, but through their large membership.

The weaknesses of the Miners' United Unions organisation were apparent right through the electoral campaign and its results. They will not be able to carry out their tasks without basing themselves on the mass of the miners, and especially on their members and militants organised in union pit branches, deciding freely and democratically on their trade union policy and electing their trade union committees based on the pits (this does not mean that the local trade union branches must be automatically dissolved where they are considered necessary).

Foreign labour is a force which must be taken into account. A great many foreign miners, particularly the Italians, have shown their confidence in the United Trade Unions. The latter will have to tackle the job of including in the miners' general fight the organisation of foreign miners and the defence of their specific interests.

Finally—and this dominates the whole—the electoral campaign and its results have particularly stressed the urgency and necessity of unity of action among the miners. Without doubt, blows were exchanged between the supporters of opposing lists during the electoral campaign, but the fact that the United Unions appeared as a real force has increased the possibilities of unity of action for the defence of the miners' interests. The attacks of the employers against the living conditions of the miners have also been a factor in making the miners see the necessity for unity, and unity has already brought victories in the fight for their demands.

The Belgian miners, as well as the whole working class of this country, find themselves on the eve of great class battles for the defence of their working and living conditions, which are deteriorating due to the war preparation put into effect by a government following the orders of Washington. The Belgian coalfields are, in fact, directly threatened with being closed by the Schuman Plan.

IN the light of the foregoing, one can understand the great significance attached to the extraordinary Congress of the Miners' United Trade Unions held in Brussels on January 26 and 27. More than 40 delegates spoke in discussion on the reports presented there.

The Miners' Federation of France (C.G.T.) sent a fraternal delegate. The Miners' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) sent a message to the Assembly.

Important resolutions summarising the work and the principal aims of the Miners' United Trade Unions were adopted.

First, the expansion of activity to win the miners' demand for a two francs increase per hour and a bonus of 1,000 francs; and the intensification of activity to unite the miners, regardless of political or religious views, in the struggle to achieve their demands. Second, a stubborn fight against the Schuman Plan, which constitutes a permanent threat that pits will be closed, and is the principal cause of the lowering of wages, the lack of labour safety precautions, and the too rapid speeding-up of production.

A special resolution was adopted concerning activity among foreign workers and most particularly among the Italian miners. The Congress assured the foreign miners of the complete solidarity of the Miners' United Trade Unions in defence of their special interests. The Congress charged the National Committee with the task of drawing up with them their list of special demands and decided to launch a campaign to achieve these demands. It also asked its pit delegates to be vigilant in the daily defence of the interests of these exploited miner comrades.

Finally, the Congress enthusiastically approved the decisions of the General Council of the W.F.T.U., emphasising that the Miners' United Trade Unions will do everything in their power to carry out these decisions. As is well known, these recommendations of the General Council deal mainly with the strengthening of the activity for uniting the workers in the struggle to achieve their demands; the development of a great campaign of explanation; the study and publicising of the experience drawn from struggles in other countries; the establishment of unity, and the systematic fight against every manifestation of sectarianism.

There is no doubt that the extraordinary Congress of the Miners' United Trade Unions has shown the Belgian miners the way to victory through the strengthening of their unity of action.

Japan is Not For Sale

by

MARY WOLFARD

THERE'S an old saying that leopards don't change their spots. American policy in Japan is certainly demonstrating that what is true of leopards is also true of Wall Street wolves.

They may put on sheeps' clothing from time to time when the immediate end warrants a little fancy dress—as for instance when they bleated :

"The Japanese people shall be encouraged to develop a desire for individual liberties and respect for fundamental human rights, particularly the freedom of religion, assembly, speech, and the press. They shall also be encouraged to form democratic and representative organisations."[1]

But now the time for such masquerades is past and the Wall Street wolves are openly howling again. Japanese citizens expressing too great a desire for individual liberty are put away as dangerous reds and while the freedom to worship is left more or less intact, we all know how, speaking with the tongues of Japanese members of the anti-national front, the United States authorities banned the 1951 Tokyo May Day demonstration. Freedom of the press is non-existent (over 1,700 papers have been suppressed) and 'democratic and representative organisations' must conform to U.S.-capital specifications —i.e. no democracy and no working class representation.

Wall Street's Wants

The functions which Wall Street intends Japan to fulfil cannot be coupled with democracy. It is America's aim to turn Japan into a huge Wall Street - owned factory, based on cheap Japanese labour and the raw materials of South-East Asia, from which a flood of cheap materials will flow in order to drive Britain and other competitors from the world's markets. Even more important, America plans to use Japan as a strategic base, military arsenal and repair shop, and a source of manpower for the U.S. war plot against the national liberation movements of South-East Asia and against those two great people's bastions, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

All this is strictly against the Japanese Constitution adopted in 1945; today it's as bad form to quote the Japanese Constitution in Tokyo as it is to quote the Bill of Rights in Washington.

In order to avoid long supply lines, Japan is essential to these plots. And in order to avoid any great loss of American lives, Japanese armed services are also essential. Like all imperialist powers, the United States likes to use mercenary troops.

General Roberts of the U.S. Army in Korea recently announced : "It is my conviction that only as a last resort should white men be sent to Asia to fight. My observations in Korea indicate that we can use native troops with good effect. Maybe we could even use North Korean prisoners—just turn them around and make them fight the other way. And why should we not use Filipinos? or Japanese? We could use these native troops instead of our own. We could pay them as little as $5 a month and a bowl of rice a day —no fight—no rice! We could go to town with them." Our Asian friends cannot complain that they haven't been warned.

In line with this policy, John Foster Dulles recently told the Japanese people that they not only had a right, but a duty to rearm. Considering that the "National Police Reserve" is already equipped with mortars, machine guns, bazookas and flame-throwers, and that Japanese soldiers

1 "U.S. Initial Post - Surrender Policy for Japan," 29.8.45.

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Tokyo metal workers sign an appeal calling for an overall peace treaty and opposing Japanese rearmament and the establishment of U.S. military bases in their country.

★

have already been sent to fight in Korea, the declaration of this "right" is superfluous.

Plans for the re-formation of the Imperial Japanese Navy were openly announced and officially approved in Tokyo last December. It is admitted that the first target will be 300 destroyer-class vessels, some of which will be kindly loaned by the United States. This is in addition to the present Maritime Safety Board which already has a fleet of 300 ships. The Air Force is also being reformed with 300 aircraft as a nucleus.[2]

However, this is small stuff in comparison to suggestions being bandied about in the Japanese press. A Committee for the Study of Japanese Re-Armament has drawn up a project providing for an air force of 2,100 planes and 35,000 men, as well as a navy of 280.000 tons displacement and 400,000 men.

Children Sold

The money to finance these war measures comes. of course, from the pockets of the Japanese workers. It is estimated that today the average Japanese working class family spends about one third of its total income on direct government taxes, apart from local and indirect taxes. This is a terribly high proportion. particularly when it is remembered how low Japanese wages are. It is little wonder that parents are forced to sell their children into slavery in order to keep the rest of the family alive.

The Japanese Ministry of Labour admitted in September 1951 that although the Japanese Government had decided to prohibit the buying and selling of human beings, the slave trade was expanding. It said that from July 1950 to June 30th 1951 the number of transactions reached 1,579, or twice the figure for the preceding year. This is official minimising of a terribly widespread practice. One Tokyo newspaper says that sometimes as many as 5,000 children are sold in one month.

The poverty of the Japanese working class is so acute that between 2,000 and 3,000 people go daily to the Japanese Pharmaceutical Society to sell all they have left—their blood. Profits are high for the brokers, who pay 400 yen for 200 grams of blood. They resell to the "United Nations' Forces" at 1,500 yen for 200 grams.

Medical rules are disregarded and hunger forces some workers to sell their blood twice within a week. There are many cases reported in the Japanese press of blood donors dying or going mad from excessive loss of blood.

Japan is notorious for low wages. The official average monthly wage for industrial workers in March 1951 was 9,785 yen (U.S. $27.18)[3], whereas the Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan estimated that the minimum required wage was 28,961 yen. In other words, in March 1951 Japanese workers received about one third as much as they required to live. Since then prices have risen rapidly.

Even this average wage does not give an accurate picture of the poverty of the Japanese workers. Supervisory workers, such as foremen and charge hands. get about 10 times the rate of the unskilled workers which, apart from being a successful form of bribery. distorts the average wage.

Another factor is the non-payment of wages. Aside from the firms on U.S. military contracts, hundreds of small businessmen are finding themselves ruined by the collapse of what peace economy had been re-

2 For further details on the re-formation of military forces in Japan, see "World Trade Union Movement." No. 17. Sept. 5, 1951.

3 360 yen equal $1 (U.S.).

built. They are unable to pay wages and incomplete government statistics show that over 350,000 workers did not receive their full wages in the period July to December 1950. The amount owing to them was nearly 2½ billion yen.

The cost of living is constantly rising. Real wages dropped 22 per cent in the 3 months July to September 1951. Prices rose 60 per cent in the 9 months following the outbreak of the Korean war; the price of wheat rose 20 per cent between August and October 1951, while such public services as transport, postal services, water, electricity and gas rose about 30 per cent. Fish, fruit and vegetable prices are all up. Thus the Japanese housewife's purchasing power is constantly diminishing. Never having enough, she now cannot even afford the essentials. Sickness is widespread.

Unemployment and Overtime

Unemployment is another sword hanging over the head of every Japanese worker. Despite the war boom, it is estimated that about 18 million working people are either unemployed or under-employed. This is partly due to the speedup and partly to the fact that those workers who are lucky enough to have a job are kept at work for an average of some 12 hours a day, 28 or 29 days in the month.

At the Akabane plant of the Japan Steel Company, 20,000 workers are compelled to work 12 hours a day. In the Asano dockyards at Yokahama, 170 hours overtime a month is compulsory. There is no break during the day and smoking is not allowed. Workers at the Nahano railway workshops in Tokyo are forced to work throughout the night and their overtime allowance for the whole night is only *five yen*—not even 2d. In general, overtime is seldom paid, although sometimes a pittance is doled out as "tea-money." Thus it is profitable to keep almost half the labour force unemployed and scrambling for the restricted number of jobs, particularly when the lower paid women and youth replace the older men workers.

Conditions of work are harsh and foremen resort to using hoses or blows to keep the tired workers awake. Workers in factories and shops under direct or indirect U.S. military control (i.e. 80 per cent of mines and port services and 70 per cent of iron, steel, shipbuilding, chemicals and textiles) are watched by armed guards who contribute to increasing production by brandishing their weapons at the workers.

Workers at the Japanese Steel Plant at Akabane who stop work for even two minutes are punished and those caught smoking are dismissed as is any worker absent from work for three successive days. The Kawasaki steel plant has reduced workers' washing time from 30 to 10 minutes a day.

A contrast that speaks for itself. A Tokyo worker's shack in the shadow of Parliament building.

A small Japanese boy who has to get up at 4 or 5 a.m. each morning to sell newspapers before going to school.

The Workers Say No!

The Japanese workers, far from being punch drunk after the welter of blows aimed at them, are fighting back.

By banning, in August 1950, the Liaison Council of Japanese Trade Unions (Zen-Ro-Ren), affiliated to the W.F.T.U., and imprisoning trade union leaders, the American authorities hoped to decapitate the progressive trade union movement and to leave the workers without leadership. By staging "incidents," of which the Matsukawa Case[4] is the best known, Yoshida's pro-U.S. Government hoped to rid the union movement of rank and file militants. By an American-type purge of 10,000 film, radio, newspaper and industrial workers, Japanese capitalists hoped to leave their workers battered and docile. They did not succeed; new leaders are replacing those in prison; the defence has gained a victory in the Matsukawa case by forcing a retrial, and the Japanese workers are anything but docile.

The question of peace to the people who have had atomic bombs dropped on their country is a real issue. The impact of Hiroshima has left scars on the minds and bodies of the Japanese workers that are not erased by specious talk of easy protection from atomic bombs.

The Japanese workers know that nothing in the world will compensate for another war. They also know that there cannot be any real wage advances until Japan produces for peace and gets away from this ruinous rearmament expenditure.

That is why, as long ago as June 25th, 1950, the second day of the Korean War, workers turned down jobs involving the handling of military supplies for Korea. When the Occupation Authorities announced vacancies through the Tsurumi Employment Exchange for 150 workers at the U.S. naval base at Yokosuka, no one offered his services, although wages were 350 yen and two meals a day in comparison with the normal 240 yen a day.

On June 26th, 1950, seamen on the "Akiuramaru" refused to sail supply ships to Korea. On July 5th, the Seamen's Union called a meeting of representatives of the 20 ships in port, and in defiance of the local executive they passed a resolution opposing the participation of Japanese ships in the aggressive war in Korea. The National Executive then stepped in and threatened to expel all seamen opposing the transportation needs of the "United Nations' Forces." In return, seamen all over the country decided to boycott any co-operation with the United Nations.

The Mitaka Fight

Particularly significant was the fight of the 800 factory workers at the Fuji Industrial Company's Plant. After the outbreak of the Korean war, the company proposed to turn the factory over to war production, to cut wages and to curtail trade union activities.

Under the slogans *Refuse to Produce Military Supplies,* and *Defend the Peace Industries,* the workers went out on strike on August 15th. The company responded with a lockout, whereupon the workers removed the barriers put up by the company and occupied the factory. In the middle of September, drastic wage reductions were announced, and 300 workers dismissed. Two thousand workers from surrounding factories rushed to the Mitaka factory and demonstrated their solidarity.

The ruling class was so alarmed that on September 22nd they brought in 2,000 armed police from Tokyo and other towns who encircled the factory. More than 60 workers were arrested and dozens were injured. The factory was occupied by the police and the workers thrown out.

The workers marched in procession to the police station where they demanded the release of their arrested comrades. The police attacked and arrested another 50. This infuriated the Tokyo workers, who held protest strikes.

The Mitaka strike lasted altogether for more than 6 months and although 300 were sacked, the political lessons were abundant and the factory *was not converted to military production.*

There has been similar resistance by the workers in the Hodogava Chemical Company, the Shibgura Engineering Works, the Yahata Iron and Steel Plant and many others too numerous to mention. The National Federation of Government Office Workers' Unions resolved by a vote of 91 to 51 at its third congress to "muster all forces to paralyse the war-mongering administration and to strive for a peace poll as a central theme of action for the moment."

It is clear that the movement against the war is not confined to any particular section of the Japanese working class. It is equally widespread amongst intellectuals.

The students and professors in Hokkaido University are unitedly fighting under the slogan *No Police Admitted.* A thousand university students held a protest demonstration against building a base at Chitose in Hokkaido.

Six million people have signed the appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact and there have been numerous demonstrations against the San Francisco Treaty and the Security Pact. Ten thousand workers surrounded Parliament House in Tokyo on December 17th, demonstrating against the ratification of the two United States agreements.

The demand for wage increases has grown tremendously and the ban against strikes is treated with the contempt it deserves. The electrical workers struck during last October and November. The railway workers and the miners struck in November. The metal workers, tobacco and salt workers have all struck recently.

It is important to note that the unions leading these movements vary considerably politically. Some are affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., some are independent, and some are affiliated to the W.F.T.U. Yet they are trying to organise unity of action, which will be all-powerful when it is supported by organisational unity.

4 For information on the Matsukawa Case, see "W.T.U.M.," Nos. 1 and 3, 1952.

This is appreciated by Robert Ames, Director of Labour for the United States Occupation Forces in Japan, who has been doing his best to influence the Japanese labour movement. Being well aware of the overwhelming general hostility to the U.S.-Japanese Security Pact, he is trying to persuade certain labour leaders to refrain from expressing this hostility. At the same time, he is endeavouring to get a pro-American movement going among rank and file workers. While it would be foolish to underestimate the strength of such a money-laden enemy, it is safe to say that the Japanese workers aren't fooled.

I.C.F.T.U. Rejected

The growing maturity of the Japanese labour movement was demonstrated last year at the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo) National Convention. Sohyo is a right-wing, national trade union centre, set up with the approval of the American Occupation Forces, local capitalists and the I.C.F.T.U. At the convention, there was strong opposition to the ultra-rightwing policy of the leadership; resolutions for an overall peace treaty, for Japanese neutrality, against remilitarisation and against making Japan into a military base were adopted.

The major victory was perhaps the refusal to affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U., despite the solicitations of the I.C.F.T.U. itself and the presence of the chief of the Labour Section of the American G.H.Q., who requested, to put it politely, the immediate affiliation of the General Council to the I.C.F.T.U. Not only was affiliation refused, but even a motion for the promotion of affiliation to the I.C.F.T.U. was turned down.

It is significant that opposition mainly came from unions already affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. through the Japanese Trade Unions Council, who related to the convention their doubts and suspicions of the I.C.F.T.U. after a year's affiliation.

It is clear that the Japanese workers have little to lose and everything to gain. They are poor, ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed. When they work, the hours are nevertheless threatened with unemployment. If they are unemployed, they have no relief, or only inadequate relief. They have been atom-bombed. They are occupied by a domineering power the worst of whose representatives leave a trail of prostitution and cheap pseudo-culture wherever they go.

A united, militant, progressive trade union and working class movement could put an end to all this. The Japanese working class could smash Wall Street war plans for the Far East. On what other highly industrialised and strategically placed territory can these vandals install themselves? The dominant need of the Japanese working class today is a trade union movement fighting side by side with a united peace movement covering all sections of the population and forming together a broad democratic front for national liberation.

A demonstration of workers in the Hachioji District of Tokyo.

A Central May Day Rally at the Peoples' Square Garden was banned by the Occupation Forces and policemen were mobilised to repress the May Day demonstration. Despite the ban tens of thousands of militant workers demonstrated on May Day throughout Japan.

University students demonstrate against the dismissal of progressive professors in 1950.

THE DISCUSSION ON THE SLIDING SCALE

THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

By

JIM HEALY

Gen. Secretary, Waterside Workers Federation of Australia.

I READ with great interest the article by Henri Jourdain on the fight for a sliding wage scale, which appeared in the Fortnightly Review, No. 19 (October 5, 1951), especially because of our experience in Australia of the quarterly adjustment system, which operates on a restricted list of prices, known as All Items ("C" series) Retail Price Index, checked every quarter by the Commonwealth Statistician and applied by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, the chief wage-fixing authority, to determine the rise necessary in the base wage each quarter to meet the increased cost of living.

The basic wage—first fixed by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, 1907, on what was known as the "Harvester" standard—was defined by the Court as the lowest wage which could be paid to an unskilled labourer on the basis of "the normal needs of an average employee regarded as a human being in a civilised community." The rate of wage then declared was 7s. per day or 42s. per week and was considered a reasonable amount for a family of five.

This standard continued until 1931 when, because of the depression, the Court inflicted a 10% cut on all wage rates, on the grounds that industry could no longer afford to pay even the bare minimum prescribed in 1907 and furthermore that it was necessary to transfer some of the workers' spending power to employers in an endeavour to keep industry going (it did not succeed, of course). This 10% cut was supposedly restored in 1934 and since that date the Court has contended that it fixed the basic wage on the basis of the maximum base wage that all industry can afford to pay, keeping in mind the needs of a family of five.

From 1907 to 1922, the basic wage was constant but was added to for certain crafts and skilled occupations by a secondary wage, known as a margin for skill. As an example—whilst the wage for a labourer was fixed in 1907 at 7 shillings per day, that of a fitter was fixed at 10 shillings per day with a secondary wage of 3 shillings per day.

In 1922, the provision for quarterly adjustments was introduced and has operated with slight alterations from time to time to the present. However, the quarterly adjustment does not apply to the secondary wage or margins for skill and both the employers and the wage-fixing authority have successfully, since 1914, resisted all moves by the unions to adjust the secondary wage in the same manner as the basic wage.

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THIS refusal to adjust the secondary wage has not prevented the progressive unions from fighting successfully for increases in the secondary wage whenever its real value has fallen below a reasonable level, and in fact at the present moment there is a growing nationwide demand for an immediate increase of £1 per week in the secondary wage and its subjection to adjustment in a manner similar to the basic wage, but for the quarterly adjustment of both to be on a monthly basis.

The workers are becoming increasingly aware that the war policy of the present conservative government, adopted at the behest of Washington and London, is the main reason for the phenomenal inflationary trend and that the workers' standard of living is being sacrificed for the benefit of the warmongers, to the extent that if the present trend is allowed to continue, both the basic wage and the secondary wage will be much less than sufficient to meet the minimum, not to speak of the normal, needs of "an average employee regarded as a human being in a civilised community"—the meagre ideal of 1907.

It is interesting to note that in the majority of industries there has been no official variation of the secondary wage since 1948. Since that time, the basic wage has increased in nominal value by 86 shillings per week or approximately 75%.

Now, so far as the All Items ("C" series) Retail Price Index is concerned, it has been the continuous complaint of the trade union movement in this country that the cost of living index has never correctly portrayed the fluctuation in price levels and, what is more, the adjustment of the wage does not take place until some four months after the actual price rises have occurred.

It would appear then that our position is about on a par with that of Belgium where, according to the article, a false cost of living index is used on the

basis of which wages are revised only every three months.

However, this is not to say that the contention of Henri Jourdain is incorrect. I agree that the present inflationary spiral cannot be regarded as a temporary phenomenon and in fact must grow worse with the continued direction of a country's economy to war purposes.

Consequently, the worker's living standards and particularly his real wage levels can only be advanced by defeat of the warmongers' plans and restoration of each country's policy to one of peace and development of the country's resources to peaceful production.

Recent price rises here—clearly flowing from the war economy introduced by a hostile government which follows religiously the dictates of the warmongers—have reached phenomenal proportions.

In the face of this, the governmental authorities and large employers are struggling more fiercely than ever to retard the advance of nominal wages. Further, although since 1922 the quarterly adjustment system has had the effect of adjusting the base wage quarterly to reflect price fluctuations, the restricted regimen on which the cost of living index is based is now operating to retard the adjustment. Therefore, notwithstanding the quarterly adjustment of the nominal wage, real wage levels are falling.

This, however, in no way detracts from the necessity of demanding the introduction of a sliding scale or periodic adjustment, according to price fluctuations, in such countries where it is not in operation.

In this country, prior to the introduction of the quarterly adjustment in 1922, nominal wages lagged far behind both wholesale and retail prices which. because of the war and post-war boom, soared to phenomenal heights not reached again until 1947. There was, therefore, a continuous decline in real wages during the whole of this period and, in fact. real wages reached an all-time low at about the same time that wholesale and retail prices reached their highest level.

Since the introduction of the quarterly adjustment. government statistics indicate that nominal wages have tended to follow the trend of wholesale and retail prices, whilst real wages have remained fairly static. Such increases as have been obtained in real wages have flowed from pressure by the trade unions forcing an increase in both the base and secondary wage from time to time.

The most recent such increase was the increase of the base wage by £1 per week in December, 1950. Whilst this caused an immediate increase in real wages, the phenomenal increase in wholesale and retail prices since then has caused a fall in real wages, although nominal wages have shown a sharp upward trend because of the quarterly adjustment.

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THE phenomenal rise in the retail prices during the last quarter—a reflection of the general situation in the "western democracies"—indicates that there will be an increase in the retail price index figure governing the wage adjustment for the December quarter of 1951. This figure will then be applied by the Arbitration Court to the quarterly adjustment on the "C" series, six capital cities basis, and the press and other would-be authorities are forecasting that the increase will be £1 a week, payable as from the 1st February.

This sharp upward trend in nominal wages has led to a clamour by some employers, duly supported by the daily press, for the abolition of the quarterly adjustment or its replacement by an annual adjustment. This claim is supported by some right-wing trade union officials, on the grounds that employers find themselves unable to budget for such sharp increases in wage costs with the result that a stability in price levels cannot be maintained and employment becomes endangered.

Such trade union officials disregard the fact that. under the present system, the adjustment of wages is at least four months behind the actual rise in prices and their subservience to employer and governmental policy causes them to attempt to mislead the workers as to the proper reason for the inflationary spiral. But it can be safely said that growing numbers of workers are realising that the real cause of inflation and the consequent reduction in living standards is the war policy of the government.

Undoubtedly, the workers here will resist any attempt to abolish the quarterly adjustment or to alter it to an annual adjustment. Rather, as I have already mentioned, they are supporting the growing demand among the progressive unions that the adjustment be made monthly to all wages in each industry to meet the increased cost of living.

In addition, there is the growing demand for an increase in the secondary wage, consisting of margins for skill or other industry loadings, not at present subject to any automatic adjustment.

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I THINK the experience related here will be sufficient to indicate that, as stated by Comrade Jourdain, not only is the sliding scale not the panacea but, I would say, it can only be regarded as an auxiliary measure designed to keep nominal wages on a comparative level with price fluctuations during a period when the country's economy is being purposely directed towards war.

Of course, this auxiliary measure should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the real demand must at all times be directed towards an increase in real wages.

It is also necessary, of course, to keep in mind one or two other important points.

Firstly, whilst it may be true to say "the sliding wage scale, that is to say, the automatic readjustment of the price paid for the worker's labour power in accordance with the price increase of goods and commodities used to replenish this labour power, is consequently perfectly justified," our experience shows that the operation of the sliding wage scale is of limited benefit unless the trade unions are able to enforce a demand that the sliding wage scale

shall be operated on a proper and just basis, and furthermore that the workers' representatives shall participate in fixing the list of commodities and services which will correctly reflect living costs, and in the periodic investigation of price fluctuations in such commodities and services. Furthermore, such investigations must be of a continuous nature and adjustments must take place at least monthly.

Secondly, whilst, as Comrade Jourdain points out, in some industries where employers are "forced to accept the sliding scale, this can in no way whatsoever be detrimental to the trade unions' constant struggle for an increase in real wages," it is as well that I record our actual experience here in Australia, where the quarterly adjustment (sliding scale) has operated now for thirty years.

In a number of industries, it has had a detrimental effect because the workers in such industries, subject to right-wing direction, have been encouraged to accept the thesis that, although the adjustment lags behind the price rise, the worker is fully protected by what is described as a fair system operated by an independent authority.

This plausible reasoning is in line with the general argument of the reformist trade union leaders in this country that the Australian arbitration system is based on the principle of giving to the worker his fair share of the wealth of production.

So far a surprising number of Australian workers have accepted this nonsense. But they are at last beginning to realise that the role of the Arbitration Court and the wage-fixing system in this country is primarily to secure first maximum profits to the entrepreneur and a division of what is left amongst the workers.*

The statistics as to the distribution of the national wealth of this country show that where, as recently as 1949, 53% of production was distributed in wages amongst the Australian workers, today only 48% is available whilst profits have grown in like ratio.

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THEREFORE, I would suggest that, of the three final points made by Henri Jourdain, the first one should be amended to read as follows:—

1 (a) *That the sliding wage scale operated on a proper and just basis is a legitimate demand of all workers in capitalist countries.*

(b) *That the regimen on which the cost of living is estimated at a given date should be fixed in agreement with the workers' representatives, who shall participate in the periodic investigation of the price fluctuations of the items on such regimen, and furthermore that such periodic investigations and adjustments should be made each month.*

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* See **Compulsory Arbitration in Australia, a Weapon against the Workers,** by L. J. McPhillips (**World Trade Union Movement,** No. 3, 1951).

In The Rumanian People's Republic

A Health Service Run By and For The Workers

by S. LEFF, M.D., D.P.H.
Barrister-at-Law, author of "The Health of the People."

I VISITED the Rumanian People's Republic this year with one particular aim—to see a socialised health service working in practice. Although in Britain the possibility of socialised medicine has been discussed for many years, it still remains theory; and much of what we had hoped and planned for since 1945—such as health centres—seems further away than ever.

The Rumanian People's Republic has a unified Health Service which is comprehensive for the whole community, and people are cared for in health as well as in sickness. The whole Service was open to me to study, but I paid special attention to the facilities made available to the worker and to the questions of social insurance—matters which raise many problems in this country today.

Perhaps it is best to state first of all that the worker pays nothing out of his or her wages for social insurance and health benefits. This is a charge on the factory or enterprise, which pays from 6 to 9 per cent of the wages bill into the insurance funds. This is very different from the British scheme, in which the service is paid for by contributions from workers and employers, the workers' burden being, for men over 18, the sum of 5s. 1d. per week, and for women over 18, 4s. per week.

In Rumania, I was invited to meet the President and members of the Council of Social Insurance. Instead of the expected atmosphere of white-collared bureaucracy, I was greeted with a warm and friendly reception by men who had not only graduated from the workbench, but who had remained fellows of the workers for whom they now acted. We sat round a table and after supplying me liberally with pencils and paper (and incidentally with the best refreshments I had received anywhere, which is paying a high compliment), I was given full information on all matters of social insurance and health benefits which interested me. In return, I had to answer many questions about our British social insurance, and I could see they were as eager to learn about my country as I was about theirs.

Wide Range of Benefits

THEIR insurance scheme is comprehensive. It includes sickness, accident and maternity benefits, and makes arrangements for pensions, holidays, convalescence, and for burial.

Workers receive from 60 to 100 per cent of their earnings if they are sick. If a worker has been in one job for one year and worked for three years altogether, he gets a minimum of 65 per cent of his earnings; 75 per cent if he has worked 1—2 years in the same job, and four years altogether, and 85 per cent if he has been 2—4 years in the same job and six years altogether. Earnings are calculated on the average of the last 12 months. This is in striking comparison with British rates of sickness benefit, which are 26s. per week for an insured worker, plus 7s. 6d. per week for the first or only child (other children being covered by the 5s. per child family allowance) plus 16s. per week for a dependent adult. Clearly these rates are nowhere near the value of the worker's wages and he must undertake further insurance or rely on savings or National Assistance when ill, especially in cases of chronic illness. Professor Titmuss (University of London) has recently stated that on balance, considering the rising cost of living, there has been no real advance in these rates since 1911.

The Rumanian worker, therefore, has no great financial hardship if he is unfortunate enough to suffer from an industrial disease or accident; the benefits are scaled to his salary, and the cost of living is falling yearly, with cheaper foods and rents, and ever-increasing facilities in the way of convalescence, free holidays, etc.

Workers who are only partly incapacitated get benefits and, in addition, can do part-time work, and in fact, there are many workers whose joint disability allowance and wages exceed 100 per cent of their previous earnings. Again one can see how well this compares with our disablement pension which is based

on a 20—100 per cent allowance of 45s. per week—*not* on previous wages.

Everyone in Britain today knows of the hardships endured by our old people, who rely on the meagre pension of 26s. per week, starting at 65 years of age for men and 60 years of age for women. I was particularly interested to learn that pensions in Rumania start at 55 years for women and 60 for men, and are from 50 to 60 per cent of earnings, but with additional benefits for long periods of service, and with special housing accommodation at very low rents.

The widow's pension is 50 per cent of the wages of the husband if there are no children, 75 per cent if there is one child, and 100 per cent if there is more than one child.

When we come to maternity benefits, we see clearly what has already perhaps been made abundantly clear —that the Rumanian Government is concerned above all with the welfare of the child—that it should in no way suffer from any misfortunes which might befall the working parents. Now in Britain our most recent advance in maternity benefits is to allow a grant of £4 on the birth of the child, plus an attendance allowance of 20s. a week for four weeks. If the mother works, she gets instead of attendance allowance a grant of 36s. per week for thirteen weeks. In Rumania the maternity benefit is 80-100 per cent of the mother's wage if she is working, with 35 days' leave with full pay before and up to 55 days' leave after the birth of the child. When she returns to work, the mother gets an additional bonus on her usual salary, taking into consideration that she now has an extra mouth to feed. During my visit to health centres, I saw some of the other benefits given to mothers—the complete set of clothes that is supplied to all babies who might otherwise not be so well equipped, extra milk, vitamins, soup, and other foods given free when prescribed by the doctor, and so on.

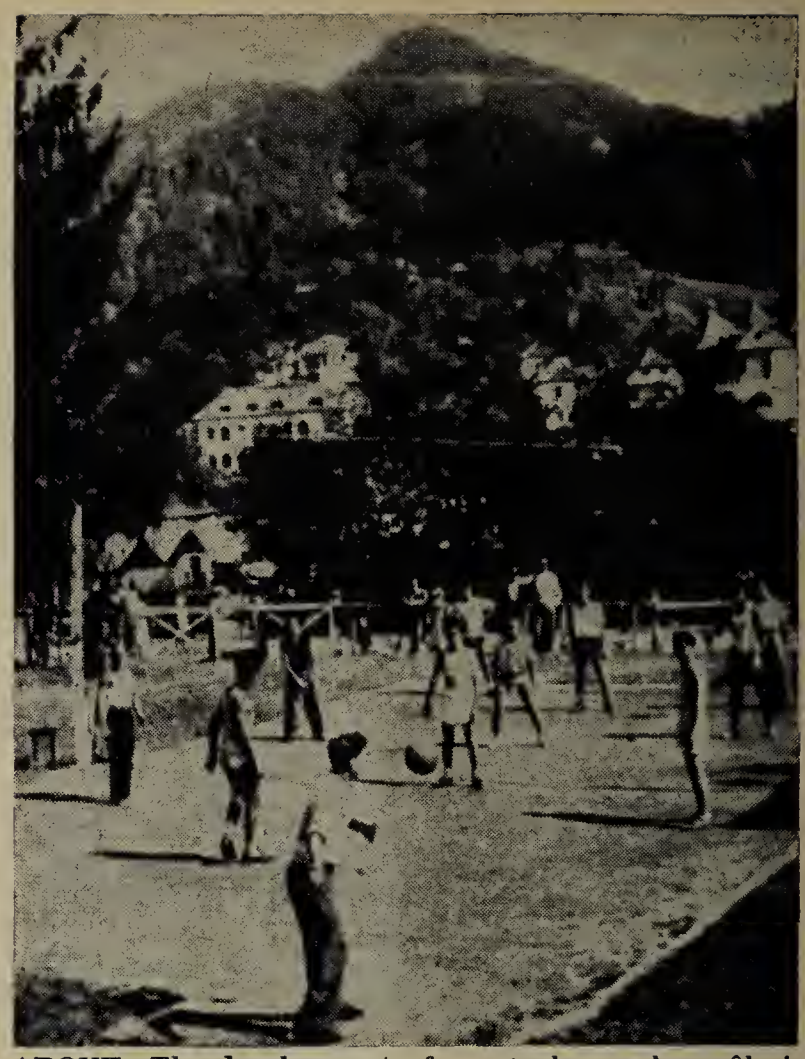
The Social Insurance Scheme includes supply of dentures, spectacles, special diets at canteens, free transport and grants for holidays and free convalescence.

How the Service is Operated

HAVING been given all this information on paper, the Health Authorities then went to considerable trouble to make sure that I saw it all working out in practice, and as this was my aim, I managed to cover quite a lot of ground with the aid of an interpreter and a very patient driver of the car that was at my disposal from 8 a.m. onwards each day.

Apart from studying the modern equipment which I saw in many hospitals, and discussing the medical technique in use with the professors and specialists at the different type of hospitals which I visited, I was particularly interested to see how this socialist health service was carrying out the real aim of medicine—to keep people well.

That they were making this their aim was evident by the numbers of working people I met in the lovely holiday resorts in the mountains, such as at Sinai,



ABOVE: The development of sport plays a key rôle in keeping people well—workers playing at their rest home in Olaresti.

BELOW: Workers come to Slavic Moldova for its mineral water cure.

A night sanatorium in Ploesti.

where people were having subsidised holidays and spending convalescent periods in the converted villas and luxury hotels. I 'dropped in' on a canteen which was preparing the evening meal for six hundred holidaymakers; the quality of the food and the condition of the kitchens were of the highest standard.

The same was true of the quality of the sports and entertainment facilities now enjoyed by the mass of the people. I saw young girls from a factory taking part in a yacht-race on lovely Lake Herastau in the heart of Bucharest. It is well understood that the good use of leisure and the encouragement of sport is a measure of good health, and every opportunity is given to the fortunate workers in this respect.

It is difficult in the scope of one article to describe in detail all the different aspects of the health service which I saw and studied. Perhaps by taking one, for example, the provision of health centres, we can throw a light on the way things have developed in Rumania in the short time of five or six years.

Over five years ago, Nye Bevan, then British Minister of Health, said that health centres were the keystone of the National Health Service Act. Today, in 1951, only one is being built and no great hopes are being held out of any future developments. In Rumania, not only have a hundred or more been built since the end of the war, but they are planned to be a central part of the whole service. Every worker and his family is entitled to free treatment at the centre, which is manned by every type of specialist, as well as the general practitioner; the newest ones have every uptodate equipment, laboratories, X-ray apparatus, etc.

The attitude of the doctor towards the patient is positive—his aim is to keep him healthy as well as treat his ailments, and to that end the patient is seen always in relationship to his background, his home and work conditions.

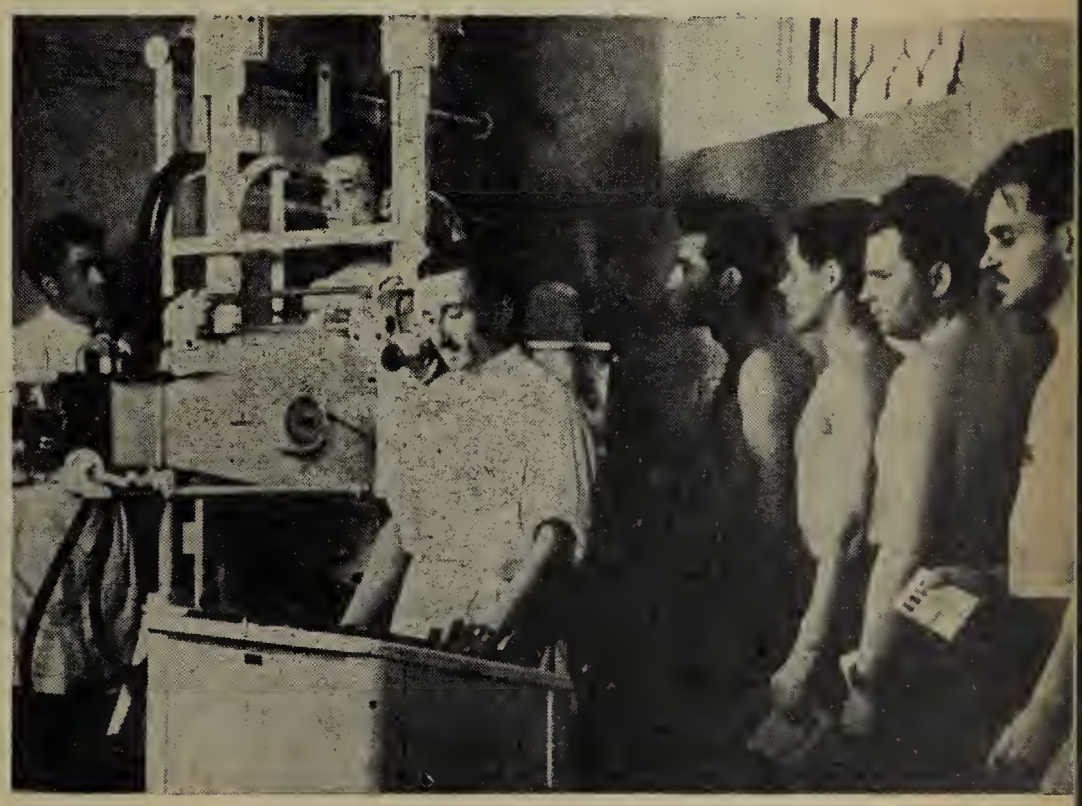
I visited a health centre attached to a Tramway Depot which showed this approach very clearly. Here specialist doctors were studying the best methods of work for the tram-driver to prevent fatigue, accidents, and so on. I spoke to one of the workers who was receiving treatment for rheumatism; he told me with great enthusiasm of the recent improvements that had been made in his work; he was now able to sit down instead of standing all day, and he was better protected against draughts. Simple changes, but significant of the changed value placed upon the health and well-being of the people in a worker's republic.

In other centres, I saw tests going on to find out how much a worker could lift, and what muscular exercises he could do without strain. All these tests were aimed at protecting the worker, and not at trying to squeeze the last ounce of energy out of him with conveyor-belts and speedups, which is so common in the United States.

The doctor who looks after the worker in his home and in the health centre also looks after him in hospital under the guidance of specialists; if the worker requires an operation, his own doctor can prepare him for it and can assist at the operation.

An example of the exceptional care taken of the worker is the provision of night-sanatoria, a thing unknown in Britain. I visited one attached to a very large railway factory in Bucharest. Here the workers who had no positive illness, but for whom the doctor had prescribed some extra attention to ward off a breakdown in health, could sleep and relax when not working. The sanatorium was a pleasant place, quiet but warm and friendly. The worker might spend three weeks to a month there, getting specially nourishing food at the canteen, and being assured of the needed rest from anxiety and care.

The Rumanian Health Service is based on the need to prevent disease as well as cure it. Here workers are being given micro-radiography tests at Bucharest University.



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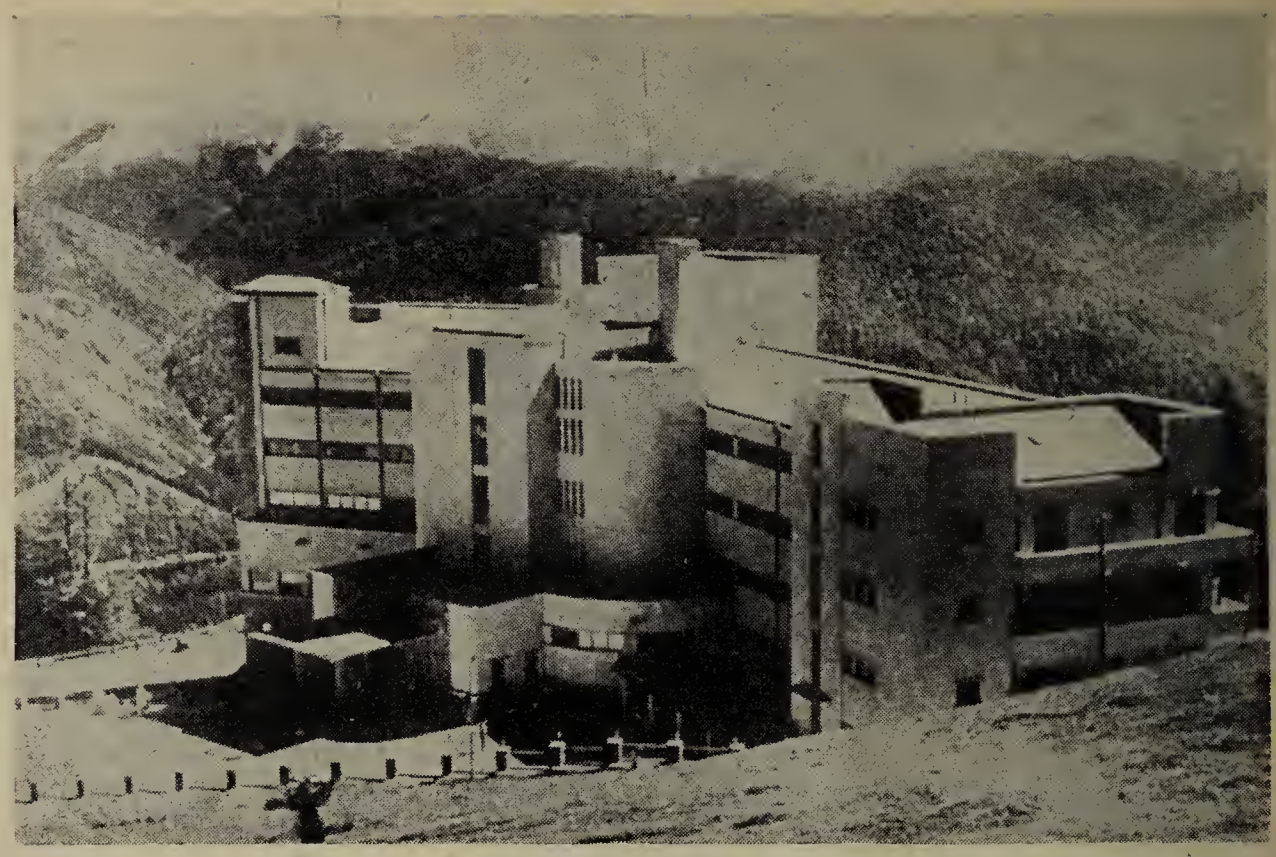

The rest home of the Rumanian General Confederation of Labour in Sinaia.

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Role of The Trade Unions

THE trade unions play an important part in the Health Service. The Social Insurance Committee is manned by trade unionists, and they are represented on all administrative bodies, local and national. In addition, the trade unions have made their own special contributions to the development of the Service.

The Tramway Workers Union built, from their own contributions, a beautiful modern Children's Hospital with 250 beds, which I was shown over with great pride by the Head Doctor. I also visited a 15-bed hospital in a small village which was just near completion, which had been provided by the efforts of a local trade union. On all matters of health education and in special drives for the prevention of epidemic illnesses, such as typhus and malaria, the trade unions are called in to help with the co-operation between doctors and the public which is so great a feature of socialist medicine. Notable successes have been achieved in this way, for example, the reduction of typhus from 72,000 cases yearly at the end of the war, to 370 cases last year.

The health workers themselves, of course, are organised in a trade union, which is based on place of work rather than type of work. In a hospital where all are together in this way, common problems can be discussed from the point of view of the professor to that of the ward maid, on the basis of a common cause, the health of the people.

The Health Trade Unions, naturally, play a big part in the running of the Health Service, and the Minister of Health himself is a doctor.

The total effect is one of enthusiasm and unity, and judging from the splendid results in the conquest of disease in Rumania and the raising of the health and happiness of the people as a whole, it is fully justified in calling itself a Socialist Health Service.

South Africa's "Freedom Road" (1)

IN July 1951, the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress and Franchise Action Council (representing the Coloured community), set up their Joint Planning Council. So, for the first time, the non-European peoples established unity to co-ordinate their efforts in a mass campaign against racial discrimination.

Fascism, in all its forms, owes much to the colonialism inseparable from the "Western way of life." Imperialist exploitation by force and artifice blatantly "legalised" the vested authority of the white man and spawned racial discrimination. Thus, hand in hand with the "concessions" of Western democracy, went the subjugation and impoverishment of subject peoples.

Oppression of the working class in general and racial discrimination in particular serve the same purpose—the creation of cheap labour for bigger and better profits. It is on this giant, degraded and disfranchised, that the edifice of capitalism's "Western democracy" stands.

Dr. Malan's Apartheid government applied its cynical, loathsome and inhuman brand of fascism with vigour and soft words to encourage the Western way of life. Its record of racist and anti-working class legislation is second to none. Its determination to preserve South Africa as a bastion of capitalist exploitation, graft and privilege has reduced it to a cesspool of oppression and racial discrimination.

The millions of Africans have always been denied full democratic rights and the limited rights of Indian and Coloured peoples have ceased to exist. The Africans know how they suffered at the hands of the early British and Dutch who seized their fertile lands and destroyed their independence. The process of seizure and persecution continued down the years until they were forced to live in their jungle "reserves" or in the slums of the towns to provide cheap labour—as hewers of wood and drawers of water without human rights. Insult is now added to injury by the mounting tide of racial, anti-trade union and anti-working class legislation designed to stifle, for all time, the natural aspirations to human dignity, of the African, Indian and Coloured population.

In this situation, the Joint Planning Council decided to launch a struggle of defiance of unjust laws. This determination to secure united action of the non-white population marks a new era in the fight for emancipation from oppression and tyranny. Decisions have been endorsed by the respective Congresses which affirm that "all people, irrespective of national group . . . or colour . . . who have made South Africa their home . . . are entitled to live a full and free life on the basis of the fullest equality."

The Malan government has been requested to repeal all discriminatory legislation by February 29th, 1952. Failure to do this will mean the organised breaking of certain selected laws which are undemocratic, unjust, racially discriminatory and repugnant to the natural rights of man. The campaign will be launched on April 6th, 1952, when the government will demonstrate the vilest form of Afrikaaner chauvinism in celebrating the anniversary of the first settler in South Africa. Non-co-operation is to be supplemented with industrial action where practicable.

The Africans will violate the inhuman and enslaving Pass Laws which restrict freedom of movement and are the source of forced labour. They will also defy the Stock Limitation Laws, which compel Africans to sell cattle at below market prices which thus impoverishes the rural population. The Indians and Coloureds will defy provincial restrictions of movement and racial segregation in trains, post offices, railway stations, etc., as well as the Group Areas Act. This Act establishes a dominant white caste and seeks to herd non-Europeans into ghettos by the forcible removal of hundreds of thousands of people from their long-established homes.

Other measures which will be opposed include the Representation of the Voters Act, which deprives the Coloured people of Cape Province of their right to vote on the common roll, so restricting "legal" voting to whites only; the Suppression of Communism Act—the facade for dictatorial and unfettered powers of suppressing thought and speech used by the government against European and non-European trade union leaders and the leaders of the African, Indian and Coloured peoples; and the Bantu Authorities Act, which prohibits the extension of any form of democratic system to the reserves.

The struggle which the non-European peoples are conducting is not directed against any race or group. It is against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. It is for the transformation into conditions which will restore human dignity, equality and freedom to every South African.

GWYN WILLIAMS.

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1 See article "South African Workers Fight Drive to Fascism," by Desmond Buckle, in "W.T.U.M." No. 15, 5.8.51.

Workers' Conference in Damascus

The Syrian Workers' Congress, which is a democratic working class organisation, called a conference on December 28th, 1951, of the workers of Damascus. The representatives of all trades discussed an economic report and a political report.

The economic report noted that the economic situation of the workers is becoming increasingly difficult; that hundreds of workers are becoming unemployed each day and that wages continue to fall. The report quotes concrete examples of the rise in prices:

		piastres
bread (1 kilo)	from 37.5	to 50
meat (1 kilo)	from 250	to 325
potatoes (1 kilo)	from 20	to 50
cooking butter	from 70	to 105
sugar	from 110	to 130

The report further notes that, despite the poor quality of bread, the workers are unable to satisfy their needs, since the quantity distributed by the government suffices for only half the population; the workers wait for hours in front of the bakeries, as they did during the war, to receive their rations.

Referring to unemployment, the report shows that whereas there had formerly been 600 workers at the Damascus sugar works, today there are only 50; in the Magazel and Manaceg textile works, the number of workers has dropped from 800 to 150; in the match factories, from 150 to 50 and so on.

The speaker reports that this resulted from the policy of submission to the imperialists carried on by successive governments of Syria, who play the game of the monopolists, from the increase in indirect taxation on the labouring masses through taxes on sugar, vegetables, fruit, fuel oil, and from imports of goods which could be produced in Syria, such as fabrics, shoes, especially soldiers' and police shoes, stockings, matches, sugar products, alcoholic liqueurs, cigarettes and furniture. The speaker added that foreign trade is not free and that Syria cannot buy the products of countries whose prices are lower and whose goods are of better quality.

In conclusion, he pointed out that the only road for the workers is that of unity in the fight for their demands, unity of the workers regardless of their political opinions or trade union affiliations.

The Congress passed resolutions on the following demands:

(1) For an increase in the quantity of bread and the distribution of the ration by workers' committees in the localities.

(2) For the reduction of food prices and the halting of foreign imports.

(3) For a 25 per cent wage increase because of the 20-30 per cent increase in the price of foodstuffs.

(4) For the establishment of a democratic social insurance law to protect the workers against sickness, work accidents, unemployment and old age.

(5) For an increase in the budget for public education and public health, for the Ministry of Public Works and for the support of plans for industry and national irrigation.

(6) For a reduction in transport charges for workers.

The Conference adopted a resolution against the Middle East "defence" pact, the American-British-French-Turkish imperialist plan; it declared that the Syrian workers will give their lives in the fight against this plan and for their independence and freedom; that the only way to fight against imperialism is by an alliance of all sections of the Syrian people, workers, peasants, and students in this anti-imperialist fight, for peace, and against the transformation of Syria into a springboard of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies where the working class is in power; and that the signing of a Peace Pact among the Five Great Powers is the only way to defeat the plans of war and colonialism.

The Conference saluted the heroism of the Egyptian workers who allied themselves with the peasants and students in the armed struggle for the evacuation of British troops, for the freedom and independence of Egypt and against the Middle East 'Defence' Pact. The resolution expresses the indignation of the Syrian workers against the attempts of the Egyptian authorities to prevent mass demonstrations. The resolution hails the W.F.T.U. and the World Peace Council for their solidarity with Egypt and their support of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the Near and Middle East. The Conference decided to collect financial aid for the worker fighters in Egypt.

A SYRIAN WORKER.

Terror Against the Iraqi People

Like all the peoples of the Near and Middle East, the people of Iraq continue their fight for freedom, peace and independence, and for the evacuation of the British who are occupying Iraqi territory.

The British lackey and agent of the Intelligence Service, Prime Minister Nuri-Al-Said, is carrying on a tremendous campaign of terror against the people. There are 30,000 political prisoners in the prisons and camps of imperialism installed in the open desert. The prisoners have gone on hunger strike demanding their release and transfer to the towns. At the end of 20 days four were dead, among them Mohamed Saleh, a student of the College of Commerce.

The whole of Bagdad turned out for the funeral of this young student and the three others who had died. The police made an armed attack on the tens of thou-

sands who turned out for the funeral, which resulted in a large number being wounded and 400 arrested.

Following this, the Iraqi government carried out a large campaign of arrests. It arrested the President of the Iraqi Students' Union, Kaluk-Amine-Zeki, the member of the World Peace Council and poet, Al-Jawahiri. and several trade union leaders.

The police arrested the head of the Iraqi delegation to the Berlin Youth Festival, Abdul-El-Sheick, and confiscated the book which he had written about the festival called *Sonnets of Peace*. Doctor Adawillé Adib, member of the Committee for the Liberation of Iraqi women, was arrested once again.

The big police campaign was also directed against the working class. The police closed the offices of the trade unions and arrested members of committees, who were then brought to trial. The accused are Hakman Fares, president of the Taxi Drivers' Union, Klailan Saleh, president of the Engineering Workers' Union, Ibrahim-Abdul-Djabhar, president of the Textile Union, Zamel Jassem, president of the Cigarette Workers' Union, and Abdul-Kader-Abbas, president of the Typographical Workers' Union. A large number of the Iraqi lawyers came forward to defend the accused, giving their services free of charge.

The students of the Syrian University at Damascus sent a note of protest to the Iraqi government and solidarity with the Iraqi people signed by 750 people.

A.K.

The Smith Act Invasion of American Labour's Rights

The principal arsenal for the drive against American trade union rights consists of three fascist-like laws, the Smith Act (1940), the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) and the McCarran Act (1950). The weapon currently being used as a bludgeon against trade union leaders is a section of the Smith Act which makes the advocacy and teaching of certain beliefs and ideas a crime. For the first time since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798, which were repealed under mass popular pressure, it is a crime to teach and advocate ideas.

The first victims of this law which violates the free speech guarantee of the U.S. Constitution were the eleven leaders of the Communist Party. The government, of course, carefully publicised the view, which was accepted by many trade unionists. that this drive was just to "stop communism," and many people adopted the complacent view that "Well, it's just the Communists they're after. The rest of us don't have to worry."

But today large numbers of persons who had accepted the illusion that the Smith Act attacks did not concern them are awakening to the brutal reality that the Smith Act is an attack on *their* rights, and that to defend *their* rights they must defend *all* victims of this law.

Among the eleven communist leaders now serving a 5-year jail term is Irving Potash, vice-president of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, and shortly after the conviction of the eleven was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, the F.B.I. throughout the United States began a series of arrests of men and women, Negro and white and throwing them into jail for "violation of the Smith Act." In these round-ups, are to be found such trade union leaders as Al Lannon, a founder of the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.), and Louis Weinstock, for 9 years secretary-treasurer of New York District Council No. 9 of the Painters' Union (A.F.L.). These union leaders and many others now face $10,000 fines and five year jail sentences because of their ideas—and nothing more!

Last August, at the very moment he was engaged in negotiations for wage increases for 25,000 Hawaiian workers, Jack Hall, vice-president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, who had signed a Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit, was arrested and indicted under the Smith Act. charged with "conspiracy to teach and advocate . . ."

The newspapers have been predicting that the leaders of 13 big international unions are to be charged with Smith Act and Taft-Hartley Act violations. The Department of Justice has admitted that it is prepared to charge at least 12,000 persons under the Smith Act.

This is surely the odious policy of Nazi Germany being re-enacted on the American scene—first the communists, then the trade unions, then the rights of all the people—a piecemeal attack which will eventually impose thought control upon the American people unless it is stopped by united action.

And this united action exists and is growing ever stronger as increasing numbers of trade unionists are learning that what the monopolies and big anti-union employers could never accomplish through company police, scabs, labour-spies and Taft-Hartley injunctions, they are now trying to put across with the Smith Act. A Provisional Trade Union Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act has been set up with trade union leaders from A.F.L., C.I.O. and independent unions and special committees have been formed to defend specific victims of the Smith Act, such as the Maritime Labour Committee to Defend Al Lannon and the Trade Union Committee to Defend Louis Weinstock.

There is also the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defence Committee to defend Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and two fellow union officials. Bridges, although not specifically a victim of the

Smith Act, has been framed and persecuted by the U.S. immigration and naturalisation authorities within the frame-work of thought control and hysteria which characterises the United States today. On the false evidence of stool-pigeons, Brother Bridges was convicted of perjury when, in securing his naturalisation as an American citizen, he denied membership in the Communist Party. His conviction is being appealed and is scheduled to come before the Circuit Court of Appeals in the near future. If the conviction is upheld, Bridges will have to serve a 5-year prison term and will in all probability have his citizenship cancelled and be deported from the country where he has lived and been a militant and progressive trade union leader for so many years.

Although the growth of united action against trade union repression grows stronger day by day within the United States, these victims need the support and solidarity of the world labour movement. The Editors of *World Trade Union Movement* urge trade union organisations and trade unionists throughout the world to show their solidarity with these militant American trade unionists by registering their protests against the Smith Act and the general repression to President Truman and the Attorney General of the United States and demanding that the indictments be stopped.

JOHN WOLFARD.

Repression of Trade Unionism in Nicaragua

During the Regional Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations, held in Managua, Nicaragua, under the auspices of the United Nations, several leaders of the General Confederation of Workers (C.G.T.), holding a statutory meeting, decided to send a message in favour of peace to the Conference.

The press, in the service of imperialism and the Somozo government, began a venemous campaign against the C.G.T. and against "communist infiltration" in the working class movement. Coinciding with the press criticism, Absalon Gonzalez Rodriguez, General Secretary of the C.G.T., assembled the Vigilance Council of this organisation and after a short secret discussion without the presence of the signatories of the message and giving them no opportunity of defending themselves, he ordered their expulsion.

The working class went into action and condemned this clever manoeuvre of Absalon Gonzalez and his Vigilance Council. The trade unions officially demanded the holding of a new congress of the C.G.T. to examine publicly the matter which had been decided secretly by the Vigilance Council.

This fighting attitude of the working class provoked the government's anger and the American Ambassador in Managua openly expressed the necessity for the government to repress "the communist infiltration" in the labour movement. Obedient to the voice of his Yankee master, the Minister of Labour appointed a Commission of Dr. Pedro Joaquim Chamorro, director of the Falangist daily *La Prensa;* Horacio E. Perez, owner of the newspaper *La Noticia,* who maintains a slave-like regime in his firm and pays starvation wages; Francisco A. Mendista, colonel in the National Guard; Carlos Gabuardi, a high State official, and Francisco Gutierrez Blanco, owner of a tailoring establishment, government official and director of a puppet organisation called "Organised Labour."

The Minister of Labour set before this employer - military Commission, of which he was President, documents of doubtful authenticity. Basing itself on these documents and without listening to the interested parties, it recommended "energetic" measures to wipe out "communism" in the workers' organisations. One of these measures was to expel all workers who, by their fighting spirit, honesty and self-sacrifice, helped to give their organisations the correct orientation.

The Minister of Labour based himself on these recommendations to begin the purge. Meeting with the strongest hostility from all organisations, he decided to make the Workers' Federation of Managua and its ten affiliated trade unions, illegal, resorting to an arbitrary and illegal decree, since the Labour Code only provides legal methods for investigating and proving the guilt of organisations which, according to the law, are only prohibited from intervening in electoral policy.

The trade unions and federations have protested against this attempt by the Minister of Labour and have appealed to the Court of Justice. We are of the opinion, however, that this Court will only ratify the Minister's arbitrary acts, the magistrates being under the complete control of Somozo and the lackeys of American imperialism.

We must emphasise that the workers' organisations of Nicaragua form a united front, that is, they include workers from every political party who, according to the Labour Code drawn up by Somozo himself, use their trade union rights to fight for better living conditions.

The government, the American Ambassador and the employers decided to take repressive measures following the courageous campaign waged by these trade unions in favour of world peace, for higher wages for the workers, for the lowering of the prices of consumer goods which rose sharply when Somozo established a budget of 20 millions for war expenditures. The trade unions have also fought against the greed of the American companies which extract gold, preci-

ous woods and who grab vast areas of land for the cultivation of plants yielding vegetable oil. These companies pay miserable wages and violate all individual liberties.

The Committee of the Friends of the Workers' Movement from Nicaragua to Costa Rica asks all the trade union centres and democratic organisations of the American continent to act in solidarity with the Nicaraguan comrades who are being subjected to the savage repression of the Somozo government, puppet of the American government.

The Committee also asks that the name of Absalon Gonzalez Rodriguez be made known as traitor number one in the workers' movement of Nicaragua. They ask organisations to send messages of protest to General Arastasio Somozo, Casa Presidencial, Managua, Nicaragua, and to hold protest meetings in front of the Nicaraguan embassies in every country.

COMMITTEE OF FRIENDS OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT OF NICARAGUA.

A Factory in the Country Building Communism

At the Kaluga Gate in Moscow, the Stankokonstructsia plant for the manufacture of automobile pistons is expanding its workshops. Scientists, engineers and Soviet builders led by Dikuchin, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, have created the first completely mechanised factory in the world, a model for the factory of the near future in the Soviet Union.

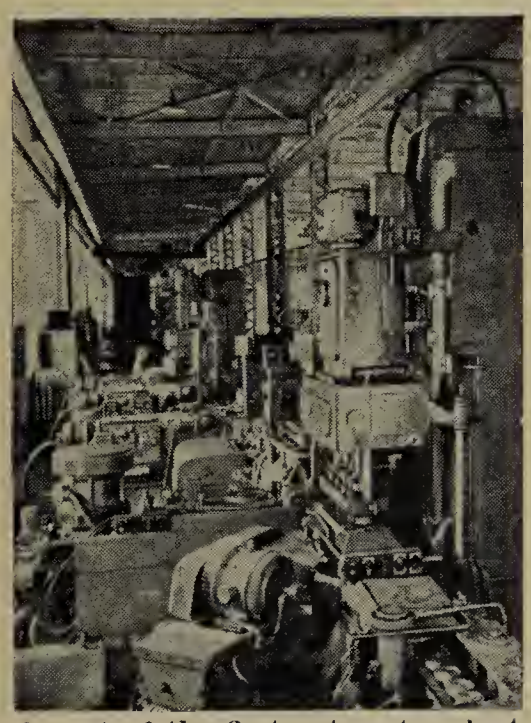
Since the war there has been great success in the development of automatic processes and the mechanisation of production. In 1951 alone, the Soviet machine-building industry put into production more than 500 new types of machines and mechanical appliances. In addition, 150 new types of machine-tools have been introduced by the machine-tool industry.

In the mines, for example, both the processes of cutting coal and of loading it into railway cars are completely mechanised. Miners' work, formerly very difficult and dangerous, is today approaching that of intellectual work.

Soviet designers of machine tools are solving the most complex problems of industrial mechanisation. They have introduced a great many assembly lines where men are replaced by automatic machine tools.

For example, at the Stankokonstructsia factory, all processes are automatically carried out and a consistently high quality of production is maintained.

The accompanying photograph shows the interior of this automatic plant for the manufacture of motor pistons, the first plant of its kind in the world. All operations such as casting, thermal treatment, the entire process of machine finishing, inspection, oiling of finished parts, and packing are completely automatic. During the entire production process, the piece is not touched by the hands of man.



A part of the first automatic plant for the manufacture of motor pistons in the world. In this entire section of the plant there is but one worker, who operates the equipment.

The basic staff in this automatic plant is composed of four worker-operators. In addition, there is a small number of skilled regulators who only intervene when something is out of order.

The construction of similar plants will permit many laborious operations to be carried out by automatic processes as well as bringing about an ever increasing labour productivity and over-all production. This does not come about because of an increased speed-up imposed on the workers but from their replacement of machines, from the freeing of workers for labour consisting of watching and co-ordinating the work of machines.

In this way, and in this way alone, the Soviet Union will be able to assure the huge production for peace required for building communism. In this way also is brought about the disappearance of the contradiction between manual and intellectual work.

In this way, enterprises which will characterise the era of Communism are progressively entering into the lives of the Soviet people.

S.K.

ECONOMIC NOTES

The Balance Sheet of Soviet National Economy in 1951

Once the domination of the parasitic exploiting class has been broken and the anarchy of capitalist production and exchange replaced through the power of the workers by a co-ordinated and planned national economy, a steady increase in the well-being of the population becomes not only possible but necessary.

It is sufficient to examine the balance sheet of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1951 to become convinced of this fact. This shows a new increase in production and consumption, continuing the increases of the preceding years, which means a new rise in the workers' living standards, both material and cultural.

The essential successes achieved are an increase in overall production, both industrial and agricultural, bringing an increase in the national income; increase in the productivity of labour in industry and agriculture, based on further increases in mechanisation and the introduction of new types of machines and mechanical processes replacing manual labour; reduction in manufacturing costs; increase in the numbers employed in State enterprises; improved quality and greater variety and diversity of industrial products. All this results in a further expansion of cultural activities, in the protection of public health and in town planning; increased purchasing power of the people expressed in the form of lower prices, increased wages for wage earners, and higher incomes for the peasants. The following figures give the details.

The annual plan for overall production for the whole of industry was achieved by 103.5%, and in comparison with 1950, overall industrial production increased 16%. The productivity of labour in industry increased by 10%.

The total grain harvest was 118.4 million tons, exceeding that of the previous year. Livestock increased by nearly 14,000,000 head. The area sown with all types of crops increased by 16,500,000 acres. Agriculture received 137,000 tractors (calculated on an average of 15 h.p. per tractor), 53,000 combine-harvesters, and 2,000,000 machines of various types.

The use of electrical power for processing grain, preparing cattle fodder, supplying water, milking, and shearing sheep has been widely developed. Trees for shelter belts have been planted or sown over a surface of 1,840,150 acres in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R.

Workers and technicians are continually suggesting technical improvements to increase productivity which benefits all the people. In this way, about 700,000 inventions and rationalisation projects proposed by workers and technicians were introduced in 1951. The machine-building industry introduced about 500 new types of machines and mechanical appliances, including high-capacity "walking excavators," powerful concrete-mixers, and 25-ton lorries for the construction of the great hydro-electric installations. The machine-tool industry has produced nearly 150 new types of high-speed machine-tools. New types of agricultural machines and implements have also been produced, for land cultivation, sowing, planting, harvesting, the processing of grain, industrial and market-gardening crops, as well as new machines for mechanising the preparation of fodder stocks and planting forest protection belts.

In addition, not only is there no unemployment in the U.S.S.R., but the total number of industrial and office workers rose to 40,800,000, which is an increase of 1,600,000 over the figure for the end of 1950. In 1951, 365,000 young qualified workers completed their apprenticeship or their studies in the various trade schools, and 7,000,000 industrial and office workers improved their qualifications or acquired new qualifications.

Continuous Increase in Cultural and Living Standards

The number of seven - year schools and secondary schools increased by nearly 5,000. The total number of specialists who completed higher studies and secondary technical education increased by 8% as compared with 1950. The number of cinema installations increased by 4,000, and the number of spectators in theatres and cinemas increased by 12%.

There was an increase of nearly 50,000 in the number of beds in hospitals and maternity homes. Forty-four million square yards of living space have been built in the towns, and nearly 400,000 dwelling houses have been constructed in rural areas.

The national income, expressed in comparable prices, increased by 12% over 1950. Nearly three-quarters of the national income went to meet the personal, material and cultural needs of the workers. The remainder was used to extend Socialist production and to meet the other general requirements of the State and of society.

The income of industrial and office workers, and of the peasants, increased by 10% in comparable prices, an increase which is crowned by new advances in the realm of social security.

As from March 1st, 1951, the Government introduced the fourth reduction in State retail prices of mass consumption goods since the abolition of rationing. The sale of goods to the population increased by 15% in comparison with 1950.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

FRANCE

The Minimum Wage and Sliding Scale

The Confederal Bureau of the C.G.T. has issued a communiqué once more requesting a meeting of the National Commission on Collective Agreements and a final vote by the National Assembly on the draft law on the sliding scale adopted at its first reading last September 21. This is in line with the deeply-felt desire of the workers.

Prices continue to rise. The cost of living has gone up by about 13% since the end of last August. The policy of Edgar Faure, which merely carries on the Pleven policy with a few aggravations, will force it up more and more each day through inflation and the growing pressure of taxation.

The two measures which are therefore more important than ever are the meeting of the National Commission to fix the new minimum guaranteed inter-occupational wage, and going on from that, the sliding scale to guarantee effectively the purchasing power of wages. That is the expression of a determination which is making itself felt to a certain degree in all the factories.

The other trade union organisations are aware of it. The Executive Committee of the C.F.T.C. (Christian Trade Unions), in its resolution of January 20, demands the "immediate meeting of the National Commission in order to revise the guaranteed minimum inter-occupational wage in the same proportion as the stated rise in the cost of living, and to study the composition of the typical budget which this body is charged with establishing, and the passing with the minimum delay of a law instituting the automatic sliding scale for the minimum guaranteed inter-occupational wage, family allowances, unemployment benefits and pensions."

The Executive Committee of Force Ouvrière, which met on January 15, also declares indispensable "the revision of the minimum guaranteed inter-occupational wage established on the basis of a typical budget and varying with changes in the amount of this budget."

The Independent Teachers' Union, in a statement made during the Ministerial crisis, demanded "an improvement in the conditions of public employment, equalisation of pensions, establishment of a new guaranteed minimum inter-occupational wage, application of the sliding scale."

Although worded differently, and with greater or less clarity, all these resolutions express the same concern.

The Labour Commission of the National Assembly, on the proposal of Musmeaux, agreed unanimously to the meeting of the National Commission.

This has not been by chance. It is due to the united action of the workers who, having been strong enough to overturn the Pleven Government, continue to develop their movement along these lines. It would be well for the Minister to respond and decide to convene the National Commission.

It would then be important that the delegates of trade union organisations and Family Associations should once again make a joint stand in this commission against the representatives of the Government and the employees. There again, the expression of the united determination of the workers will be a determining factor.

Besides, since the resumption of Parliament, the debate on the sliding scale will go before the National Assembly. On September 21, the Assembly had adopted a text calling for the application of the sliding scale to the guaranteed minimum wage with an automatic change for each 5% increase in the cost of living and extending it to include agricultural workers. This text is not perfect; it does not satisfy all demands but, such as it is, it represents real progress. Rejected by the Council of the Republic, but taken up again in the commission of the National Assembly, it should normally have come up again for discussion.

Mr. Edgar Faure, however, wants to get rid of it. He intends to substitute for it a draft which would to all intents and purposes bury the sliding scale; in the case of price increases, the Government would have a month in which to cause them to be lowered.

Do we still believe in Government promises to bring down prices, brothers? In reality, Mr. Faure would, during this period, juggle with figures to prove that prices have not gone up. That is all. And that would be the end of the sliding scale. What decision the National Assembly will make on Mr. Faure's plan I cannot say. It is nevertheless a point to which I should like to draw attention.

The Socialist Deputies voted for Mr. Edgar Faure knowing very well his stand on the sliding wage scale. They have once more abandoned the interests of the workers. It is of vital importance that they vote against the Faure plan and for the draft already adopted in its first reading by the Assembly which they supported last September, during the debate which is to open in ten days or so in the National Assembly. Only the united action of the workers can force them to do this.

Therefore, brothers, since you are all in agreement on these questions, since a great many of you have already put your demands forward in the factories, continue to work together. The cost of living increases in the same proportion for all of you, satisfaction of these demands will bring the same alleviation to all of you. There is no discrimination there.

Remember the successes of the last few months due to your unity and your consistent effort. Strengthen still further this unity and act together

1—with resolutions, petitions, and delegations to force the Minister of Labour to call the National Commission again;

2—to demand that the trade union centres again reach agreement within this National Commission;

3—to force the Deputies to go on record for a real sliding wage scale.

The Deputies are at present on vacation. It would be useful if each factory in their constituencies sent resolutions to them, and if

delegations composed of workers of all viewpoints gathered at their homes to tell them what the working class expects from them. Tell them that you will pitilessly denounce any who betray your interests. Have confidence in your strength, in the power of your unity. Fight boldly. And you will see the results.

Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the C.G.T., in "l'Humanité," 26.1.52.

ITALY

Workers Have the Right to Pensions!

The draft law on pensions for disablement, old age and surviving dependents was announced with a great deal of publicity. The expectation and hopes of all those concerned were deceived, however, leaving everyone with a bitterness of spirit when they saw what should be their heritage once again trodden under foot.

The draft was presented as a proposal for amending the Social Security Law as it concerns pensions, but it is so negative that it is a matter for wonder that anyone could have dared to support it.

The law at present in force gives the workers the right to an old-age pension fifteen years from the time payment of the first contribution was made, and when the sum of their payments corresponds to one year's contributions. Minister Rubinacci's draft law increases this to an amount equivalent to the full fifteen years' contributions before the right to the minimum pension is granted. This means that, taking the present contributions with the eventual operation of the new law, the number of those receiving pensions would be reduced year by year with the result that in 1960, instead of the 2,200,000 beneficiaries that there would have been had the present law continued, there would be a million fewer beneficiaries.

In addition, the Rubinacci draft law maintains an unjust discrimination between the pensions of office employees and workers, as well as between men and women. As a result of a system of differentiated calculation, the worker who has received the same remuneration as an office employee will receive a pension 50% or more lower, and a woman in comparison with a man will receive a pension subject to an additional 30% reduction, even though she may have paid the same amount in contributions. But where their demagogy is completely shameless is in that part of the draft law relating to the increases in the present pensions. In 1949 the average pension was about 47,000 lire per year. According to the Rubinacci draft, this average will be increased to about 56,000 lire per year, which means that the great mass of present pensioners would continue to receive an absolutely ridiculous pension.

Should the draft law be approved, 1,010,000 pensions would undergo an average increase of 676 lire per month, 710,000 pensions would be increased on an average by 2,500 lire per month, and 90,000 pensioners, that is, only 5%, would receive an average increase of 7,478 lire per month.

The draft law presented to the Senate by the Minister of Labour thus represents a threat to the Italian workers' right to a pension. The C.G.I.L. condemns this attempt and asks the workers to show their opposition, demanding the drawing up of a new draft law and in the meantime an immediate agreement on a suitable increase in the present pensions to enable the pensioners to live.

Renato Bitossi in "Il Lavoro," 26.1.52.

AUSTRALIA

I Want Peace—and I will Fight for It

Never again do I want to see the blood and torn intestines of my co-navigator oozing from ugly stomach gashes on to the chart table in front of my eyes. . . .

For that reason I want peace anxiously, desperately, urgently.

And for that reason I condemn—with all the bitterness and contempt at my disposal—the attempts being made by warmongering cowards to disrupt and discredit the mighty movement of peace-loving peoples now arising throughout the world.

The yellow Press, the money-privileged propagandist, the cynical, callous, unscrupulous self-seekers—all of whom form themselves into a white-livered hierarchy of screaming despots willing to climb to empty power on the flesh and bones of mangled bodies—combine to make the one enemy I would willingly risk my life to destroy. . . .

Those who allow themselves to be misled by false suggestions that all peace moves are "Communist inspired," in effect, give their sanction to the murder and slaughter of their fellow-workers in other lands.

In my passionate desire for peace I have associated and worked with all organisations aiming in that direction.

In all cases I have found them completely non-party, led by men and women of the highest reputation and integrity.

But even if the movement for peace were Communist-inspired—or even if the peace movement and the Communist Party were one and the same thing—I would support it.

I want peace.

I want it desperately, and I am certain that every decent mother, father, wife, sweetheart husband, sister and brother in every nation wants it, too.

If it were even remotely true that Communists controlled the peace movement, that would simply mean that Communists have the right idea.

What I do know is that every offer of peace parleys among the nations in recent years has come from those countries we are encouraged to believe want war.

I also know that in their appeals for peace talks are included practical proposals for disarmament, free trade and cultural exchanges.

And I know that all of these proposals have been brushed aside by countries to whose foreign policies Australia, under the present Government, contributes.

Our politicians and leaders talk of peace in terms of huge rearmament. They pour thousands of millions of the people's money into the pockets of armament millionaires—while our incomes become less able to buy the things we need.

The so-called peace efforts of the "free world's" leaders take vital materials from housing, schools, roads, transport and public works, and give them to the manufacturers of guns, tanks, uniforms and army barracks.

They say this is to "ensure peace"—but I've had a taste of the guns that Hitler built to "ensure peace."

Personally, disarmament proposals sound sweeter to me than pacts for rearming the Japanese and Germans.

And until the Trumans, the Attlees and the Menzies accept invitations to talk peace instead of dismissing them with insults, I will place my hopes on and give my support to those who represent life and not death. . . .

I have already said I will fight any who oppose peace—and Menzies can take the challenge if he wants to.

Meanwhile, I support the Australian and the World Peace Council.

I have heard their platform, read their literature, and signed the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact—and I appeal with all the sincerity at my command to everybody, with or without experience in the horrors of war, to do likewise.

An ex-R.A.A.F. Navigator in "The Railway Review" (South Australia), December, 1951.

SOUTH ASIA

The Colombo Plan

It is proposed to spend £1,868 million in the next six years in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya. A half of this sum will be contributed by Canada, Australia and

New Zealand. Britain earlier agreed to "contribute" the other half. That "contribution" was the releasing of the sterling balances of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya. With the armaments drive, Britain has expressed her inability to release the Sterling Balances as expected.

In effect, these resources are for the time used up for armaments to combat Communism abroad, and not in the Commonwealth. Instead, Britain has brought America into the Commonwealth Consultative Conference. Along with America comes the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and Wall Street.

The Plan is to develop these four countries as raw material producers for the imperialist Powers. Of the proposed expenditure, 66% will be devoted to the development of agriculture, mainly industrial crops, jute, cotton, etc., for export to Britain and U.S.A. Transport and Communications are to be developed to facilitate the export of agricultural products and raw materials and the marketing of industrial products that are to be imported from the imperialist countries. Cotton, jute, etc., will be exported "raw," but no industries are to be opened up in India or Pakistan for the production of textiles or other manufactured goods. It is significant that only 4% of the capital is to be invested in industry. On mining will be invested 6% of the capital. Mining is the one industry in colonial countries that is profitable to the imperialist Power. At the end of this imperialist "Plan" the people of South Asia will still be under a colonial economy, producing raw materials and importing industrial products from the imperialist Powers.

"People's Voice" (Colombo), 21.12.51.

SINGAPORE

Luxury Building, but Few Houses

It is a rather bitter irony that in 1951, the year of Singapore's record trade boom, her social development programme should have suffered a major setback. Seven and a quarter million tons of cargo were handled in the port compared with five and a half million tons in 1950 (itself a record year), and the revenue collected broke all records, but capital expenditure on medical services was less than a quarter of what had been laid down, the house building target was not even one-third reached, only eleven Government schools were built instead of a projected 23, and the youth clubs, infant centres, and community centres envisaged for 1951 were hardly even started on. . . .

Vast schemes of cinema, hotel and luxury-residence building were carried through last year, while queues outside hospitals remained undiminished, and the shocking congestion in the slum areas — the result of a shortage of 50,000 dwellings—grew worse because insufficient steel and cement were available for public building. It has become clear that unless the Government is prepared to intervene decisively in this situation by such measures as licensing, more flexible purchasing of materials, priority for building material imports, and the engagement of architects and surveyors from outside countries under the Colombo Plan, the Singapore Six-year Plan is likely to turn into a ten and even a twelve-year plan.

The implications of this are serious. There are still 84,000 Singapore children for whom there is no school provision, and not even a fraction of the public playing grounds they need. The number of out-patients thronging the hospital waiting-rooms is now 500,000 a year compared with 90,000 in pre-war days—largely a result of increased faith in Western medicine. The tuberculosis death-rate is about two and a half times that of, for example, Italy, and the number of tuberculosis sufferers—in spite of untiring efforts by the overcrowded Government hospital and the privately organised Singapore Anti-Tuberculosis Association—is probably about fifty thousand. Only a very greatly expanded programme of re-housing can reduce the ravages of this disease of squalor and overcrowding. Yet in 1951 the number of low-cost dwellings built was hardly enough to house a tenth of the population increase, let alone replace existing slums.

"Manchester Guardian," 15.1.52.

VENEZUELA

Imprisonment of Trade Union Leaders

The police and military clique which governs Venezuela in a very "Western" manner are short of prisons. According to the latest information received from Venezuela, more than 5,000 people are in prison. The spy Pedro Estrada, at the head of a band of murderers called the National Security Forces, gave free vent to his watchdog instincts by violating the peace and quiet of people's homes late at night, humiliating mothers and wives and furiously pursuing every person suspected of not sympathising with the Junta.

Several trade union leaders like Salon Meza have been agonisingly torn from their families following tortures inflicted on them by the minions of the Junta under orders of the F.B.I., which acts with shameless effrontery in Venezuela.

Not hesitating to perform any outrage, the dictatorship has opened concentration camps on the island of Guasima and has sent political prisoners to the mobile penitentiary colonies of El Dorado. This convict prison, the Cayenne of Venezuela, was formerly used for offenders against society judged to be incorrigible, and who used to attempt suicide rather than be sent there, which gives a grim picture of the conditions there.

Many political prisoners, among whom are Simon Ferrer and the trade union leader Amundarain, have been deported to these prisons in the jungle, where several army officers considered dangerous to the dictatorship have already been imprisoned.

Jesus Farias, the outstanding leaders of the oil workers, has been kept in solitary confinement for 18 months in a cell in San Juan de los Morros, called Sig-Sig, completely cut off from the light of the sun. Olga Luzardo is also in solitary confinement in the prison of San Carlos. Laureano Torrialba, leader of the metal workers, was beaten up by Provedo, Useche and el Mocho, National Security policemen.

"Noticias de Venezuela," 1.12.51.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

January 15

CUBA.—The Chamber of Deputies passes a draft law, presented by the Popular Socialist Party (Communist), establishing sanctions against acts of discrimination. The Chamber also passes, under popular pressure, a law permitting wives of agricultural workers to benefit from maternity insurance.

January 16

MEXICO CITY.—The Secretariat of the Confederation of Latin-American Workers (C.T.A.L.) addresses a warm message of greetings to the workers and people of Venezuela in their struggle against the military dictatorship. It appeals for the solidarity of the Latin-American labour movement in support of the liberation of Jesus Farias and other militant trade union and democratic leaders who have been imprisoned.

January 17

BRAZIL.—Workers in about sixty Sao Paulo plants call a strike to demand an 80% wage increase following a high increase in the cost of living.

January 18

GREAT BRITAIN.—The entire staff of Kemsley House, the centre of Britain's largest newspaper chain, strike against a surprise move of the company to sack 1,000 workers. The strike prevents the publication of the "Daily Graphic" and forces the employers to discuss the matter with the trade unions.

January 20

SUDAN.—A three-day general strike begins, called by the Workers' Federation in support of their demand for a 75% wage increase and shorter hours.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Nearly 200 scientists from all parts of Britain set up a permanent organisation called Science for Peace. Among these scientists are some of the most distinguished men in Britain, including a Nobel Prize winner.

BELGIUM.—The General Assembly of the Charleroi regional branch of the Office Workers of the General Federation of Labour (F.G.T.B.) overwhelmingly pass a resolution asking the F.G.T.B. to send observers to the Moscow Economic Conference.

WESTERN GERMANY. — Right-wing Western German trade union leaders Fette and von Hoff announce at a Press conference that they support "a Western German contribution to defence" as well as the introduction of compulsory military service.

January 21

ITALY. — Twenty-five thousand workers of the textile industry in the Prato zone go on strike to obtain a 15% increase in wages and improvement of their working conditions.

PUERTO RICO.—Dockers launch a strike to support their demands for a 35% wage increase, halting work in the principal ports of the island.

FRANCE. — Marseilles' dockers, to mark their solidarity with the Tunisian people, decide to refuse to load or unload ships bound for Tunisia.

TUNISIA. — In Tunis and Sfax, Tunisians are forbidden to enter the "European city." Many incidents take place between demonstrating Tunisians and the police, who fire on the demonstrators and wound several. At Nabeul, during a demonstration, the forces of repression kill three persons and wound fifteen, five of them seriously. The treasurer of the Néo-Destur Party, who had presided at the recent Congress, is arrested and the Néo-Destur journal "Luva el Horia" is seized.

U.S.S.R.—The peoples of the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies, and all progressive humanity commemorate the 28th anniversary of the death of V. Lenin.

HUNGARY.—The Central Statistical Bureau of the Hungarian People's Republic announces that the annual industrial production plan was fulfilled by 103.4% in 1951. During the year, rationing was abolished and a free market for agricultural products established. The national revenue increased 23% over that of 1950.

January 22

KOREA.—The Federation of Trade Unions receives a letter from the All-Japan Metal Workers Union pledging solidarity in the joint struggle for peace and liberation. The letter says: "Notwithstanding all suppressive measures, the Japanese working class will unite with the Korean people in a joint struggle against the common enemy until final victory is won."

AUSTRALIA.—The quarterly cost of living adjustment gives a 10s. per week average increase on the basic wage. The demand of the metal unions for marginal increases according to skill is rejected on the grounds that "it would be inflationary."

TUNISIA. — Bloody encounters take place at Nabeul, Tunis, Porto-Farino, Hammamet and Soussa. Since January 18th, 35 persons have been killed.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The policy of the right-wing trade union leaders (support for the Schuman Plan, remilitarisation and compulsory military service) arouses a wave of protest among the workers of Western Germany. Protest resolutions come from the Frankfurt-on-Maine Executive Committee of the Western German Trade Union Federation, representing 140,000 workers, from Nuremberg, in the name of 110,000 workers, from the Kassel Railwaymen's Union from the trade unions of Pfalz, from the union of public service and transport employees in Braunschweig, and many others. They demand the immediate dismissal of Fette and von Hoff and a general strike against compulsory military service, the General Treaty, and the Schuman Plan.

ITALY. — About 10,000 agricultural workers occupy part of the flood zone of the Po between Ferrera and Lombardia and begin to remove the debris. By means of this reverse strike they demand that the Government rehabilitate the flood area. At the same time, the first provincial convention of flood victims

takes place in Venice, and adopts measures to obtain increased assistance, demanding that the Government renounce its policy of war preparation in favour of reconstruction of the flood areas.

January 23

ITALY.—More than 30,000 agricultural workers of Ravenna province go on a 24-hour general strike to force the landowners of the province to discuss with the trade union organisations the grave problems facing agricultural workers.

January 24

ITALY.—The decision of the Government to allot a further 250,000 million lire for rearmament provokes immediate reaction in the country. In Modena, Milan, Turin, Bologna, Genoa, Novara, Alessandria, Vercelli, etc., the workers strike in protest. Everywhere they unanimously vote resolutions asking that the 612,000 million lire for arms be used to reconstruct the flood areas.

BRAZIL.—Against the desires of the Brazilian people, of whom more than 3,000,000 have signed the appeal for the Peace Pact among the five Great Powers, the reactionary Vargas Government bans the holding in Rio de Janeiro of the American Continental Peace Congress scheduled for March.

CHILE. — Discontent grows among office workers and clerks, who are demanding new wage schedules. In the British Gath and Chaves stores in Santiago, 1,100 employees have been on strike for one month, despite acts of violence committed by the management, which has threatened to sell out in order to break the resistance of the workers.

U.S.S.R. — In Moscow, the Stalin International Prize for the Strengthening of Peace among the Peoples is awarded to the celebrated Brazilian writer and peace fighter, Jorge Amado.

UNITED STATES. — Immigration officials confiscate the passport of William J. Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, on his return from France. He is personally searched and subjected to two hours of questioning. This interference in Mr. Patterson's right to travel follows his presentation to the United Nations of a petition charging the United States Government with acts of genocide against the Negro people.

LUXEMBURG. — The Freie Letzburger Arbechterverband vigorously protests against the Schuman Plan and calls on all Luxemburg metal workers to support the European Metal Workers' Conference called by the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.), to be held in Vienna from February 12-15, and to elect delegates to this Conference.

January 26

ITALY.—After about one year of struggle, public service employees obtain a wage increase, the minimum being 2,000 lire a month, for all State public service employees.

TUNISIA.—Martial law is proclaimed in the Cap Bon region. Patrols are seen throughout the peninsula and repression grows. Airplanes make reconnaissance flights.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers presents a claim to the Wages Council for a wage increase of £1 per week in the retail trades under private enterprise. The claim affects more than 1 million workers.

COPENHAGEN.—At the end of its six-day meeting, the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth fixes the time for the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth for the second half of 1952. It also decides to set up an International Committee of representatives of various organisations, among them the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Union of Students. The essential task of the forthcoming conference is "to strengthen the unity of youth and co-operation among democratic organisations for the protection of the rights of youth and for peace."

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.—The death is announced of Prime Minister Marshal Choibalsan of the Mongolian People's Republic, for many years leader of the Mongolian people.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Secretariat of the Free German Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.) strongly protests against the treason of Fette, von Hoff and other rightwing leaders in the West German trade unions, and appeals to all West German workers to unite in the struggle against the General Treaty, compulsory military service, the policy of the rightwing labour leaders and for elections throughout the whole of Germany for a National Assembly.

POLAND. — The State Planning Commission of the Polish People's Republic announces that the annual plan for Socialist industry for 1951 was fulfilled by 100.8%, and that the national income was nearly 12% above the 1950 figure. The greatest cultural achievement of 1951 was the abolition of illiteracy as a mass phenomenon.

RUMANIA.—In 1951 gross industrial output increased by 28.7 per cent. compared with 1950. The national income was 32 per cent. higher than in 1950, and agricultural harvest yields were 20 per cent. higher than 1950.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — The Czechoslovak State Statistical Board announces that the volume of industrial production increased 14.9 per cent. compared with 1950, that agricultural output increased 6 per cent., and that the national income was 10 per cent. greater than in 1950.

January 27

ESSEN (W. Germany).—The German Miners' Committee, elected by an All-German Miners' Conference on January 13, meets here. An appeal to the miners of Germany is adopted, inviting them to strengthen the struggle against the war policy of the Bonn government and for elections for a National Assembly for the whole of Germany and for German unity.

EGYPT. — The country is placed under martial law following a new wave of anti-British demonstrations.

POLAND. — A Constitutional Committee of Parliament publishes the draft constitution for the Polish People's Republic. The committee invites the Polish people to take part in widespread discussions of the draft constitution between now and April 6, 1952.

BELGIUM. — The United Trade Unions of Miners hold an extraordinary congress which opposes the Schuman plan and draws up a programme of trade union demands and a unity campaign to win them. The Congress enthusiastically approves the decisions of the General Council of the W.F.T.U., declaring that the United Trade Unions will do all in their power to put them into effect.

January 28

AUSTRIA.—A meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference for the Protection of Children, attended by representatives of 14 countries, is held in Vienna. The Conference will be held in Vienna from April 12—16, 1952.

NETHERLANDS. — It is announced that 348,441 persons have signed

the appeal for the Five Power Peace Pact.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Dr. Y. M. Dadoo states that the joint action proposed by the Joint Planning Council for the mass defiance of apartheid (race segregation) laws will bring a new era in the struggle against racial discrimination. The Joint Planning Council is made up of representatives of Indian, African, and Coloured peoples' organisations.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Civil servants, from staff executives to messengers, demonstrate in Whitehall in support of their demand for equal pay for equal work to end the discrimination against women, who are paid 80 per cent. of the man's rate for the same job. The main slogan is "1888 equal pay promised —1952 still waiting."

IRAN.—Wide attention and favourable comment by various circles, including rightwing pro-government newspapers, is devoted to the open letter of the Central Committee of the Tudeh (People's) Party, which contained proposals for delivering Iran from its present economic depression. The letter, published January 22nd, demanded the expulsion of all United States "advisers" from the army and government departments, and an end to all negotiations with the United States imperialists.

RUMANIA. — A revaluation of the lou is announced to raise its purchasing power, to increase the foreign exchange rate and to raise the real wages of factory and office workers. Widespread price reductions are decreed by the Council of Ministers.

UNITED STATES. — The petition campaign for 1,000,000 signatures for the Five Power Peace Pact is growing. The United Packinghouse Workers (C.I.O.) is circulating a petition in Illinois and Wisconsin. In New York, the greater New York Councils for Peace, uniting peace organisations in the city's various boroughs, have made plans for collecting 300,000 signatures by March 20. In Montana, Local 123 of the Farmers' Union, composed of small ranchers and farmers, has unanimously endorsed the petition. The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards and other unions are wholeheartedly supporting the campaign.

— The fifteen-month old strike of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers against the Empire Zinc Company ends with a smashing victory for the strikers. The new contract ratified by Mine-Mill Local 890 in Hanover, New Mexico, provides for wage increases averaging 24c. an hour, 3 weeks' vacation after 25 years of service, a pension plan with a minimum benefit of $100 monthly after 25 years' service at age 65, and other benefits. The strike attracted nation-wide attention because of the militancy of the workers in face of mass arrests, tear-gas, shooting and other violence. Wives and mothers of the strikers emerged as heroines when they took over picketing and other strike duties, which the miners were banned from performing by injunctions.

WESTERN GERMANY.—A meeting of the committee to organise a plebiscite against the remilitarisation of Germany adopts a manifesto to German workers, appealing to them to struggle still more resolutely against the Schuman Plan, compulsory military service, the General Treaty, for a law requiring All-German elections, and for peace and the unity of Germany.

January 29

U.S.S.R.—The report of the Central Statistical Bureau, showing results of the State Plan for 1951, is published. The overall production plan for industry was fulfilled by 103.5 per cent. The national income increased 12 per cent. in comparison with 1950 and the income of workers, office employees and peasants increased by 10 per cent.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer announces cuts in food, national health service, dental treatment and consumer goods of all kinds with a warning of a reduction in the quantities of rationed goods if import prices continue to rise. The crisis is due to the rearmament drive of the government.

SAAR TERRITORY. — The Miners' Trade Union demands a 15 per cent. wage increase.

ARGENTINA.—The government decrees one meatless day per week in all restaurants and public establishments. This decree shows the growing economic crisis in one of the world's principal meat producing countries, resulting from the policy of submission to the Anglo-American imperialists which is followed by the government of General Peron.

UNITED STATES. — Despite a 45-day grace period arranged by the leaders of the United Steel Workers Union (C.I.O.), "wildcat" stoppages are breaking out in many steel mills as workers resist company assaults on union conditions. More than 1,600 have walked out at the Truscon Steel Company in Ohio and workers at the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company have also walked out.

January 30

WESTERN GERMANY. — Six thousand workers of Deutsche Werft in Hamburg, the largest shipyard in Western Germany, go on strike in protest against the General Treaty, the Schuman Plan, and compulsory military service. They demand that the leaders of the German trade unions come out against the inclusion of Western Germany in the aggressive Atlantic Pact.

AUSTRIA.—In a number of glass firms in Austria strikes take place in protest against large-scale discharges in the glass, textile and other industries producing for peace.

GUATEMALA. — Five thousand postal, telephone and telegraph workers go on strike to support their economic demands. Negotiations between the strikers and the government are expected to bring a rapid solution to the problem.

ITALY. — In Turin, 10,000 metal workers go on their second strike to support their long-standing demands for a 15 per cent. wage increase and re-employment of the unemployed.

UNITED STATES. — The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards wins a 40-hour work week and will now receive overtime pay for working Saturdays at sea. The shorter work week is retroactive to December 16, 1951.

January 31

IRELAND.—Unemployment increases in Northern Ireland with 10 per cent. of the working population of Ulster being without work. The depression in the textile trade and the effect of steel shortages on the shipyards in consequence of the rearmament drive are forcing unemployment on thousands of workers.

February 1

TUNISIA. — A general strike called by the United Trade Union of Tunisian Workers (U.S.T.T.), the

General Union of Tunisian Workers (U.G.T.T.), the Néo-Destur Party, the Tunisian Communist Party, the General Agricultural Union and the Tunisian Union of Artisans, becomes effective throughout the whole of Tunisia. Tunisian tradesmen close their doors and school children remain at home. In many plants, messages signed by the various organisations are sent to the United Nations. Many French workers and officials join the action of their Tunisian comrades.

ITALY. — In Rome, 50,000 chemical workers of the Montecatini monopoly strike for 4 hours in protest against the refusal of the management to grant them an advance on their wage increase and against the recent decision of the management which would lead to the destruction of the workers' democratic organisations.

February 3

ITALY. — Twelve thousand workers of the Terni steel mill go on strike to obtain wage increases and to force the management to withdraw its decision to discharge 200 workers.

— Ten thousand miners strike in complete unity in all the mining centres in Sicily to obtain wage increases.

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FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

MARCH 1—15, 1952 ★ No. 5

The Moscow Economic Conference and Peace

Louis Saillant

European Metalworkers Form United Front

Régine Lacazette

West German Workers Oppose Remilitarisation • Chinese People Harness Huai River More on the Sliding Scale in the U.S.A. • Spotlight on France, Italy, Tunisia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, India, Burma • Press Reviews on Japan, Syria, Tunisia, Greece, Saar • and other regular features

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United action or trade union unity can be achieved by putting the problems interesting the workers before them in a simple and clear manner, by helping them to formulate their demands, by being ready to defend even their most modest demands.

Resolution on the Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise their Living Standards and Against the Economic and Social Consequences of War Preparations (W.F.T.U. General Council, Berlin, November 21, 1951).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW

Trade Unions Must Work for Peaceful Co-existence

TRADE union organisations, of all viewpoints and opinions and sincerely desirous of effectively contributing to international economic co-operation, are invited to the International Economic Conference in Moscow in April. The World Federation of Trade Unions agrees with the efforts of the International Initiating Committee of this Conference. These efforts are praiseworthy and should meet with the enthusiastic support of all trade unions affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

We cannot remain indifferent to the objectives proposed by the personalities and organisations taking part in the International Economic Conference in Moscow.

The gradual deterioration in normal international economic relations during the last five years has sharpened the decline in the living standards of the working populations in a great many countries. The inadequacy of international economic relations, with equal rights for all nations, large or small, takes the peoples further away from a just and lasting peace and even endangers the precarious state of peace in which we are living.

In October 1945, the W.F.T.U. gave special prominence in its Constitution to one of its aims :

> *"To combat war and the causes of war and work for a stable and enduring peace . . . by supporting the widest possible international co-operation in the social and economic spheres and measures for the industrial development and full utilisation of the resources of the undeveloped countries."*
>
> (Preamble of the W.F.T.U. Constitution).

The workers' world trade union organisation, in its many activities, has always been guided by this aim inscribed in its Constitution and has always kept it as part of its own social and economic programme.

The permanent participation of the W.F.T.U. in the work of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, its commissions and specialised bodies, is always carried on with a view to creating favourable conditions for normal international relations among the peoples.

Today we are giving every encouragement to all those individuals and organisations preparing to participate in the International Economic Conference. We are participating in the work going forward to ensure the success of the Conference. The W.F.T.U. will reply to the invitation it has received to participate in this important gathering.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE trade unions will support every measure taken to ensure the success of a movement for industrial development through normal trading relations, and the full utilisation, through equitable international co-operation, of the resources of those countries in the course of development. They will thus demonstrate that they do not regard the present important economic problems with their considerable social repercussions as being outside their field of action.

Those trade unions which decide to participate in the International Economic Conference are doing the correct thing. They must understand perfectly the responsibilities which devolve upon them.

By their participation in this Conference, the representatives of trade union organisations must bring the kind of help its organisers have a right to expect from the trade union group specifically among the different groups which have been invited. This help must take the form of preparing and presenting simple but eloquent reports on the consequences of international economic policy in relation to the living standards of the workers and on the position taken by each government with regard to war economy. These reports must help in the search for correct solutions to the problems facing the Conference.

After pointing out how the increase since 1947 in general production indices is accompanied by a lowering of the living standards of the masses of the workers in many countries, the reports should insist on the role of the trade unions in obtaining the reconversion to production for peace of the large sector of production at present devoted to military ends. How many of those living in poverty could be cared for, how many schools, hospitals, creches and houses for shelterless human beings could be built if a large part of the sums used for financing armament were, instead, immediately used for works of this kind. These are the general demands of the trade unions which they will put forward in detail at the International Conference as a matter of information.

The obstacles put in the way of normal trade among nations are well known by trade union organisations in the capitalist countries. They know the origins of the policy of trade discrimination which causes unemployment. These same organ-

isations receive complaints every day from workers whose living and working conditions are affected by the repercussions of this discriminatory policy.

Thus, when the Initiating Committee of the International Economic Conference opens the doors of this Conference to trade unions of every viewpoint, no organisation, whatever its views, should refuse to take part in it. All national and international trade union organisations should transmit to the Conference the opinions of the workers on present-day international economic difficulties, as well as on the measures which ought to be taken at least to reduce these difficulties.

☆ ☆ ☆

SOME trade union organisations, however, are adopting a hostile attitude to the International Economic Conference. Thus the leaders of the British T.U.C. have warned British trade unions against the "danger" of such an international meeting on economic policy.

The leaders of the British T.U.C. should be more moderate and less suspicious of the invitation to trade unions to participate in the Conference. A recent experience exposed serious deficiencies in their perspicacity.

Noone has forgotten the ridiculous position of the leaders of the General Council of the British T.U.C. in September 1951, when they did everything in their power at the Annual Congress of the British Trade Unions to bring about the defeat of a proposed resolution favouring the development of trading relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. These trade union leaders, with the statesmanlike attitude which they love to assume, wanted to protect the British Government from the effects of a favourable vote by Congress on a resolution dealing with the extension of East-West trade relations. The resolution was rejected by the "democratic" procedure which is usual in this type of Congress. In the following week, however, the British Government announced the favourable results of new trade negotiations, showing the existence of real and concrete possibilities for the further development of East-West trade.

At the time, the event created quite a stir among the workers of Great Britain and other countries. Today it is certain that the British T.U.C. leaders are preparing themselves for new disappointments as a result of the inevitable repercussions of the International Economic Conference.

☆ ☆ ☆

WE remember the period in which the T.U.C. and C.I.O. leaders tried to get the W.F.T.U. to approve the Marshall Plan, forerunner of the present war economy, under which so many people from all walks of life are suffering. The "economism" which inspired their trade union speeches blinded them, voluntarily or otherwise, to the war policy for which this plan paved the way. These same people have a one-way "trade union economism" which seems to be a "trade union economism" ill-adapted to an economic policy for peace.

I recall this period of five years ago and the position of our international trade union movement at that time, in order to note the difference between this economic

policy of preparation for war which the present I.C.F.T.U. leaders wanted to force upon the W.F.T.U., and the proposals of the Initiating Committee for the International Economic Conference which, from Copenhagen, invites all trade union organisations to a meeting whose aim is: *"to seek possibilities for improving the living standards of the populations through the peaceful co-operation of different countries and various systems and through the development of international trade."*

To refuse this invitation, which is what the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. and its affiliates recommend, *is to give approval to the terrible and inhuman consequences of a policy which prevents peaceful co-existence of countries with different political systems. It is, in effect, to avoid the necessary effort and instead to postpone satisfying the urgent and vital needs of millions of human beings in the world. In the last analysis, it is to admit that the only economic policy possible is that of the monopoly capitalists, their policy being one of unequal rights among peoples and nations. History teaches that this policy inevitably leads to war.*

☆ ☆ ☆

WE are certain that the International Economic Conference will not be without effect. Industrial circles in the most varied capitalist countries began by whispering about the Conference. Now they are talking about it. They will talk about it more loudly and more openly in the days before, during and after the Conference. It is not the kind of event about which a conspiracy of silence can be organised in a ministerial cabinet, the editorial office of a newspaper, or among trade union bureaucrats negligent of their obligations to the workers.

Besides, the methods adopted to prevent the representation of industrialists and economists at the Conference already prove its importance.

The matters which will be dealt with there and the important repercussions of the conclusions which the Conference will arrive at within the limits of its own competency are causing concern in government circles and among groups of business men, who are thus revealing their own guilt to the peoples.

Some industrialists in France, Italy and Belgium, and others in Latin America and Japan have been abruptly instructed against the Conference by government messengers in their respective countries. They have been given to understand that should they obtain a visa for Moscow and be present at the Conference, this may prevent them from obtaining a visa in the future for other countries. This is the first form of intimidation.

The second form of intimidation is the limitation of outlets in the future for their trade, both in their own countries and in the countries which are in the Anglo-American zone of influence.

We have seen, and are still seeing, similar situations affecting the working class and certain intellectual circles, particularly in the teaching profession.

Workers from the capitalist and colonial countries have been dismissed from their jobs on their return to their countries because they were invited by the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions to take part in May Day celebrations. Often they have been unemployed for a long time afterwards before being able to find another job.

Although governments and employers carry on such forms of repression against the workers, they have not been able to prevent workers' delegations to the Soviet Union becoming more and more numerous and the friendship of the workers of the world for the workers of the Soviet Union from becoming greater and more widespread.

Now industrialists are being subjected to the same restrictions that other industrialists impose, as masters by divine right, on the workers. This sign of the new times is also a proof of the weakness of those who make such attacks on the rights of individuals.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE current of opinion which is finding expression in all spheres of society against the intolerable restrictions of Washington is growing in scope during the preparation for the Moscow Economic Conference. New voices, which yesterday were silent or hostile, are today being raised in favour of peaceful co-existence between the countries of the socialist world and those still under capitalism.

All those within or outside our trade union movement who during the present period become convinced of the necessity and the possibility of peaceful co-existence in the world, and who are not yet daring enough to defend this point of view, must sooner or later make their choice.

Not a choice between two ideologies or two different economic systems, *but a choice between peaceful economic competition within the scope of normal international economic exchange,* on the one hand, or *competition by armed force in a war condemned by the immense majority of mankind,* on the other hand.

The President of the Christian Trade Union International, Gaston Tessier, thought it necessary to point out the difference existing between the position of his organisation and that of the I.C.F.T.U. on the subject of this choice. He has written that he wishes to choose PEACE and wants to see the Great Powers "study objectively the material and moral conditions for a peaceful co-existence between rival ideologies."

The question of the choice between peaceful co-existence and unjust and destructive war is clearly posed in the trade union life of the world. No one in the trade union movement must fail to state his position in this regard. The trade unions affiliated to the W.F.T.U., and the trade unions of workers who do not belong to our organisation must see to it that resolutions are passed everywhere upon this choice and that every organisation makes an open declaration on the subject. But on this point, why does Gaston Tessier wish to leave the initiative only to the governments or the international inter-governmental institutions to create the material and moral conditions for peaceful co-existence? Before the governments decide, and to help them in the decision that they must make, the peoples must make their voice heard.

The trade union organisations must not be left in the ante-chamber of this vast and important discussion on the very existence of millions of human beings. We must make up our minds; and when we have taken our own decision, should we

not go on to consider these great gatherings, where a joint decision by these responsible for the affairs of great mass organisations, such as the trade unions throughout the world, becomes necessary in order to guarantee this peaceful co-existence, a factor for PEACE?

The W.F.T.U. considers that the trade union movement formed by the organised workers of the world has the right and the duty to help to bring about the conditions for peaceful co-existence.

The Moscow International Conference offers all trade union organisations the possibility of accomplishing this part of their duty. The W.F.T.U. has understood this.

Working men and women throughout the world, regardless of their race, nationality or religion, watch the statements and the attitudes of everyone. On April 3 they will have the opportunity of seeing those who, by their words and acts, are effectively carrying out their duty.

LOUIS SAILLANT

Problems to be dealt with by the International Economic Conference in Moscow

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE INITIATING COMMITTEE (PREPARATORY COMMISSION)

THE Preparatory Commission nominated by the Initiating Committee for the International Economic Conference, which will take place in Moscow from April 3 to 10, 1952, met in Copenhagen from February 10 to 12, 1952.

It noted with satisfaction that the announcement of the International Economic Conference had provoked great interest in many countries, in business and trade union circles, as well as among economists and in general among people and organisations interested in economic affairs.

The only body responsible for the preparation of the Conference is the Initiating Committee, set up in Copenhagen on October 28, 1951. The Moscow Conference is a meeting of industrialists, merchants, farmers, technicians, trade unionists and co-operators; it is not a meeting of representatives of governments.

The Preparatory Commission recalls the declaration made by the International Initiating Committee on the 27th and 28th of last October, that the Conference is an economic Conference. Its aim is to help economic co-operation among the various countries, independently of their social and economic systems, through the growth of commercial relations and thus to improve the living conditions of the peoples.

The Conference agenda is as follows:

"To seek possibilities for improving the living standards of the population through peaceful co-operation between the different countries and different systems and through the development of international trade."

The Conference will deal with the present situation of international trade and will contribute towards the removal of difficulties which exist in this field; it will look for ways of developing international trade and for reducing the economic difficulties existing at present in many countries.

The Conference will examine by what means the development of normal economic relations and the growth in the volume of foreign trade can help raise the production of national industries, raise the level of employment, and reduce the cost of living.

In particular, the Conference will examine the possibilities of extending trade between East and West as well as between the countries with a more developed economy and the under-developed countries. All other suggestions put forward by those taking part will also be examined within the framework of the agenda.

The Preparatory Commission has taken into consideration the observations received from various national preparatory committees stressing the inconveniences and difficulty of presenting the Conference with special reports covering groups of countries as had been at first decided.

Instead of discussing the points on the agenda on the basis of one or several reports covering groups of countries, it seems preferable to have the discussions based on statements which those taking part desire to make.

In order to make it possible for the greatest number of participants to express their point of view and to discuss in a concrete manner the problems in which they are particularly interested, there will also be, in addition to the plenary sessions, working groups which will deal with different problems as, for example, the development of world trade, economic relations with the under-developed countries, international economic co-operation as a solution for social and other problems.

The intention is to help in the establishment of commercial relations between the representatives of industrial and commercial circles of various countries.

The Conference will provide the possibility of a wide and fair exchange of views, and it will not adopt any resolution which might be binding on any of those taking part, but will limit itself to the acceptance of recommendations.

The Preparatory Commission invites all those circles who are interested to take part in the Conference. Representatives of industry, commerce, agriculture, Chambers of Commerce and of various financial, industrial, and co-operative associations have already made known their intention to participate.

Invitations will also be sent to the economic bodies of the United Nations.

Representatives of trade unions of all opinions, economists and all other persons interested in economic affairs are invited to the Conference.

Under these conditions, the representation will be ensured of all those who, whatever their political opinions, wish to help in the development of trade and economic relations among the countries.

The Preparatory Commission recalls the declaration made by the Soviet Preparatory Committee, which stated that throughout their stay in the Soviet Union, those taking part will be the guests of the Soviet Preparatory Committee and that they will have, if they so desire, the opportunity to establish contact with representatives of commercial, industrial and co-operative organisations of the Soviet Union.

Those who wish to take part in the International Economic Conference should address themselves to the Preparatory Commission of the International Economic Conference, Hotel Beaulieu, Springforbi, Denmark.

Preparatory Commission for the Moscow International Economic Conference.
Copenhagen, February 13th, 1952.

Both Men and the Facts Speak For Improved Living Conditions Against Trade Discrimination

IT is well known that a characteristic of present world economy is the historic fact of the co-existence of two different social and economic systems. But what is being threatened is the peaceful character of this co-existence, based on the establishment of economic relations between the two systems in conformity with reason, that is, in conformity with the interests of the peoples everywhere.

In the *Report* of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the United States Congress (October 12, 1951), one can read: "Export policies must not only follow *the moral imperatives of the east-west struggle* but must also be established as an inseparable corollary to other mutual defense efforts" (our italics).

This is an economic policy which refuses point-blank the peaceful co-existence of the two systems and substitutes for it, under the pretext of "moral imperatives," a one-way cold war.

This economic policy, "an inseparable corollary to other mutual defense efforts," of necessity ignores the sole worth-while imperative need—the satisfaction of the economic and cultural requirements of mankind.

What do the workers who have been driven from civilian production into unemployment think of these "moral imperatives"? What do the mothers of families think, when they pay for the production of machines of death by rising prices of essential products? What do the great numbers of workers think who have been disabled as a result of speed-up arising from war economy? What do those victims of this policy think who are waiting in vain for housing?

They are opposed to this policy.

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TRADITIONAL east-west relations have been sacrificed to the "moral imperatives of the east-west struggle," and the peoples of the West are daily bearing the disastrous consequences.

WAR BUDGETS ARE INCREASING

United States:

1947	$14,451 million
1951-52	$59,900 million
	(or 73% of total budget)

Great Britain:

1949	£ 750 million
1951	£1,490 million

France:

1948	600,000 million francs
1950	700,000 million francs
1951	950,000 million francs
1952	1,400,000 million francs

And these are only the figures officially admitted.

* * *

In **Turkey**, military expenditure constitutes 60% of the budget, while expenditure for health and social needs is 3.5%.

* * *

"At present the world is devoting more than 100 thousand million dollars years to armaments, but it has not been possible to assemble more than 200 million dollars for the programmes of economic development."

(Speech of Mr. Santa-Cruz, President of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.)

LIVING STANDARDS DECLINE

In **Sweden**, prices rose during 1951 by approximately 25%, against an increase of 11% in wages.

* * *

In **Holland**, in spite of three successive wage increases, the workers' purchasing power declined by about 15% in 1951.

* * *

In **France**, the purchasing power of wages is at the present time less than half of what it was in 1938.

* * *

In **Morocco**, figures provided by a Fez shopkeeper and confirmed by other grocers reflect the decline in consumption of foodstuffs:

1949	1951
5 tons of milled flour per day.	5 tons per 5 days.
400 sacks of sugar per month.	280 sacks per month.
1 case of tea per day.	1 case per 7 days.

COST OF LIVING INDEX RISES

	1948	1951
United States ...	167	181 (May)
Denmark	170	198 (Apr.)
France	1380	2110 (May)
Italy	5204	5720 (May)
Peru	337	472 (May)
Chile	118	190 (Feb.)

(According to **International Financial Statistics**, July, 1951.)

These relations must be re-established. They must be broadened. They must be founded on authentic imperatives of a civilian and peaceful character.

There are immense possibilities. France and Italy need coal, but they can manufacture lorries. Poland has a surplus of coal but needs lorries. Does one need to be so learned to understand what needs to be done? Western Germany, as is generally the case with the highly industrialised countries of Western Europe, is short of grains but manufactures excellent machine-tools. Eastern Europe is a vast wheat granary, but can receive machine-tools. Is it not, then,

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS

In metal and engineering alone, in the **United States, Great Britain** and **Italy,** the number of workers who have become totally, partially or temporarily unemployed during the past year can be estimated at more than a million.

* * *

In the **United States,** between January and December, 1951, dismissals took place in the various industries as follows:

Automobile	111,000
Footwear	33,000
Leather	38,000
Textile	117,000
Furniture	28,000
Ready-made clothing	38,000

* * *

In **Italy** there are more than 4 million fully or partially unemployed.

In **Western Germany,** more than 2 million.

In **France,** more than 2,500,000 people are working less than 40 hours per week.

In **Turkey,** out of 18 million inhabitants, 4 million are without regular work.

imperative to give bread to the one and machine-tools to the other? India, Pakistan and Burma need machine-tools, agricultural equipment and tractors. The Soviet Union can supply these articles and could receive in exchange jute, rubber, tea, tin, etc.

There are, moreover, possibilities other than the exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods. Different types of raw materials could be exchanged, as could different types of manufactured goods. In this way a manifold and variegated system could be built up, which would not only bring full employment and improved living standards right away, but would also bring stability and mutual development.

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THE International Economic Conference which is to meet in Moscow from April 3 to 10 will not attempt to compare different economic and social systems. Its sole aim will be to seek for possibilities of improving the living conditions of the peoples by the peaceful co-operation of the existing systems and by the development of economic relations among all countries.

The "cold war" is, in the final reckoning, war.

But the workers want peace and the improvement of their living conditions. They must irresistibly sweep away the "cold war" and all its false imperatives.

They must force the establishment of the peaceful co-existence of different systems and guarantee this by fruitful economic relations, with rigorous respect for the rights and the prosperity of all peoples, by the elimination of all trade discrimination.

The International Economic Conference in Moscow must become a new and important stage in this development.

EAST-WEST TRADE IMPEDED

Trade between Western Europe and Eastern Europe (including the U.S.S.R.)

In Millions of Dollars (at 1948 value)

		Percentage of World Trade
1938	5,738	10.90%
1950	1,900	3.35%

(Source: "Notizie Economiche," Italy, July, 1951)

* * *

Trade between the United States and Eastern Europe (Index 1938=100)

1948	1949	1950 (2nd half)
131	92	43

(Source: "World Economic Report," 1949/50)

* * *

	Imports from Eastern Europe in % of total imports.		Exports to Eastern Europe in % of total exports.	
	1937	1950	1937	1950
United Kingdom...	6.4	4.2	16.2	6.5
Italy	13.9	5.5	8.5	7.5
France	6.4	1.9	5.2	1.9

(Source: "The Economist," Sept. 1, 1951)

* * *

YET THERE ARE POSSIBILITIES FOR EASTERN COUNTRIES TO IMPORT.

According to the **General Study of the European Engineering Industry** (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, April, 1951), the following materials could be imported by **China** in large quantities:

Mining equipment.
Blast furnace equipment.
Machine tools.
Textile looms.
Tractors.

The above document estimates at 640 million dollars the capacity of the **People's Democracies** for engineering products, of which 25% would be electrical equipment.

★ AGAINST THE SCHUMAN PLAN
★ FOR THEIR DEMANDS AND FOR PEACE

European Metal Workers Form a United Front

By
RÉGINE LACAZETTE

AN International Conference of men and women workers in the metal and engineering industries of the countries of Europe was held in Vienna from February 12th to 15th. The object of the Conference was to strengthen the unity of action of these workers for improved living and working conditions, for the protection of their rights, for national independence and for peace.

Two hundred and thirteen delegates and observers came from 22 countries with different languages, traditions, customs and regimes.

A Broad and United Conference

IT is a sign of the times that the workers' natural instinct, faced with the dangers confronting them, was to close their ranks, and it is a fact of great importance that this instinct has been aroused in the widest masses of metalworkers in all countries. It was, in fact, the mighty voice of the factories which responded to the appeal of the Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.).

The popularisation of the Conference in the factories and the election of delegates presented no difficulties in the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, where the trade unions have the free exercise of their rights. This was not true, however, in the capitalist countries, where employers and governments, acting jointly with those trade union leaders who are opposed to unity and to the workers' interests, and often with the help of the police, tried to impede the success of the Conference.

In spite of all their efforts, the very composition of the Conference gave a striking proof of its broad, united character. Of the 213 delegates and observers, 191 were elected at important meetings held on the job and attended by their workmates of varying trade union and political affiliations and of different religious viewpoints, both organised and unorganised.

For example, the nine delegates from Finland, the ten from Denmark and the eleven from Sweden were all elected at meetings in the largest factories, employing many thousands of workers. The Swiss delegates from the canton of Geneva were unanimously mandated by factories or groups of factories. The representative from British Vickers Armstrong workers was elected by 6,000 boilermakers. The large French and Italian delegations included non-trade union members and the French delegates included representatives of trade union organisations other than the C.G.T.

The profoundly united character of the Conference was also shown by the large proportion of delegates, 83 of the total, who were not members of organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. Trade Department. This is an expression of the desire for the reuniting of the international trade union movement arising from the ranks of the workers.

In many cases collections were made to cover the expenses of the delegations, showing the extent to which the metalworkers considered this Conference to be their own affair and to be useful and in line with their own aspirations, despite their financial difficulties.

In addition, the Conference and its agenda were publicised in all the countries concerned by means of leaflets, posters, articles in the press and in public meetings and conferences.

The Fight for Increased Wages

THE discussion took place on the basis of a report presented by Henri Jourdain, the General Secretary of the Trade Unions International. This substantial and fully documented report was an excellent instrument for the delegates' work, with facts clearly expressed and analysed, conclusions supported by factual material and the examination of each problem accompanied by indications of the concrete form of action required to attain the desired ends.

The discussion fully confirmed the correct analysis in the report, showing that the increased production in the metal and engineering industries has been accompanied, since 1947-48, in the countries of the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the Schuman Plan, by a reduction in the purchasing power of wages, particularly since the beginning of the imperialist aggression in Korea.

During 1951 in *Sweden* real wages have fallen, and 35% of the cash wage increase granted is absorbed by taxation. On the other hand, 196 mining and engineering enterprises increased their dividends by 30%. The proposals put forward by the employers' federation and by the Metalworkers' Federation (I.C.F.T.U.) for the new collective agreement have caused discontent among the workers, as these proposals do not take into account the rise in prices and taxation.

A recent meeting of 760 workers' representatives in *Denmark* went on record for increased wages, against the rising cost of living and for the maintenance of the sliding scale.

In *Norway* real wages have fallen by 20%, and the workers' share of the national income fell from 19.8% in 1939 to 15.8% in 1950, while industrial production is 50% higher than it was in 1939.

In *Finland* the profits of the trusts are increasing while the purchasing power of wages is falling. Finnish workers are calling for increased wages, despite the trade union leaders who support the wage-freeze.

The rise in profits in *Switzerland* is in inverse proportion to the workers' purchasing power and taxes paid by the workers are 4 times higher than they were in 1939. Ilg, President of the Swiss Trade Unions and President of the Secretariat of the Metalworkers' Federation (I.C.F.T.U.), who six months ago refused to undertake negotiations for wage increases, has been forced by unanimous pressure from an industrial conference to accept this demand, though with a great deal of reserve.

In *Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg* also, the metalworkers are demanding increased wages to meet rising prices. Six thousand workers in a Rotterdam shipyard held a successful strike against an attempt to reduce their wages.

The delegates from Vickers Armstrong in *Great Britain* condemned the effects of rearmament, the shortage of raw materials, rising prices and the decrease in the purchase of clothing, footwear and furniture. Pressure from the workers has prevented the operation of the wage-freeze, and demands are now being put forward for further wage increases. Employers' profits have increased by 50% between 1947 and 1951. In *Western Germany* taxes and duties represent more than 25% of nominal wages. In *Austria*, the cost of living has increased about 25% since June 1951, although wages increased only 8%.

The purchasing power of wages in *France* is less than half of what it was in 1938. Great mass actions are taking place for wage increases and maintenance of purchasing power.

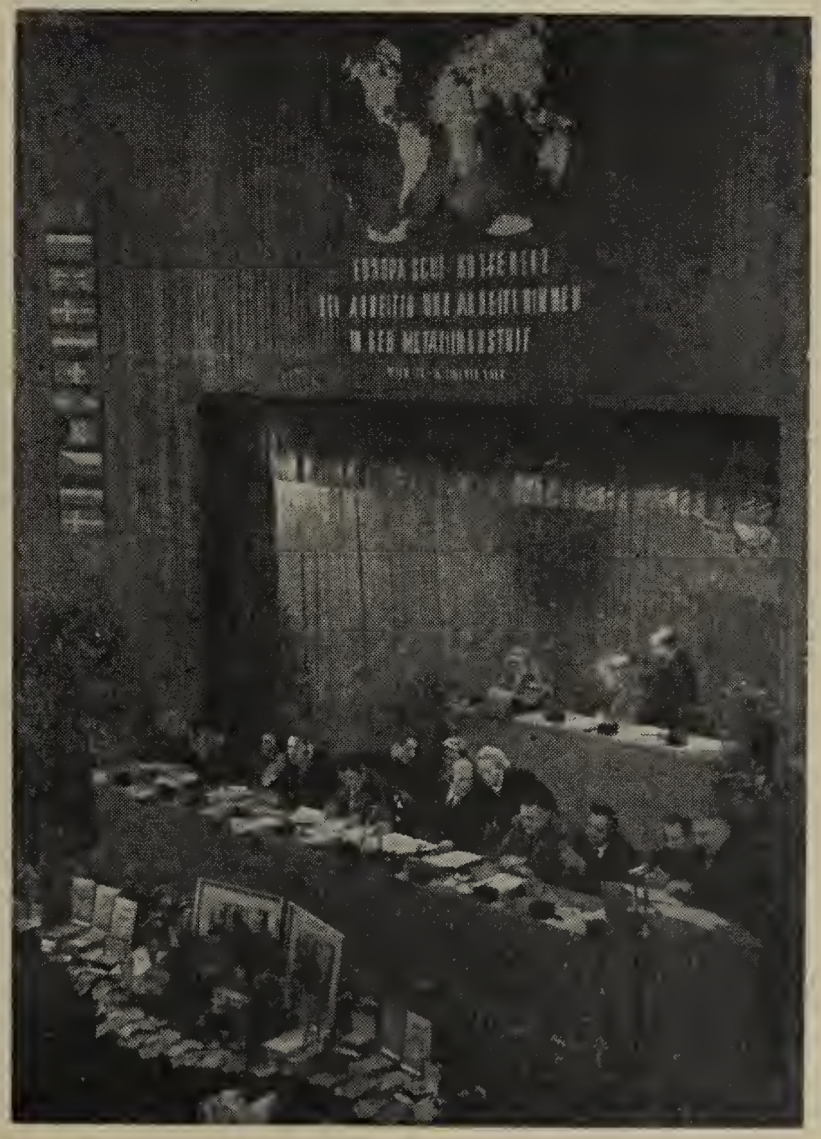
Widespread struggles of the *Italian* metalworkers are taking place for a 15% wage increase.

A representative of the *Spanish* metalworkers described the terrible poverty of his people, and the magnificent struggles of the Spanish workers last year against oppression and the high cost of living.

In all these countries, the fight for increased wages and for the maintenance of the purchasing power of wages—by means of the sliding scale, or by any other means appropriate to the particular conditions of the country concerned—takes first place in the activity of the workers and is the fundamental basis for the development of unity of action among the rank and file. The fixing of a guaranteed minimum wage and the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work for women* and youth are also shown to be deeply felt demands of the metalworkers of the countries of Marshallised Europe.

* Twenty-one women metalworkers took part in the Conference.

A view of the platform during the Conference.



The Scandinavian countries were represented by large delegations.

United Action Against "Productivity"

"WHATEVER the means employed for the purpose, every victory won by the capitalists in the sphere of productivity, that is, in speed-up and in longer working hours, represents in reality, at the present time, a decrease in real wages, one more worker unemployed, one more worker injured or sick, more super-profits, one more weapon of war and another step along the road to the enslavement of the workers," said Henri Jourdain in his report.

"Productivity," an integral part of the Marshall Plan, is a threat to the principle of a guaranteed minimum wage, and aims at substituting productivity agreements for genuine collective agreements.

The Swiss, Swedish, British, Italian and French delegates quoted figures showing the intensification of speed-up. Thus, in the Fiat factory in Turin, in 1949 and 1950, the daily output of motor-cars increased by 110%, the number of workers increased by only 11%, and the equipment was improved only between 6 and 7%.

In France, Western Germany and Italy, in spite of mass unemployment, 55 and even 60 hours a week are worked in some branches of engineering, and the same is frequently true in Norway.

In a number of countries, particularly Finland, France and Belgium, a week of international action against "productivity" was held last July, called by the W.F.T.U. Trade Department. The conference proposed the continuation of this action on the job against "productivity," for the reduction of the working week to 40 hours without loss of wages, against dismissals, for the payment of full wages in *all* cases of reduction in working hours.

Further, the increase in work accidents and illness which have arisen from these productivity methods makes even more urgent the defence and improvement of social security systems, health and safety regulations and paid holidays.

Protection of National Industries and Production for Peace

IT is clear that the basic reason for the difficulties of the workers of Marshallised Europe arises from the enormous military expenditure imposed by the ruling circles of the United States, the main burden of which must be borne by the peoples of those countries.

The American monopolists and their government decide on the amount of war expenditure, and, in consequence, the living standards of the peoples. They also control the principal sources of credit and raw materials in the capitalist world, rule the international monopolies and the trade outlets of the capitalist countries, banning trade between these countries and the countries of Eastern Europe and China.

In the application of their aggressive plans, they are stifling national economies, reducing or liquidating production, increasing unemployment and preparing for the forced displacement of labour, thus attacking the independence of the Marshallised countries.

Henri Jourdain revealed in a most detailed way in his report the strengthening of the international monopolies under the leadership of the American trusts and their growing seizure of national resources and economies.

The Italian delegates drew attention to the fact that the metal and engineering industries of their country present a typical example of this policy of American "aid," which has already increased the

unemployment of Italian workers, and they have struggled heroically against this.

One of the British delegates showed that the shortage of raw materials—which are being reserved for the armament programme in the Atlantic Pact countries, has resulted in short-time working for thousands of workers in the motor-car industry and is creating difficulties in shipbuilding.

Unemployment is also increasing in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Trieste and France. The metalworkers of the Marshallised countries are thus greatly concerned with the defence of their national industries and with the fight against dismissals and unemployment. Delegates from Austria, Switzerland, Finland, Great Britain and France pointed out that they also consider that trade between East and West could help them in their actions for better living conditions, for the independence of their countries and for friendship among all peoples. For example, a Finnish delegate showed that the trade treaty between his country and the Soviet Union has prevented unemployment and wage reductions.

It is thus in the interests of the workers to ensure the success of the Moscow Economic Conference and to see that their representatives take part in this Conference, working out, on the widest possible basis of unity, programmes of peaceful production for each factory to meet the needs of their own countries and those countries with whom they wish to trade.

Growing Opposition to the Schuman Plan

A SPECIAL report on this problem was presented to the Conference by Brother Mascarello, secretary of the French Metalworkers' Federation (C.G.T).

The Schuman Plan, a plan for a super-trust and a war-base under American control, would mean, for the workers of the six member-countries, the establishment of wage rate and social security standards at the level of the country in which they are lowest, speed-up, the liquidation of certain enterprises, unemployment, transfer of labour from one country to another and a sharpening of repression of the workers and of manoeuvres to divide them with a view to breaking their resistance.

These measures are already being applied to the miners and the metalworkers of Italy, France and Western Germany.

The Schuman Plan also presents a considerable danger to peace and to the sovereignty of the member-countries. Such is the plan which the principal leaders of the national metalworkers trade unions affiliated to the International Metalworkers Federation (I.C.F.T.U.) have contributed to formulating and putting into operation. Nevertheless, the metalworkers are continuing the activity which they began in 1950 against the plan on the initiative of our Trade Unions International. They have the support of wide sections of the population, including both small and large-scale employers in the member-countries, who are concerned about their national interests.

In a special resolution on the Schuman Plan, the Conference recommends that the metalworkers and miners unite and rally round the workers of other trades and sections of the population who are anxious for peaceful production, and even to ally themselves with those employers who are opposed to the Schuman Plan, on condition that they do not slacken their actions for their economic demands and that they never isolate this action from the struggle for better working conditions and for peace. It also calls on

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The Soviet delegation included V. Utkin, a young 25-year old worker (second from right) who has already received a Stalin Prize.

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Giovanni Roveda, President of the Trade Unions International, speaking from the rostrum.

them to oppose the closing of factories, unemployment or short time.

The Conference also recommended that an international gathering of metalworkers in the Schuman Plan countries be organised to draw up a programme of joint demands.

Defence of Trade Union Rights

IN order to subject the workers to their policy of hunger and war, employer and government circles in the Marshallised countries, on the orders of the big American capitalists, are violating the most elementary trade union rights and attacking the right to strike.

The Conference showed its attachment to the cause of the working class and to its most treasured rights when, on February 12th, the opening day, it unanimously honoured the memory of the Austrian workers who gave their lives for freedom in 1934, and greeted the French workers on strike for their economic demands and for the right to demonstrate against fascism.

Delegates from various countries told of the metalworkers' struggle against the policy of repression, provocation and dismissal of trade union militants carried out by the employers and the governments. The representative of the French Renault plant, where 300 workers were dismissed following the strike of February 12th, told of the recent united struggle of the workers of the plant against the repressive measures of the employers and against police and fascist provocation.

Metalworkers Want Unity

THE United States rulers and the forces which they have subjected to their will base their reactionary and aggressive plans on the weakening and division of the working class.

The workers are compelled in their desire for unity

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On the platform l. to r. Brother Mascarello (France), a Hungarian shock-worker delegate, and Brothers Yefanov (U.S.S.R.), Vice-President of the Trade Unions International, and H. Jourdain (France), Secretary of the T.U.I.

☆

and in defence of their own interests to wage a struggle against those leaders of the International Metalworkers' Federation such as Brown, Reuther, Ilg, Freitag, Tanner and Gailly, who are dividing the working class and openly resisting action by the workers for the satisfaction of their economic demands.

The leaders of the Swedish trade union centre, for instance, insist that no strike should take place without their approval, and the leaders of the West German trade union centre (D.G.B.) have signed an agreement banning strikes for a year in the factories of the Ruhr. These trade union leaders support the wage-freeze, approve the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the Schuman Plan, support increased "productivity," and oppose fraternal exchanges between workers of different lands, fearing the mutual discussion of views, as is evidenced by their attitude to the Conference. They are trying to smother trade union democracy, as in Finland or Great Britain, and they expel trade union militants who defend the workers. Above all, they fear all unity of the workers which is gaining ground in spite of them, and which has been a determining factor in the success of workers' movements in many countries.

Barreau, the French worker-priest, and the Italian delegates gave many examples to show how this wide movement is bringing the workers together for their common interests regardless of trade union affiliation, political, religious, or philosophical opinions. Monique Senni, a secretary of the French Metalworkers Federation, gave an account of the progress of united action among the women metalworkers of her country.

A delegate from Great Britain who works for a trust manufacturing precision instruments showed that contacts are becoming more frequent among the various plants of the trust, and that such contacts are also increasing in the motorcar and shipbuilding industries in the form of action committees and conferences for the achievement of economic demands.

In Luxemburg, Holland, Sweden, Norway and Austria unity is also being strengthened among the rank and file, the progressive elements in the trade unions are being strengthened and discontent is growing against those trade union leaders who carry on an anti-working class policy.

Brother Grassi, in his speech on behalf of the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U., analysing the experiences of the great working-class struggles, particularly insisted on the need to establish unity of action and trade union unity on the basis of the day-to-day demands in the factories. He called for vigorous action against sectarianism in order to eliminate the weaknesses and delays in the work.

The French delegation included several women. Worker-Priest Barreau (with cigarette) was also a member of the delegation.

Create Peace Committees in the Plants

BROTHER JOURDAIN had stressed in his opening report how necessary it is to help the workers to understand the danger of war, and the possibility for all of them to avoid this terrible menace through joint action.

United action for economic demands contributes to halting the plan for war, but there are also direct means of struggle for peace, such as those outlined by the General Council of the W.F.T.U. The fight

for economic issues cannot be dissociated from the fight for peace.

Brother Roveda, General Secretary of the Italian Metalworkers and President of the Trade Unions International, stated that in the collection of signatures in the factories for the appeal of the World Peace Council it was necessary to strengthen unity of action with workers belonging to different trade union organisations and with the unorganised workers.

The Italian metalworkers have set up many peace committees in the factories, decentralised for each workshop and office, and they have often succeeded in getting signatures from 100% of the workers for the Stockholm and Five Power Pact appeals. Like the French metalworkers, they are taking an active part in the great peace demonstrations.

In Great Britain, the last annual conference of the Foundry Workers went on record for the proposals of the World Peace Council and of the General Council of the W.F.T.U.

In Western Germany, France and Italy the metalworkers are fighting against the reduction of peaceful production and for the reconversion of factories from war to peace production. Programmes of production along these lines have been drawn up in the latter two countries on the basis of factories and regions with the united support of wide sections of the population.

There is a great movement of indignation among the mass of the workers against German rearmament. This is particularly strong among Western German workers, and has also been strongly evidenced by the British metalworkers and the French and Italian workers, who sent a large number of delegates to the European Workers' Conference in Berlin in March 1951.

The German delegates emphasised that the workers of their country want a democratic, demilitarised and united Germany.

This movement, allied to the great peace movement in the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies, shows the manner in which the metalworkers are participating in the growth of the peace forces throughout the world. But this movement must be strengthened and organised, especially in the factories.

The final Conference resolution recommends the setting up of broad peace committees in the factories.

Vision of a New World

IN his speech on the question of peace, Brother Roveda drew the attention of the Conference to the need to refute vigorously the lies against the Soviet Union and the countries on the march towards Socialism and to make their great achievements and peaceful sentiments better known. The Conference provided an opportunity for the representatives of the capitalist countries to appreciate in all its grandeur the new world which is being built by and for the workers.

A delegate from the Soviet metalworkers electrified the entire Conference by his description of the life of the workers in his factory, the Rostselmach factory in Rostov. The well-being of the workers is growing continually with the aid of free and powerful trade union organisations. Economic plans completed ahead of time, real productivity founded upon technical progress, and the great constructive works of Communism, veritable works of peace, are opening up unlimited prospects to the Soviet people, who have completely freed themselves from capitalist exploitation. The country's desire for peace is clear for

The large Italian delegation.

High spirits reign among the Rumanian and Hungarian delegates. Life seems good when the people have power in their own hands!

all to see, a desire which is also expressed by the 117 million signatures collected in the Soviet Union for the appeal of the World Peace Council.

The delegates from the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic also showed the mighty achievements of the workers and their trade unions in the planning of production, the complete liquidation of unemployment, the lowering of prices, the continuous rise of real wages and the extension of social, cultural and sports facilities.

The delegates from the capitalist countries were particularly struck by the important social advantages which add continually to the nominal wage in the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, while at the same time this wage increases with increased output and buys more as a result of the systematic reduction of prices. This is a reality which is in complete contrast to what is happening in their own countries, submitted to the "benefits" of Marshall "Aid."

The final resolution of the Conference paid tribute to the peaceful victories of the workers and the trade unions of the countries of Democracy and Socialism:

> *"If the peace of the world is preserved, the workers of the capitalist world can be sure that they owe it principally to these peaceful victories, each of which is a source of strength and confidence for them in the result of their own struggles."*

Strengthening of International Relations

EVERY delegate to the Vienna Conference felt the need to hold similar international gatherings in the future. Thus, Brother Yefanov, President of the Central Council of the Soviet Metalworkers' Federation and Vice-President of the Trade Unions International, expressed the feeling of all present in his speech on international exchanges of delegations.

The leaders of the "free" trade unions and of the Metalworkers' Trade Secretariat, he showed, are the most bitter enemies of unity and of the exchange of experiences on a national or international level. The Trade Unions International, on the other hand, has always encouraged the strengthening of friendly relations and unity of action of workers of all races, nationalities, opinions and beliefs.

In Marshallised countries the metalworkers, who have won great victories under the banner of unity, must develop this aspect of their activity still further with a view to improving their living standards and stopping the armaments race. It is very important that exchanges of worker delegations between the capitalist countries should be increased and should become a regular feature, for example, between workers employed by the same international trust for a common demand, or on the basis of a particular branch of the metal and engineering industries.

We should also envisage, not only meetings between workers of the capitalist countries of Europe but between the European workers and the workers of Canada and the United States.

As a demonstration of its feelings of international solidarity, the Conference unanimously adopted an appeal to the metalworkers of the United States, proposing that they hold a Conference to which European delegates would be invited for the examination of common problems.

As far as exchanges of delegations between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies are concerned, such exchanges

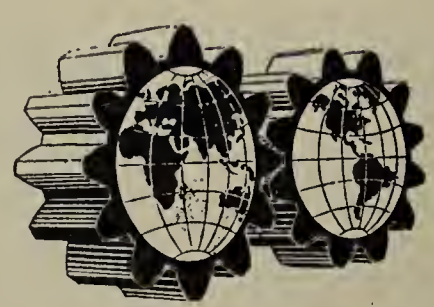
are becoming more numerous, and they must be still further increased. The governments of the capitalist countries, acting on the orders of the ruling circles of the United States, are creating obstacles and refusing entry visas for Soviet workers. It is thus quite clear on which side the "iron curtain" is to be found. The delegations which have visited the Soviet Union have shown by their reports that it is not on the Soviet side, and these statements deserve wider publicity.

Applying the Decisions

IN his closing speech, summarising the discussions, Brother Jourdain stated that the programme of action adopted by the Conference offers a basis for common action *for all metalworkers without exception*, and that this unity of action represents for them an invincible force. He called for the immediate application of the decisions of the Conference, and that they be adapted to the specific situation in the various countries and factories. A great campaign for reporting back and discussion of the work of the Conference must be organised, not in closed circles, but in broad meetings in the factories, locally, regionally and nationally.

He called for a sense of responsibility from their delegates, each of whom, in coming to the Conference, had undertaken responsibilities on behalf of the workers. He extolled the sense of unity, which consists in doing everything for the workers, paying attention to even the smallest of their demands, acting with solicitude and patience and within the trade unions which are in the hands of the enemies of unity and the workers' interests, and to win the workers away from the influence of these reactionary leaders.

In this way, the forces of the workers can be united in all countries in the spirit of working-class internationalism for the victory of unity, for the satisfaction of the workers' demands and rights and for peace.



Who Wants Peace? Who Wants War?

"The Western defence forces under General Dwight D. Eisenhower have not yet attained strength sufficient to meet a determined Soviet attack. This is the opinion of top military men. . . . "New York Herald-Tribune" (European Edition), January 23, 1952.

We ask a question:

If the U.S.S.R. wanted war, as the calumny of the "Western" leaders would have us believe, why is it waiting to attack, since the "Western Powers" have not yet attained sufficient strength to meet . . .?

Is it waiting for the "Western Powers" to finish arming to the teeth? Of course not.

Eisenhower has just given—involuntarily?—a proof of the U.S.S.R.'s will for peace.

But why, then, are he and his masters rearming so desperately?

Because they want war, of course!

IN WESTERN GERMANY

Powerful Working-Class Opposition To Remilitarisation

By W. ADLER

ONLY a few weeks have passed since the German people's Black Friday, the day on which the Bonn Parliament ratified the Schuman Plan, and the right-wing trade union leaders of Western Germany are already openly proclaiming the need for what they call "the contribution of Western Germany to the defence of the West." They no longer hide, nor can they hide, the close link between the Schuman Plan and the "General Treaty" which is in preparation, which will make of Western Germany a United States colony and an armed base for war against the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, and which will perpetuate the division of Germany. It is well known that this treaty envisages the open resurrection of the Wehrmacht in Western Germany, under the command of former Nazi generals.

West German industry is fully engaged on war production, allowing the great trusts like Krupps, Gute Hoffnungshütte, I-G Farben and Vereinigte Stahlwerke and others to increase their production continually. At the same time, such civilian industries as fur and leather, building and foodstuffs are forced to reduce their production. According to the West German Trade Union Confederation (D.G.B.), the output of heavy industry (engineering construction) was 52% higher in August 1951 than in 1936, while that of the leather industry had fallen to 58.6% of its 1936 level, and the production of boots and shoes was only 65.4% of what it was in 1936.

The reconversion of industry to war production has brought increased exploitation of the West German workers, and labour accidents are becoming much more frequent, particularly in the mining industry where any means are considered good enough to force the miners to increase their productivity.

Meanwhile, the prices of foodstuffs, manufactured goods, railway fares and taxes rise continually.

German reaction, with the powerful support of the Western occupation authorities, is multiplying its attacks on democratic organisations in an attempt to smash the growing resistance of the workers. Preparations are being made to ban 38 democratic organisations, and police raids are made on the homes of members of these organisations. Simultaneously, "Soldiers' Associations" and other paramilitary groups are being set up.

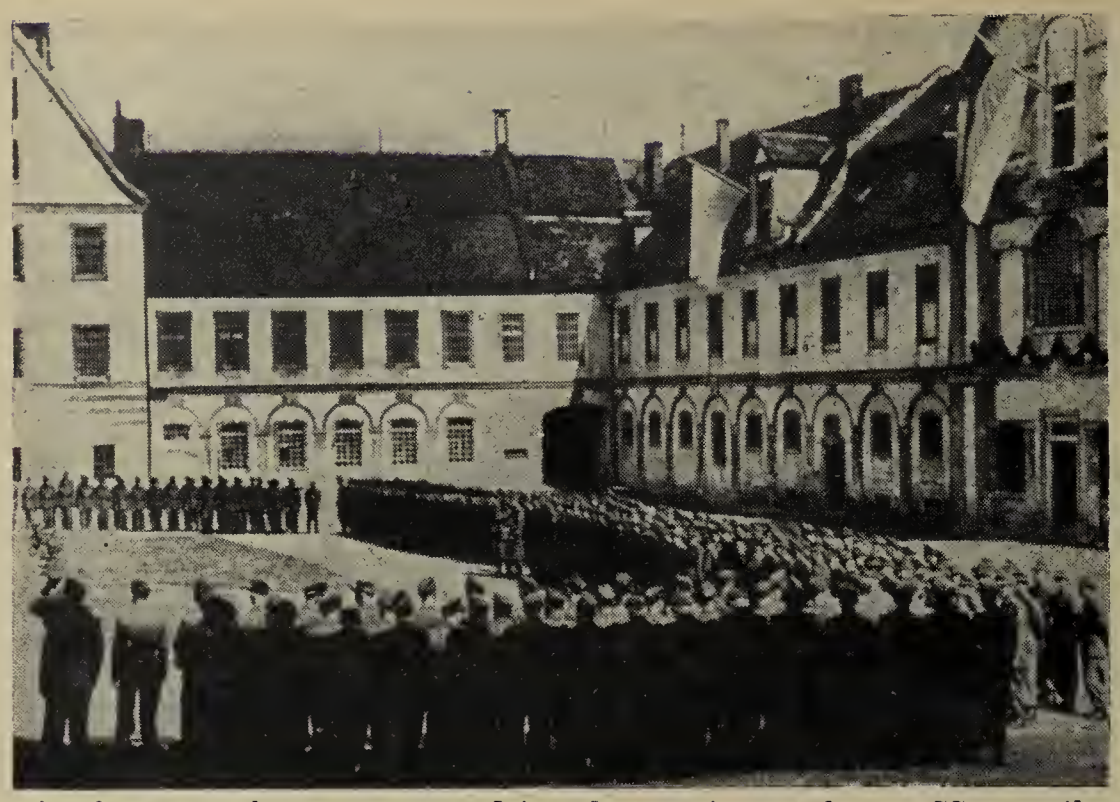
Not long ago, Dehler, the Bonn Government's Minister of Justice, went as far as to declare that the West German trade unions are "ripe for imprisonment" (*sic*). This same Dehler also stated that the majority of people receiving pensions are nothing more than "thieves and malingerers" and that their pensions should be withdrawn and the money used for rearmament.

* * *

THE war policy of the Bonn Government, the insults of Dehler and the provocations of the fascist para-military organisations have aroused a deep wave of protest among the organised workers and other sections of the West German population.

In spite of bans and police persecution, ever wider sections are taking part in the referendum against remilitarisation. Up to now, over 90% of the people who have been approached have declared themselves against remilitarisation and for a Peace Treaty.

In October 1951, the Youth Committee of the D.G.B. went on record against the remilitarisation of Western Germany. This was their reply to the bargaining which had taken place between Fette, President of the D.G.B., and Remer, leader of the Soldiers' Associations. In its resolution, the Youth Committee declared itself against remilitarisation, and affirmed that "the youth organised in the trade unions refuse to take any part in the soldiers' associations." Similar resolutions have been passed by scores of trade



Disguised as police and composed to a large extent of former SS men, the German army is reborn.

union regional youth committees. The number of committees against conscription grows continuously. The young people are declaring that they will refuse to present themselves on call-up, and that they will destroy their call-up papers. In December, 200 young men from the factories and schools of Hamburg formed a local committee against recruitment, which includes leading trade unionists, members of the Social-Democratic Party, Protestant youth, sports organisations and action committees of young metal workers and dockers.

A meeting of the German Workers' Committee against Remilitarisation was held last December in Frankfurt-on-Main, at which a broad programme of struggle by the German working class for the unification of Germany and the maintenance of peace was adopted. This programme has met with a deep response from the German workers.

* * *

THE struggle for peace has continued to grow in 1952. Early in January a great conference of representatives of youth organisations of Bavaria was held against conscription. This conference, which was attended by many trade union functionaries, issued an appeal to all the youth of Western Germany, calling upon them to oppose the threat of military service. It also called upon them to participate in a central conference against conscription to be held in February 1952.

In the province of North Rhine-Westphalia, 600 delegates from youth organisations also unanimously rejected remilitarisation and the introduction of military service in Western Germany.

A regional conference of the Youth Group of the Workers' Committee Against Remilitarisation of Schleswig-Holstein province sent to all members of parliament a resolution which declared: *"We know that remilitarisation would be carried out at the expense of the workers and that we will be the first victims led to the slaughter. We know the united strength of our youth organisations and of the trade unions, and we shall give a powerful reply to the reactionary measures of the Adenauer Cabinet. The German people and, above all, the whole of German youth, do not want war."*

There has been a very great increase in demonstrations by the workers of Western Germany against remilitarisation following the Bonn Government's ratification of the Schuman Plan, and the official proclamation by the Adenauer Government that it intends to introduce compulsory military service in the near future.

It is well known that the American imperialists not only want to incite Western Germany to war against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, but they also intend to use German divisions to put down the working-class movement in Western Germany and even in other countries of Western Europe. Thus, a heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of German workers. German workers are aware of this great responsibility which they have to the whole world, and they are fighting back with increasing vigour.

On January 13th, the Hamburg

This scene is becoming a daily occurrence in the streets of Western Germany.

Peace slogan on the walls of Frankfurt-on-Main: "Remilitarisation? Without us!"

dockers refused to unload munitions from the British ships *Big Hall* and *Wembley*. Several days later, a convoy of motorised British troops arrived with tanks and armoured cars, but the dockers still refused to unload the ships. Limited strikes were held in a number of German factories in protest against the adoption of the Schuman Plan, which brings to the workers increased exploitation, mass dismissals and wage cuts. The workers of hundreds of factories have sent protest telegrams to the central leadership of the D.G.B.

"Not a shovelful of coal for war" was the slogan of the Conference of miners from the whole of Germany which was held on January 13th at Essen, in the Ruhr, and attended by trade union functionaries and delegates of various political and religious viewpoints. This gathering, which represented the 500,000 miners of Western Germany and the 200,000 miners of the German Democratic Republic, called upon the miners of Western Germany to follow the example set by so many miners and metalworkers of Western Germany in organising strikes against the application of the Schuman Plan, and to strengthen the fight against remilitarisation.

The appeal of the Essen Conference had a considerable effect. Protest strikes against the ratification of the Schuman Plan took place in the most important mines of the Ruhr, including the Wilhelmine, Rheinbaben and Dannenberg and in the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke factory, among others.

On January 20th, a great conference of West German metalworkers was held in Duisburg, which unanimously adopted as its basic slogan: "German steel must serve the cause of peace."

* * *

WHAT has been the attitude of the right-wing leadership of the West German trade unions to these actions of the workers? Have they supported the just demands of millions of trade unionists? Have they respected the clearly expressed will of their members? Not at all. The right-wing leaders of the D.G.B. have carried out the will of the imperialists, and they have done and are continuing to do everything possible to undermine the actions of the workers.

Panic-stricken by the effects of the Miners' Conference in Essen and the Metalworkers' Conference in Duisburg, the leaders of the D.G.B. are trying to forbid their members from taking part in such conferences. The weekly paper of the D.G.B. for January 11th says: *"The executive board of the Miners' Federation has unanimously decided to take action against all members who take an active part in any of these conferences. The executive board of the Metalworkers' Federation has also declared unequivocally that it will demand and enforce the expulsion of all members who take part in the preparation or the holding of such conferences."*

What does it matter to these leaders that the delegates to the conferences in question have been democratically elected at general

meetings of the workers, and that they have been regularly mandated to express the will of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists?

The right-wing leaders of the D.G.B. are cynically violating the rules of their own Confederation, which states that one of the tasks of the D.G.B. is "the fight for mutual and peaceful understanding among the peoples." During the XIth Session of the Confederal Bureau on December 3rd last, the question discussed was *"the need for a psychological preparation of the membership for defence."* Here is what we read in the minutes of the meeting:

"The reporter, Brother Rosenberg, gave a detailed report on the question of contributing to defence. He stressed above all the need for the D.G.B. to exercise a psychological influence on its members in order to make them understand that some day they will have to make a decision, and that they will not be able to adopt the 'without us' position, but will have to be ready for the defence of the democratic form of State." Rosenberg recognised that the great masses of the people refuse to concern themselves with this question, but this only led him to conclude that *"they* (the masses) *would find themselves in the near future faced with the fait accompli of the existence in the country of German military formations."*

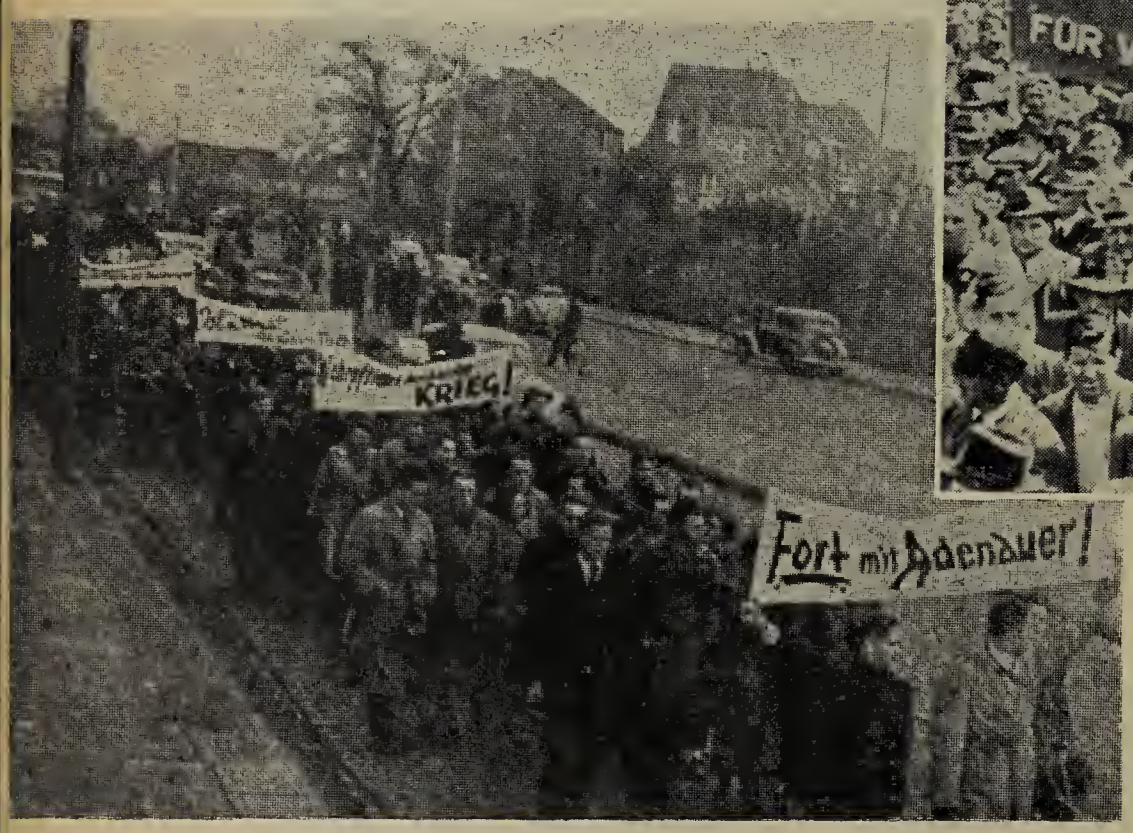
On January 20th, the bigshots of the D.G.B. expressed their thoughts without any camouflage. That day, Fette, Vom Hoff, Deist and Grosse (who went several days later to the Bonn Parliament to speak for the adoption of the Schuman Plan) called a press conference at Oberhausen, where there is a steelworks destined for the production of steel for war purposes, and declared openly and bluntly that the trade unions have adopted the principle of a German contribution to armament.

But the millions of trade unionists of Western Germany have not allowed themselves to be taken in by the "psychological preparation" of so-called "defence." The cynical declarations made to the press awakened a reaction hitherto unknown among the workers, as was admitted by the entire press of Western Germany.

Thousands of protest telegrams have streamed into the central leadership of the D.G.B., adopted by special meetings in the factories and calling for the resignation of Fette and Vom Hoff. Strikes were organised in many factories. In many cases, the workers called for the proclamation of a general strike throughout Western Germany. The storm of indignation affected whole trade union federations to such an extent that certain leaders of federations were forced to take a position against the policy of their central leadership on the question of remilitarisation. This happened, for example, with the metal-workers, transport and textile unions. The youth organisations organised mighty demonstrations, and the workers—Social-Democrats, Communists, Catholics and Protestants—are strengthening their unity of action in the struggle.

* * *

THE small town of Bonn on the banks of the Rhine, "capital of the Federal Republic," looked like



BELOW: **At the same time Adenauer was defending the war policy in Parliament, the people were demonstrating against remilitarisation in the streets of Bonn, crying: "Away with Adenauer."**

ABOVE: **More than 80,000 Munich workers demand that Adenauer leave.**

★

a beseiged fortress from February 6th to 8th. Imposing units of armed police barred the entry to the area containing the Parliament building and Adenauer's private residence. Fire-hoses were connected all around the area—"water-guns" the workers called them. All the police forces of the neighbouring towns were on the alert. This is the way in which Lehr, the Minister of the Interior, thought it necessary to guarantee the "serenity" of the parliamentary debate on the participation of Western Germany in the "European Army."

But these measures did not prevent the Members of Parliament from being confronted with the popular indignation. Thousands of people gathered in front of Parliament before the opening of the session, many of them workers' delegates from other parts of Western Germany. The demonstrators shouted: "We don't want war!", "Down with Adenauer!", "West and East Germans at the same table!" The police used their "water-guns" and truncheons, but the demonstrators, though driven from Parliament, regrouped in the streets of Bonn, and when night came fires were lighted across the Rhine forming the word *Frieden* (Peace).

The same expression of feelings was demonstrated in other towns of Western Germany. In spite of the ban issued by Fette, warning strikes took place in Gelsenkirchen, Duisburg, Recklinghausen, Cologne, Remscheid, Solingen, Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburg and elsewhere. Great demonstrations were held in Hanover, Ludwigshaven, Esslingen and Dortmund.

The Hamburg dockers, supported by the unemployed, whom the employers wanted to use as strike-breakers, once more refused to unload arms brought by British ships.

Warning strikes continued throughout Western Germany during the days following the debates in the Bonn Parliament. The most active in this movement were the workers of the Ruhr, the heart of the western arsenal.

Sunday, February 10th, was a day of protest throughout Western Germany against the policy of the Bonn Government and against the right-wing trade union leadership. A meeting of 33,000 people took place in Dortmund. A conference of dockers and seamen was held in Hamburg, at which was set up a Central Committee to organise

Hundreds of Western German women delegates assemble before Parliament in Bonn to protest against Adenauer's war policy.

unity of action, composed of 19 representatives of Western German ports. The Committee set itself the task of stimulating a wide resistance movement against the unloading and transport of war material.

* * *

ON the same day a special conference of the Bavarian trade unions affiliated to the D.G.B. was held in Munich. In the name of 900,000 trade unionists of the province, the 116 delegates unanimously adopted a resolution rejecting the policy of remilitarisation of Western Germany.

The mere holding of this special conference was a victory over the D.G.B. leadership, for it had never before been conceivable. During the conference the defeat of the right-wing leaders was converted to a rout. The speeches of Fette and Vom Hoff were drowned in laughter and tumultuous shouts of indignation, which rose to a veritable storm when Fette asked: *"Do you think that our brothers who are at present partially unemployed would refuse to work if the textile industry were to receive an order for* 300,000 *uniforms*?"

Essl, President of the Bavarian Metalworkers' Federation, declared amidst unanimous applause : *"Trade unionists want neither a diplomatic 'Yes' nor an embarrassed 'No' in the matter of remilitarisation. They want a complete refusal. Our members, however, expect not only our 'No,' but also decisive action to put it into effect."*

The resolution was clear cut, the delegates even refusing to accept the introduction of a sentence proposed by Fette on "links with the Western world." Exposing the anti-Soviet implications of Fette's proposal, the delegates stressed that the Soviet people also want peace.

"The integration of Germany in the Western defence system makes a peaceful reuniting of Germany impossible.

"The 'German contribution to defence' brings new additional

charges which would of necessity reduce still further the already low living standard of wide sections of the German people.

"The Confederal Leadership and the Confederal Executive Bureau must prepare measures for preventing the 'German contribution to defence'."

The above are the essential passages of the resolution. It is hardly possible to conceive of clearer language, and the delegates meant by the preparation of appropriate measures the calling of a general strike.

After suffering this stinging defeat at the Munich Conference, Fette declared that the decisions of the Bavarian trade unionists (900,000 members) were of no significance since the D.G.B. has still other federations.

However, Fette is out of luck! Immediately after the Munich conference, the trade union leadership of Hesse decided to call for a similar special conference. The 200 members of the works' councils of the Neuss region demanded, in the name of the 20,000 trade unionists of the region, the calling of a special conference of the trade unions of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the movement continues to develop unceasingly.

Throughout Western Germany, trade unionists are demanding either special regional conferences of the D.G.B. or the application all over the country of the decisions taken at Munich. At the same time they are demanding the resignation of Fette and Vom Hoff.

Further, the trade unionists of Western Germany are becoming aware of their strength which can thwart the plans of the warmongers.

The signing of a real Peace Treaty with Germany! No law on military service, but a law for the election of a National Assembly for the whole of Germany! No participation in the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, but a united, democratic and peaceful Germany! The voice of the West German workers is being heard more powerfully, calling for the abandonment of the present anti-labour trade union policy and for a fight for the true interests of the German people.

The Discussion on
THE SLIDING SCALE

A Further Statement on the Situation in the U.S.A.

by MAURICE E. TRAVIS

International Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

I HAVE read with great interest the vigorous article by Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Metal Trades International, in the W.F.T.U. Review No. 19, in which Brother Jourdain advances the reasons he favors a strong fight by all unions in capitalist countries for a sliding wage scale.

I have the profoundest respect for Brother Jourdain, and I agree with him entirely in his argument that the fight for peace cannot be separated from the fight to improve workers' living standards. I agree further that the present inflation in living costs from which all workers in capitalist countries are suffering is a direct result of the arms drive in the West.

But at least as far as workers in the United States and Canada are concerned, I disagree with Brother Jourdain's conclusion that the sliding wage scale—or "escalator clause" as we call it—presents a solution to the problem of inflation.

At the same time that I say that, I hasten to add that I do NOT disagree with Brother Jourdain's conclusion as it relates to the workers in Western Europe.

The question will immediately be asked, I am sure: If the sliding wage scale is good for the workers of one country, why isn't it good for the workers of another? The answer, I think, can be found in the historical development of labor-management agreements in the United States and Canada on the one hand, and in France, England and the rest of Western Europe, on the other.

Union contracts in the United States are fixed and unchangeable for definite periods of time on all questions. When a contract goes into effect, it fixes the terms under which wages are to paid until the date —ordinarily one or two years—on which the contract expires. The contract even contains specific wage scales, in dollars and cents, for every category of worker in the shop, mill or mine that is covered. And it defines all the other working conditions in the same exact manner.

Contracts are Binding

THESE contracts are binding on both parties, so that any attempts that might be made to change the content of the contract before it expires would result in the most expensive law suits. When workers engage in job actions during the life of a contract, it is almost always over an interpretation of a contract clause on working conditions, rarely over actual wage rates.

As I understand it, this is quite different from the type of agreement between unions and employers in Western Europe, where the workers are able to struggle almost continuously for improvements in the wage level, even though a contract is in effect.

In my union we are by no means "legalistic" in our approach to collective bargaining, but at the same time we are grimly aware of the tremendous build-up which the press and all organs of public opinion have given to the idea of "sanctity of contract." That idea was established first by old Samuel Gompers, one of the founders and for many years the president of the American Federation of Labor. It was a part of his lifelong campaign to make labor "respectable." And we know that any union which bucks this particular tradition, would come into headlong collision with an attitude of the entire public, including a large majority of the labor movement itself.

In recent years, as a precaution against inflation, our union has fought for six-month reopener clauses in all contracts, to give more frequent opportunities to struggle for wage increases. When the deadline date of these reopener clauses arrives, we have the right to walk out on strike, if necessary, in order to back up our demands for wage increases—even though we can make no changes in other features of the contract.

When a union in the United States signs a contract containing an escalator clause, the living standards of all workers under that contract are immediately fixed. They can go no higher until the contract expires, and they will probably go lower as prices rise because of

the great lag between price increases and the reflection of those increases in official indexes.

Brother Jourdain dismisses this objection with the comment that workers can "see to it that their trade unions, controlled by themselves, continue to be the instrument of united struggle for the continual raising of the material and moral living standards of the working class."

From my very limited understanding of labor-management relations in France and other West-European countries, I believe it would be possible to have a sliding scale in effect, and at the same time carry on struggles aimed at getting wage increases in addition to any increases won as the result of the sliding scale.

It could not work that way in the United States, however, since the sliding scale would be the ONLY wage clause in the contract, and the workers would be restrained—by contract—from taking any other action to raise wages for the duration of the contract.

Not a New Idea

THE sliding scale is by no means a new idea in U.S. industry. In this country, the sliding scale historically worked as a company-union device which made it possible for company stooges in a union to argue that there was no real conflict between the interests of labor and those of management. Members of our union in non-ferrous metal mining fought the sliding scale as long as 50 years ago.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, commented in a speech before the Ford Local 600 (United Auto Workers—C.I.O.) in Detroit last June:

> *"I am informed that in your industry you have what is known to the mine workers of this country as the sliding scale of wages. . . .*
>
> *"Let me tell you what your contract plan, your agreement plan, would have meant in the mining industry had the United Mine Workers of America not been powerful enough to rub it out of the industry. . . .*
>
> *"The United Mine Workers have been able to negotiate advances in wages, on the base rates of 50 years ago, amounting to 1760 per cent increase —1760 per cent higher in fifty years . . .*
>
> *"If the mine workers had continued the sliding scale in effect—or your plan—during that 50 year period, their advances during that 50 years would have been 500 per cent of the base rate, or less than one-third of the advances that have taken place through the instrumentality of collective bargaining. Does that mean bread and butter for you? . ."**

I think it is particularly important for me to try to correct what I consider a misunderstanding on Brother Jourdain's part of the significance of the "escalator clause" contracts negotiated in the auto industry last year by Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers.

Brother Jourdain declares, in his article, that "under the workers' pressure, Reuther had had to put in the contract a clause on the sliding scale." Now I am by no means an expert on the internal affairs of the U.A.W., but I do not believe that was the case. Every evidence indicates that in the negotiations which resulted in Reuther's infamous five-year contract with General Motors, it was President Wilson of G.M. who proposed the escalator clause, not the G.M. workers. Nor is there any doubt that Wilson is proud of the feat he accomplished in persuading Reuther to include this clause in the contract. (For quotations from Charles Wilson see the Discussion on the Sliding Scale in *W.T.U.M.*, Numbers 24 and 3.)

When Wilson proposed the escalator clause for the G.M. contract in 1950, he had plenty of evidence to show that the clause would favor the company stockholders, rather than G.M. workers. The company was just winding up a two-year contract with U.A.W., which had also been negotiated by Reuther and which also contained an escalator clause. During the two years, G.M. workers received under this clause one 3-cent increase in 1948, and then in 1949 and early 1950, three successive wage *cuts*, which made for a *net loss* in wages of two cents an hour in the two-year period.

It is worth noting further that within two months after Reuther signed the G.M. contract, U.A.W. workers at the giant Ford plant in Windsor, Ontario, Canada, went on strike in protest against reports that Reuther intended to negotiate an escalator contract with Ford.

As far as the employers and their press was concerned, Reuther emerged as a hero from the G.M. 1950 negotiations. *U.S. News*, a big business journal, comments: *"The President (Truman) is indicating that he would like to see more of labor leader Walter Reuther. . . . Mr. Reuther strikes the President as a labor leader who has a bright future, both in politics and in union affairs."*

Mine-Mill Did Better Than The Auto Workers

THE foregoing makes it clear that our union has a policy of strenuous opposition to the sliding scale, or escalator clause. "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." Let us compare the wage gains made by the vast majority of our members in contracts negotiated with the non-ferrous metals industry with the gains made by G.M. workers under the escalator clauses which have been in effect continuously since 1948.

	U.A.W.-G.M. cost-of-living increase	Annual Improvement factor	Total	Mine-Mill Kennecott wage increase
May 1948	8	3	11	
July 1948				12
Sept. 1948	3		14	
March 1949	–2		12	
May 1949		3	15	
June 1949	–1		14	
Dec. 1949				5
March 1950	–2		12	
May 1950		4	16	
Sept. 1950	5		21	
Oct. 1950				10
Dec. 1950	3		24	
March 1951	5		29	
May 1951		4	33	
June 1951	3		36	
July 1951				16
Sept. 1951	1		37	
		14	37	43

* For further quotations from John L. Lewis see the Discussion on the Sliding Scale in **W.T.U.M.**, Numbers 24, 1951, and 2 and 3, 1952.

The "Annual Wage Improvement Factor" in Reuther's contracts is actually a vicious device for giving the union's sanction and support to a grinding speed-up of the workers. The basis for this "automatic" increase is a statement of principle in which both the union and the company say they "recognize" the need for a "co-operative attitude" toward increasing production. As the *Wall Street Journal* put it on May 5, 1950:

> *"It (the paragraph containing this statement of principle) stresses, too, that the Union must co-operate in order to bring about such improved output. It places squarely on the shoulders of the United Auto Workers and its President, Walter Reuther, the job of seeing that such co-operation exists."*

G.M. President Charles Wilson made a speech at the National Press Club in Washington, congratulating himself for the "deal" he made with Reuther on this clause and said: "Rather than increasing unit costs, the new wage bargain is expected to bring about increases in productivity at least as rapidly as increases in hourly wages." A year later he was able to report proudly that productivity increases had *exceeded* the cost to the company of the "wage improvement factor."

If you set aside the wage gains made from the "speed-up clause" in the G.M. contract, you find that the escalator clause brought G.M. workers a total of 23 cents in wage gains. But even if you take both the Speed-up and the Escalator clauses in the G.M. contract together, you find that they have brought G.M. workers less in the way of gains than Mine-Mill contracts for the same period.

While studying this comparison, it is also important to recall that Mine-Mill made these gains in a period when it was isolated from the majority of the labor movement, including both A.F.L. and C.I.O. During the last three years, we have been heavily raided by unions of both the major federations, and the raiding unions were making every effort to undercut our negotiations and discredit our union generally. If our Mine-Mill union had been a part of a broadly united labor movement, fighting for wage increases in this same period, we are convinced that our gains would have been far greater.

The fact that auto workers are unhappy and rebellious over their experience with the escalator clause was pointed up dramatically in November 1951 by a decision of the largest local union in the world. The U.A.W.-C.I.O. Ford Local 600, with a membership of 65,000, voted in a membership meeting to open a campaign for abrogation of their ironbound 5-year escalator contract. The membership listed, among demands for a new contract, a 30-hour week with 40-hours pay, an end to speed-up, and a halt to lay-offs which have become extremely serious in the auto industry. This decision to demand a fresh contract deal from the Ford Motor Co. was made despite the fact that the "escalator" contract *still has four years to run.*

A Distorted Cost-of-Living Index

THERE is, however, one further important argument against the sliding scale in the United States. In every case where trade union leaders in this country have accepted the sliding scale, the measuring stick used to decide how much living costs have increased in the so-called "cost-of-living Index" of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Yet all of organized labor—including Walter Reuther—agrees that the Department of Labor Index is NOT an accurate measure of changes in the cost of living. It is particularly unreliable in times of scarcities, and scarcities are inevitable in a period of inflation caused by heavy concentration of arms production. Labor's experience during World War II showed that many of the items in the Index were being overcharged in the marketplace—in some instances several times over. Even when controls were established, black market prices of listed items were way above the prices carried in the Index. Also in the effort to find substitutes for much-needed products, workers paid prices much higher for substitutes to the products listed in the Index.

More than a year ago (Sept. 20, 1950), the *Financial World,* an employer mouthpiece, pointed out that *"Regardless of what anybody may do about it (the Labor Department's cost-of-living Index) it is bound to become ambiguous. There will be creeping shortages of consumers hard goods which have their places within the Index."*

The B.L.S. Index does not and cannot measure increases in living costs arising out of lowered quality and the disappearance of low-priced goods. When a shoe manufacturer uses cardboard instead of leather to build his shoe, as frequently happened during the last war, consumers paid the same price for the cardboard as they had previously paid for the leather. In other instances, manufacturers stopped making the lower priced items altogether.

I could go on at great length listing mountains of evidence that the Index is seriously distorted to underplay the real inflation which is now eating away at U.S. workers' living standards. The charge has been made that the U.S. Government engages in "double bookkeeping" since the "cost-of-living" according to the Index published by the Labor Department is so much lower than the "cost-of-living" according to the Index published by the Department of Agriculture. The charge is true. But the fact remains that the Labor Department Index is the one that is always used as a yardstick for escalator clauses in union contracts.

Although organized labor throughout the United States has campaigned for years against the phony Labor Department Index, the Index is actually growing worse instead of better. With every month that passes, it becomes less accurate in measuring the enormous increases in the workers' living costs. Obviously, the more labor leaders who sign escalator clauses like those of Reuther, the more certain that employers will work for greater distortions in the Labor Department Index. And it goes without saying that the employers of America are now in the saddle in every agency of the U.S. Government, including the Department of Labor.

One more point. Escalators go hand-in-hand with long-term contracts, as Reuther has demonstrated so dramatically. The chart above shows the comparison between wage gains made by our members, relying on their ability to bargain for a decent wage increase frequently, and the gains made by the G.M. workers under the escalator clause. But the comparison can be made on an even wider basis than that.

General Motors Corporation recently completed an analysis of how wage rates have changed in the U.S. since 1910. The study, the results of which are now being circulated quietly among top U.S. corporation officials, proves that if American workers had not engaged in open collective bargaining for the last 40 years, but had submitted instead to escalators during that period, wages would be substantially lower than they are today!

The sliding scale actually provides the main basis

on which the U.S. Government has tried to impose its "wage freeze" on workers during the last year. The Wage Stabilization Board, one of the agencies set up by the Government to promote the war drive, has attempted to tie wage increases to the level of prices as interpreted by the Department of Labor's "cost-of-living" index. In effect, the Government has acted as an agent of the employer in an official attempt to hold wages down.

This has meant that unions willing to accept the phony Labor Department figures on living cost increases have received wage increases up to an amount which supposedly compensated the worker for the higher costs of living. But it is exactly this "wage freeze" against which progressive unions have been carrying on a bitter struggle.

These unions have pointed out that 1) there is no real freeze on prices, 2) there is certainly no freeze on profits, and 3) the Labor Department's Index is a false and distorted measure of how much living costs have increased. Thus these unions, including my own, have campaigned aggressively to "smash the wage freeze," and to win wage increases far in excess of the amounts that would be allowed if we accepted the sliding scale approach of the Wage Stabilization Board.

Having won from the employers wage increases in excess of the "wage freeze formula," our unions now have the added responsibility of carrying on large-scale *political* campaigns to make sure that the Wage Stabilization Board approves the higher increases.

All of this seems to me to be conclusive evidence that the escalator clause is bad medicine for U.S. and Canadian workers.

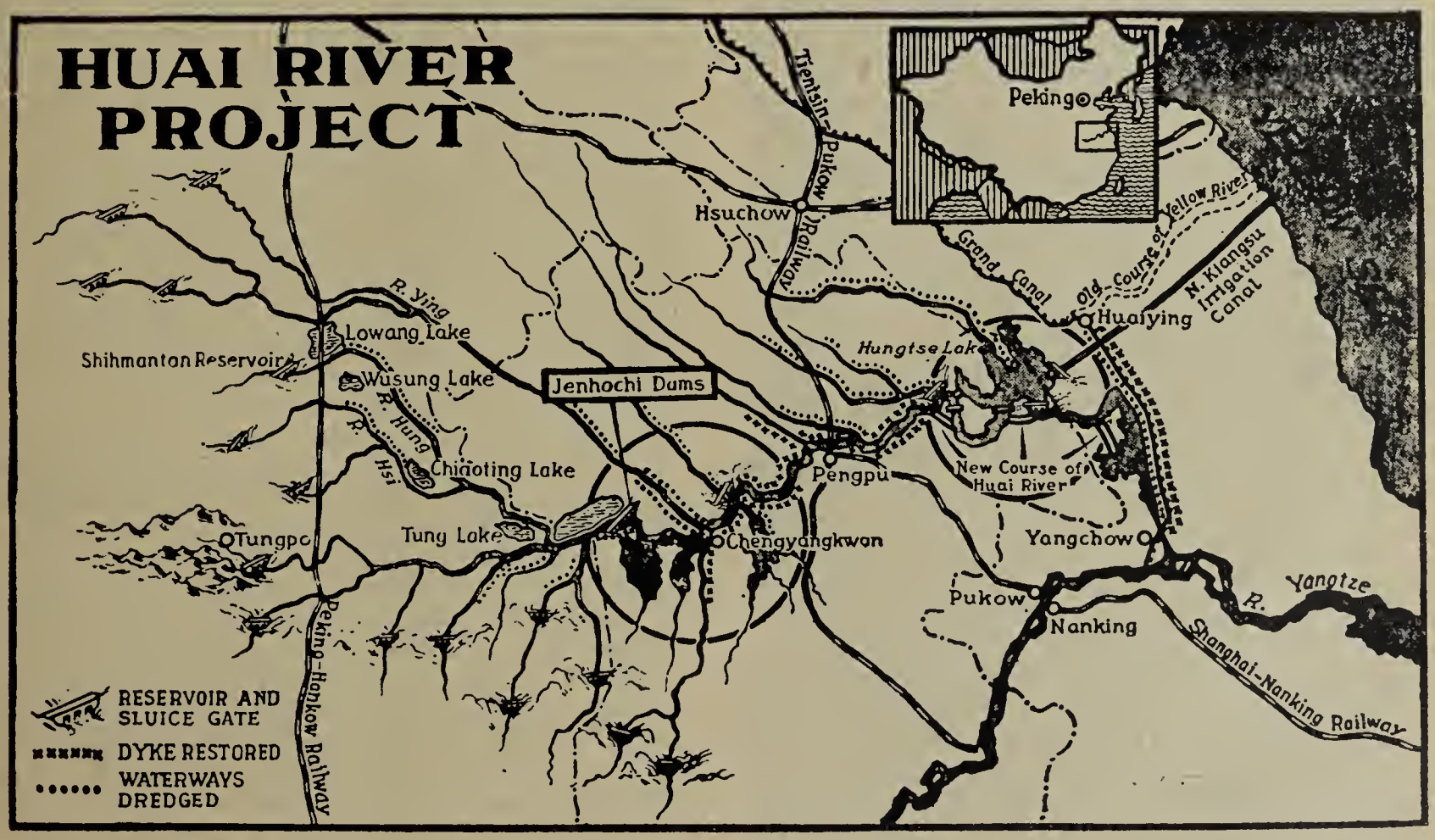
Harnessing the Huai River to Serve the Chinese People

By JOHN WOLFARD

ONE of the most important tasks of construction facing the Central People's Government of China on its rise to political power was the prevention of semi-annual floods which have been a scourge to the Chinese people for centuries, taking countless human lives and destroying inestimable wealth. The problem of flood control is closely linked to the problem of water conservation—that is, the harnessing of China's great river systems so that they will serve the needs of the people. To this task the Central People's Government has turned with firm determination and with the support and aid of millions of peasants, workers, engineers, students and technicians.

Droughts and floods have been regular occurrences in the history of China and throughout more than 2,000 years a rich background of experience has been accumulated in utilising water. Irrigation channels built 2,000 years ago are still to be found in Shensi, Ninghsia, Shansi and Szechuan provinces. But under the corruption and oppression of the feudal regime, the people lacked the means for carrying out water conservation projects, and the feudal landlords and the state power representing them squandered the nation's wealth to maintain their system of exploitation.

In more recent years, under the corrupt Kuomintang regime, the water conservation agencies were rotten with graft, and negligence permitted dykes to go unrepaired. In 1938, the decadent and impotent Kuomintang group, unable to resist the Japanese



Map by Mei Wen-huan.

Chairman Tseng Shan of the Huai River Harnessing Commission addressing the inaugural meeting of the Commission.

enemy, and wishing to keep the Japanese invaders in North China, so that they would go on fighting the Communist-led forces there, breached the Huayuankow Dyke on the Yellow River in an attempt to stop the Japanese by flood rather than by armed force. As a result, the Yellow River changed its course, flowing into the Huai River, completely immersing 9,200,000 mow (about 1,600,000 acres) in eastern Honan and northern Anhwei provinces. About 470,000 persons were drowned and 3 million lost their homes.

In the following nine years, the alluvia of the Yellow River silted up the Huai River, its tributaries, adjoining flood basins and lakes, thus paralysing the whole system of water drainage in this vast area. As a result, floods on the Huai became almost a certainty every summer.

Because of this certainty, the Central People's Government worked out a detailed plan for the harnessing of this river, the first stage of which was completed ahead of schedule before the flood season in the summer of 1951, thanks to the energies and enthusiastic response of all sections of the Chinese people.

Scope of the Huge Project

FROM 246 B.C. to 1948, the Huai River has been the cause of at least 979 major floods, of which 14 occurred during the period from 1855 to 1948. The Huai has a course 683 miles long, rising in the Tung Po Mountains in Honan Province and draining an area of about 81,000 square miles as it cuts across the three provinces of Honan, Anhwei and Kiangsu emptying into the Yellow Sea via the Grand Canal and the Yangtse River.

The reasons for the natural tendency to flood are provided by the geography of the area. a) There are too many tributaries close to each other, there being 29 sizeable rivers flowing into the Huai in the two provinces of Honan and Anhwei, and since these tributaries, together with the Huai, all rise simultaneously during the rainy season, serious flooding occurs. b) The Huai River has a limited capacity because of the gradual inclination of its river bed and the fact that it must flow through four narrow passes. c) No mountains or high land separates the Huai from the Yellow River, so that when the Yellow River overflows, its flood waters contribute to the flooding of the Huai. Moreover, the breaching of the Yellow River dyke in 1938 by the Kuomintang army created a new relationship between the two rivers which has intensified the flooding possibilities on the Huai.

As a consequence of the serious situation on the Huai River and its tributaries, the Central People's Government established the Huai River Harnessing Commission. Following Mao Tse-tung's famous directive, "The Huai River must be harnessed," a bold plan, not only to prevent this river from being a scourge to the inhabitants of its valley, but also to turn it into an instrument serving nearly 60 million peasants and to provide safe harvests for over one-seventh of China's arable lands, has been adopted.

The programme for harnessing the Huai River is a comprehensive one which will cover a period of from three to five years. It calls for the construction of several large reservoirs to store the overflow caused by heavy rains, the deepening of the river channel to

make it navigable for larger craft by opening up another 625 miles of navigable waterways and better to carry away surplus water, and the building of an irrigation system to provide water for from one to 1.7 million acres in the upper reaches of the river and 6 million acres each in the middle and lower valley. In addition, two large power stations and a number of smaller rural stations are to be constructed.

In the Huai Valley, it is a paradox that while constantly recurring floods have been a source of great damage and danger, the peasants also frequently suffer from droughts at times when they are most in need of water. The problem was not therefore simply to provide means for emptying the surplus water into the sea by deepening channels, building up dykes, etc., but to do so in such a manner that the surplus water can be stored up for use in irrigation during the drought seasons. The paradox of flood and drought is summarised by the people who dwell in the valley as "much rain means much sorrow, but too little rain means sorrow too."

The plan calls for constructing huge reservoirs in the upper stretches of the river so that surplus water can be diverted and stored for irrigation purposes. Sixteen reservoirs are to be constructed, of which the Shihmantan Reservoir has already been completed, and two more will soon be in operation. These 16 reservoirs will be capable of storing 109 billion cubic feet of water, but as this is insufficient to insure the complete elimination of floods, four lakes or water detention basins have been dug for water conservation purposes. In addition to the reservoirs, several large dams are being built on the upper part of the river to regulate the water flow according to seasonal needs.

The work on the middle section of the river centres on the important Jenhochi project. This is a most crucial part of the plan for it is in this area that most of the main tributaries from the upper basin force their way. This creates a maximum flow during flood season of 460,000 cubic feet per second, whereas the river bed below Chengyangkuan has a maximum capacity of only 230,000 cubic feet per second.

The Jenhochi project consists of three main parts : a) a new fixed deep channel 255 feet wide capable of handling a flow of 123,800 cubic feet per second, b) a long movable dam 984 feet wide with eight sluice gates across the broadened river bed formed by flanking dykes, which will provide an emergency channel, c) a smaller connecting dam 585 feet wide with 4 sluice gates at the entrance of Chenghsi Lake.

The result of this construction will be that when the flow is less than 123,800 cubic feet per second, the water flows normally through the fixed channel. When it is more than 123,800 cubic feet up to 230,000 cubic feet, the gates of the large movable dam will be opened to allow water to flow down the wide emergency channel formed by the newly built dykes. When the flow exceeds 230,000 cubic feet, the entrance to Chenghsi Lake will be opened and excess water will flow into the lake. If the water in the lower stretches of the river rises above the danger point, the large movable dam will be closed or partially closed and all excess water will be diverted into Chenghsi Lake and stored there and in adjoining storage lakes.

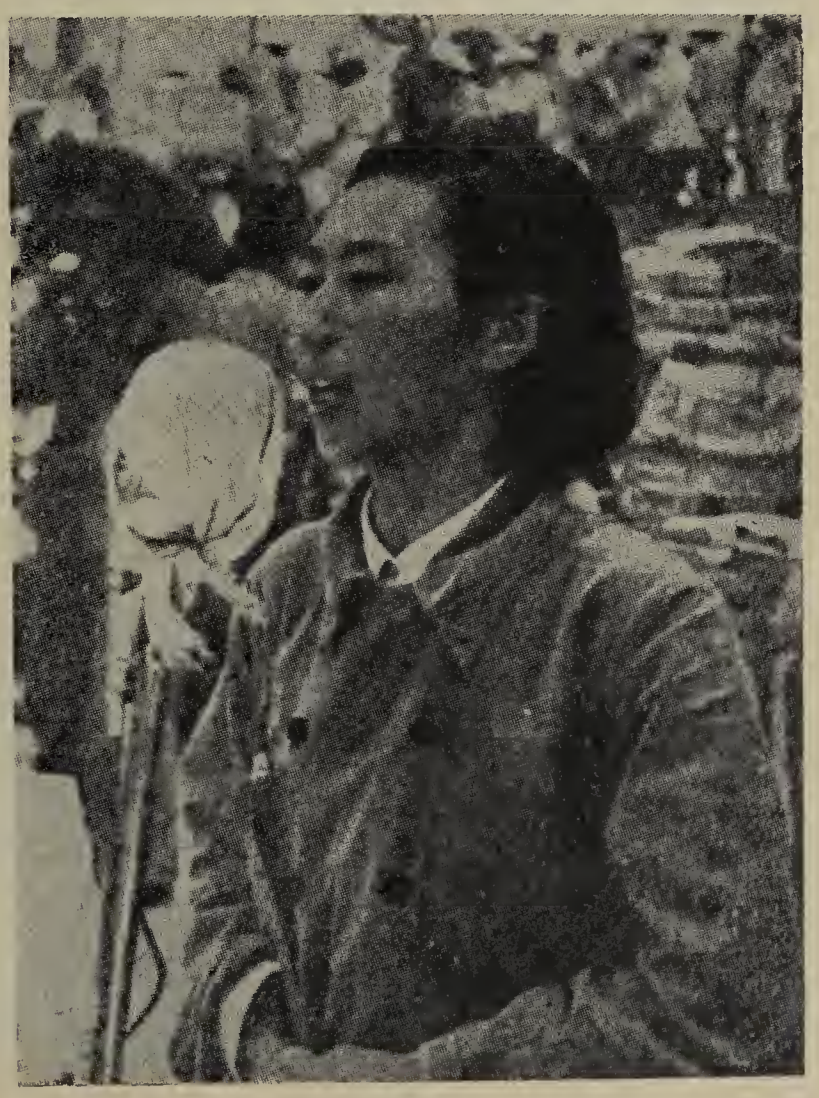
On the lower part of the river from Hungtse Lake south to the sea via the Grand Canal and the Yangtse River, the river bed is being renovated by dredging, the strengthening of dykes and restoring dams and locks. Millions of cubic yards of earth have been thrown up to fortify the Grand Canal dykes. This work will safeguard from 2 to 3 million acres of farm lands east of the dykes in Kiangsu Province.

Overcoming Difficulties

AS one can imagine, the difficulties to be overcome in an engineering project of this magnitude in a country whose hundreds of millions of people have been kept in an industrially backward status by feudalistic and imperialist oppression and exploitation, were enormous. The lack of experience in huge modern technical works meant starting from the beginning to learn new methods. This problem was overcome with the help of a Soviet expert whose knowledge of advanced Soviet technique played a great part in surmounting these difficulties.

As one example he showed those engineers who thought that mountains of concrete were necessary for the construction of dams how concrete at certain

The new status of women in People's China is shown by Ch'ien Chen-ying, assistant chief engineer for the entire Huai River project. She directed the construction of the giant Jenhochi dams.



points could be replaced by properly designed earthworks.

The problem of the supply of machinery and materials, the bulk of which were formerly imported from Great Britain and the United States, required the manufacture in China of machinery such as concrete mixers and huge steel gates for movable dams which had never before been produced in China. Shanghai workers and technicians took over the problem of steel gates and within 10 days had completed the designs. More than 10,000 workers competed with each other in the job of fulfilling the order and within two months the entire 1300 tons of gates and machinery were being transported to the site.

Naturally such projects required new technical methods. The workers on the job developed these new methods to replace the old, traditional and unscientific techniques. In one case, workers devised methods of laying concrete so that the time required was shortened to one-seventh of the former time.

The Huai River fighters work like an army with general headquarters at Pengpu. These headquarters keep constant control over all phases of the work, maintain the flow of materials and at times have provided accommodation and meals for as many as 2,200,000 people on the project. Nor is the cultural and social life, or the health and welfare of these river fighters neglected. Education in the form of literacy and discussion classes, entertainment, post offices, medical stations, dramatic groups and film projection units are all active on the river front.

The People Ensure the Plan's Success

MORE than one million peasants in the rear have organised transport, mutual-aid teams and co-operatives to keep the workers supplied and enthusiasm for the project, among the peasants as well as the entire people of China, runs high and contributes effectively to completing the various stages of the project ahead of schedule.

How can one account for the success in surmounting what might have been thought to be insuperable obstacles? The Minister of Water Conservancy, Fu Tso-yi, in a report on the Huai River, gave several reasons, among which was the universal heightening of the peasants' political consciousness after liberation. The peasants now realise that they are working in their own interests, that the benefits will accrue to them and not to their exploiters, the landlords. Group discussions, emulation drives and classes provide means for a constant improvement in technique and labour organisation.

The changing attitude of the workers and peasants is reflected in the statement of dyke worker Hsia Tsun-wen, who, by devising improvements in his tools and methods, broke all records for moving earth. Said Hsia when he received a prize for his achievements, "Poor people like me lived like pigs and dogs in the old days. Flood or no flood, I never had enough to eat and still less to hope for. Why should I bother to work hard? But now I have six mow of land. Whenever I think of the lovely green shoots in my fields, I get scared at the thought of a flood destroying them... Besides, I have learned from the cadres in our village that to make our country prosperous, everyone must do his share of the work well . . ."

Another factor is the leadership among the masses provided by the People's Government and the Communist Party under Chairman Mao Tse-tung. With such leadership and the confidence and enthusiasm of millions of volunteer flood fighters, no problem was insoluble.

The first stage of this project, started in November 1950, was completed in July 1951. The second stage began four months later. When the project is completed in 1955, it will put an end to the danger of flood and will increase the irrigated area by over 6 million acres.

But this project is not only of tremendous economic importance. It also points out the direction for China's future water conservation work—involving over-all instead of piecemeal planning, the storage of water to relieve drought instead of emptying it into the sea, and soil conservation at the headwaters to prevent river beds downstream from silting up.

It should be briefly noted that flood control is also

General view of work on the site of the Jenhochi movable dams across the Huai River in Anhwei Province.

proceeding on other Chinese rivers, among them the Yellow River, the Yangtse River, the Yi, the Shu, the Pearl and Han Rivers and many others. More work in water conservation has been done in the past two years of the People's Republic of China than during 22 years of the Kuomintang regime. The energetic measures undertaken by the People's Government have steadily reduced the flood area as the following table shows :

FLOOD AREA IN CHINA*

Year	Area (Acres)
1949	16,549,000
1950	9,880,000
1951	3,458,000

The magnitude of these achievements show clearly the unlimited potentialities of a people when that people assumes power over their economic, political and cultural life, when the enthusiasm of the people is stimulated and led by their own state and political organs, when their leaders never lose sight of the needs and interests of the workers and peasants, and when these leaders maintain a continuous, direct and close contact with the masses.

Finally, as pointed out by the Minister of Water Conservancy, Fu Tso-yi, in the article cited, it should be emphasised that the "Chinese people have proved themselves capable of handling modern, complicated engineering constructions without aid from imperialist countries, whether it be in the form of machinery, industrial materials or technical and scientific know-how."

Thus, the Chinese people, freed from oppression and exploitation, are enthusiastically reconstructing their country and improving their living conditions, not by preparing for war, but by such great projects for peace as the Huai River Programme.

Steelwork on a reinforced concrete dam.

* Computed in acres from figures given by Fu Tso-yi, "Controlling China's Rivers," **People's China**, 1.1.52.

You have read of the great projects for peaceful construction being undertaken by the People's Republic of China, of which the Huai River project is only one.

The American representative of Wall Street, John Foster Dulles, has recently declared that the United States should "make clear our determination not to allow the mainland of China to remain under Chinese Communist control."

WHO ARE THE WARMONGERS?

The workers threw up a barricade which held despite three police attempts to break it.

French Workers Cry Halt to Fascism

ON February 12, in response to the appeal of the C.G.T., the Communist Party, democratic organisations and a great number of leading personalities, the French workers confirmed by a mighty united strike their determination to bar the road to fascism.

This strike was launched against the policy of the French Government, which tried to ban the traditional demonstration on this day, because of its fear of a united stand by the workers and the people for the right to defend their economic demands, and for peace.

We should remember that this traditional demonstration commemorates the great anti-Fascist strike of February 12, 1934, when Socialist, Communist and non-party French workers affiliated to the two trade union centres of that time, stood side by side and smashed the Fascist assault.

The workers energetically prevent the police from entering the plant.

This great anti-Fascist strike of February 12, 1934, gave birth to a powerful united movement which led to trade union unity, the Popular Front, and to extensive social reforms won by the workers.

These photos show, on February 12, 1952, the workers of the great Paris Renault factory, with delegates of the C.G.T., the C.F.T.C. (Christian trade unions) and Force Ouvrière in the lead, manning the barricades and fighting the police to prevent their entry into the factory which they were trying to invade. The police were defeated, and Renault workers forced the plant to close during the day of the strike. F.L.

Renault workers burn a pro-American French newspaper which had published lies.

Roger Linet, secretary of the union branch of the plant, announces the management's capitulation.

Tidal Wave of Strikers in Italy

A FIVE hundred thousand million lire deficit in the State finances has not prevented the Italian Government from increasing expenditure for rearmament by another 250 thousand million lire. The unbalanced state of the economy, which is shown by the shrinking of the internal market, the decrease in civilian production, the crisis in small and medium industry, the impoverishment of the farmers, the difficulties in foreign trade and the deficit in the balance of trade fail to discourage the De Gaspera Government in its anti-national policy of rearmament, the burden of which is placed upon the great masses of the people. The Government's "investment plan" is nothing more than an attempt to defend the private interests of a few monopolies against the general interests of the nation.

The rise in the cost of living has become intolerable, and the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) has called upon the workers to fight for a 15% wage increase and for a general raising of the standard of living.

The correctness of this demand is shown by the continually increasing scope of the struggles which are taking place in all sectors of production. For the workers, it is a matter of forcing the employers and the Government to change the direction of their economic policy.

Strikes are spreading continuously, like a forest fire. Not a single province from North to South, not a single category of workers remain outside the movement. The fundamental characteristic of this movement is the fact that the various categories of workers have not taken action in isolation on their own specific issues, but have acted together, creating wide solidarity with all sections of the population, strikers and non-strikers, men and women. The movement is sweeping forward in such an irresistible manner that it is impossible now to list all the strikes that have taken place.

Some of the recent strikes have involved: 50,000 workers of the Montecatini Chemical Trust, 10,300 workers and office employees of the R.I.V. ball-bearing plants in Turin and Villar Perosa, 3,000 workers of the Galileo metalworks in Florence. In the latter case, the management wanted to reduce by 86,000 the total number of man-hours worked per month. All the workers of the Snia Viscosa artificial silk mill in Pavia, members of the C.G.I.L. and C.I.S.L. (Christian trade unions) went on strike in unity to protest against the dismissal of 206 of their workmates. Other strikes have involved the metalworkers of the Terni factories, the Fiat works in Turin, and the sugar refinery workers of Ferrara. The workers in all the factories of Crema, in Lombardy, went on strike because of the intransigent attitude of the management in refusing to give employment to unemployed workers. The strikes in the textile industry affected 50,000 workers in the province of Novara and 49,000 in the town and province of Biella.

Thirty thousand tobacco workers of Southern Italy are engaged in a rotation strike. All the industrial workers of Rome, as well as the agricultural workers of the surrounding province have taken action. In the Polesina region, which was devastated by floods, 16,000 agricultural workers engaged in a reverse strike, disregarding Government inertia and clearing the ravaged area themselves.

These are merely a few examples. Large- and small-scale strikes, of long or short duration, continue to develop, giving impetus to each other from meeting to meeting, from factory to factory, and from town to town. The common demand of all these movements is for improved living conditions, with the addition of specific demands in each case, as for example: reinstatement of dismissed workers, maintenance of working hours, employment for the unemployed, equal pay for men and women, etc.

While the De Gasperi government pursues its war policy, agricultural workers, organising reverse strikes, take over the work of improving the land.

The determination of the workers in their struggles against the De Gasperi Government's policy of abandonment and for improved living conditions is shown by the unanimity achieved in the factory committees when votes are taken for action. Regardless of different trade union affiliations, these decisions are accepted almost 100%. In factories where certain Socialist (U.I.L.) or Christian (C.I.S.L.) members of the committees have not agreed to the demands, or have withdrawn their support after receiving orders from their trade union centres, the rank and file workers belonging to the Christian and Socialist centres have nevertheless taken part in the common action in unity with their workmates belonging to the C.G.I.L.

This movement which is now developing in Italy is of extraordinary scope and depth, involving towns and country areas, men and women, resting upon the active solidarity of all sections of the population, including shopkeepers and artisans. **Maddalena Secco.**

The "Benefits" of Colonialism in Tunisia

BLOOD is flowing in Tunisia. Every day brings news and evidence of the atrocities committed by the forces of repression, which contains many former members of the Nazi S.S. or soldiers of Rommel's army, during the "mopping-up" operations being carried out in the Cape Bon peninsula and in Sahel. The results of this brutal repression are children killed, women raped, houses dynamited, and tens of thousands of people deported.

The French colonialist Government intends to keep Tunisia under the yoke, despite its many promises. This is shown by the French reply of December 15th, 1951, which declares that the relations between the two countries **can only be founded on the recognition of the definite character of the bonds which unite them.**

However, the bonds which attach Tunisia to France are those of servitude. The facts are plain.

The first aim of the colonists who installed themselves in Tunisia was to appropriate the fertile land of the Tell, the only region in which an annual crop is profitable. They consistently pushed the Tunisians to the South, where the soil is poor and climatic conditions do not permit reasonably good harvests every year. Great capitalist companies have seized large stretches of land from the Tunisians, such as that which exploits some 250,000 acres in the Enfida region.

The same thing applies to minerals. These are owned by a few trusts, who often allow the wealth which they control to remain unexploited, as is the case with certain iron and lead mines in the North-West of the country and the salt mines to the South of the Gulf of Sabès.

These companies, whether they be the Sfax-Gafsa Company, the Djerrisa Company or the Penarroya Company, are among the most oppressive employers in the world. The gardens of the European employers are abundantly watered, while the Tunisian workers have to go on strike to obtain the installation of a public water tap in the Southern regions, where water is so scarce and precious. The country's oil is in the hands of three foreign companies: The Société d'Etudes et de Recherches Pétrolifères (French), the Royal Dutch Shell (Anglo - Dutch), and Gulf Oil (American).

The workers, whether in town or country, have to live almost entirely on bread and oil. While the cost of living is substantially the same as in France, wages are exceptionally low: 61 francs an hour in the first zone, 47 francs in the second zone, while agricultural workers earn from 210 to 265 francs per day. Social legislation, very inadequate for the town workers, is completely non-existent for workers on the land. 3,230,000 inhabitants of the country live in a perpetual state of famine, including 2,000,000 who are under-nourished.

Housing conditions are indescribable, the workers being herded together in shacks and shanty towns and in holes dug in the ground at the very gates of Tunis and other large towns.

Although 100% of the French children of school age can attend school, the lack of teachers and buildings in Tunisia permits only one in seven Tunisian children to attend school. In 1950, the pupils of the great Mosque of Tunis went on strike for a long period to obtain a slight modernisation in the instruction given them. There is no higher education in the Arab language for girls. Those taking part in the Tunisian Congress of the Partisans of Freedom and Peace in October, 1951, retain a moving recollection of the young Moslem woman student who spoke in French, because in order to pursue her studies she was forced to abandon her native tongue and she expressed herself more fluently in a foreign language.

The organisation of public health in the country is deplorable. There are only six hospitals for the whole of Tunisia (of which four are in Tunis) and 33 infirmaries with 3,305 beds in all, which is about one bed for every 1,000 inhabitants.

In 1948 there were 472 doctors in Tunisia, of whom 297 were in Tunis. That made 175 doctors for 2,780,000 people, or one doctor per 15,000 persons, whereas in France the average is one doctor per 1,200 persons. It is therefore not astonishing that the ravages made by disease are formidable. Tuberculosis claims a great many victims, and trachoma (a disease which results in blindness) reaches an endemic stage, affecting one child in four at Sfax, one in two at Gafsa, two out of three at Gabès, 97 out of one hundred at Tozeur.

Such is the picture, still far from complete, of the "benefits" of French colonisation in Tunisia. Under these conditions, how could the Tunisian people choose otherwise than to want to end colonialist oppression and obtain their independence? **H. Fritsch.**

Malan and Freedom of the Press

THE Malan Government of South Africa, in its sinister rôle of crushing democracy, has vested itself with unfettered dictatorial powers to suppress thought and speech which it considered contrary to the interests of the industrial and financial powers to which it owes allegiance. The Suppression of Communism Act is the "legal" instrument of its "Star Chamber" system of government.

The *Guardian,* published in Cape Town, is a newspaper with a long and impressive record of forthright championship of the workers' rights and aspirations. Without fail, it has defended their human, political and economic rights, exposed callous exploitation, forced labour and racial discrimination, encouraged their unity of organisation irrespective of colour, race or creed, to further and improve their well-being. It has proclaimed this stand for the interests of the common people without fear or favour in the best traditions of the Press.

In November, 1950, the offices of the *Guardian* in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg were raided by the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.), when large quantities of documents, account books, etc., were confiscated. The police claimed their authority to do this under the Suppression of Communism Act. The investigation was kept entirely secret, and at no stage was the *Guardian* informed what was being looked for or what charges were being formulated, if any.

Repeated requests for the return of the seized documents met with no response. However, on March 20th, 1951, the *Guardian* was casually informed that the documents were to be investigated by a committee of three. It can hardly be an accident that this long delay was deliberately made to secure an amendment to the Act making it retroactive to cover the alleged actions of the *Guardian.* This Committee sat in secret and the *Guardian* was not permitted to defend itself. In October, 1951, the *Guardian* was advised that if it wished to make any representation regarding the committee's summary findings, it should do so within 21 days. Thus the *Guardian* was, by implication, found guilty without any opportunity of defence or without being permitted to examine the record—only a summary of the committee's findings have been made available to the paper.

It became obvious that the Government dare not take the matter to open court and so allow the *Guardian* the right to cross-examine. The *Guardian* has not contravened in any way either the 1950 Act or the 1951 Amendment. Indeed, the allegations, made without any proof, are said to have been committed before the Act and its Amendment became law.

In denying the allegations, the *Guardian* rightly fails to see what justification there can be for suppressing a paper for actions or statements which were perfectly legal when made. It also condemns the whole undemocratic procedure of the Suppression of Communism Act and demands the right to continue publication. Mention should be made of the wholesale intimidation and persecution of sellers of the paper, purposely carried out by the Government to reduce its sales and to bring about bankruptcy.

The national and international outcry against the whole vile procedure has forced the Government to stay its hand. It appears, however, that the attempt will be made to give a façade of an "open, democratic" decision against the paper by the use of the Government's parliamentary majority. National and world opinion must defeat such a subterfuge.

Gwyn Williams.

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HISTORIC CONFERENCE CONDEMNS THREAT TO GUARDIAN

CAPE TOWN.

SOME 500 PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE BANQUETING HALL, CAPE TOWN, LAST SUNDAY, UNANIMOUSLY CONDEMNED THE THREAT TO THE GUARDIAN AS UNDEMOCRATIC AND CONTRARY TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND CALLED UPON ALL CITIZENS TO UNITE IN MAINTAINING THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

With over 20 speakers on the platform throughout the day, as well as speakers from the floor, the conference, called by the Freedom of the Press Committee, was one of the most representative of its kind ever held in South Africa.

Speakers and audience represented all shades of political opinion in the country, European and Non-European, with the exception of the Nationalist Party. People came from as far away as Worcester and Hermanus to voice their protest.

Africans Outraged By Move Against Kahn & Carneson

Protest Meeting On Sunday, January 27

CAPE TOWN

Africans throughout South Africa would regard the unseating of Mr. Sam Kahn, M.P., and Mr. Fred Carneson, M.P.C., as an outrage against themselves, and

Against Franco's Manoeuvres, Workers Unite to Save the Barcelona Heroes

THE mighty campaign for the release of Gregorio Lopez Raimundo and his 33 comrades is growing to an extraordinary degree throughout the world. They are being tried for having led the great strikes in Barcelona last Spring. Thousands of trade unions in all countries have responded to the appeal of the General Council of the W.F.T.U. and have again protested against the new crime that Franco is preparing to commit against the Spanish workers. Workers of all opinions are uniting in the factories to stay the executioner's hand.

The Franco Government has been forced to retreat by the pressure of international solidarity and the protest movement within Spain. Isabel Vicente, the heroic Barcelona textile worker, and six other prisoners have been released. Lopez Raimundo and his comrades, who had been secretly transferred to the sinister Ocana Penitentiary with a view to cutting short the demonstrations of affection by the Catalan working class, have been brought back to the Barcelona Prison. Throughout the transfer peasants ran to meet the prisoners to encourage them and express their solidarity. On their arrivel at the Modelo Prison in Barcelona, the political prisoners organised a great demonstration of affection and sympathy for them. In the working-class quarters of the Catalan capital, the walls began to be covered with inscriptions: "Freedom for the 34," "Release Lopez Raimundo from the claws of Fascism," etc. The name of Lopez Raimundo was on the lips of everyone throughout Spain.

The popularity of this campaign has been such that the Franco Government itself has been forced to speak about it, a thing which has never happened in such cases before. In an official note communicated to the Press and transmitted by Radio Madrid, the Minister of the Interior was obliged to admit the widespread character of the campaign.

The Government communiqué only served to fan the flames. The campaign developed a new spirit. Hundreds of delegations began to pour into the Franco Embassies demanding the release of Lopez Raimundo and his comrades. At the United Nations, the Polish delegation, supported by the delegations of Mexico, Guatemala and several other countries, brought the problem before the Human Rights Commission of the General Assembly. Franco then had recourse to an infamous strategem. The secretaries of Franco's Embassies began to tell delegations which came to protest that the affair of the Barcelona 34 was an invention of the "enemies of Spain," and that in reality it was merely a matter of "a small group of ruffians who were being prosecuted for having thrown stones at trams during the Barcelona disturbances and who were being tried in accordance with the law." By minimising the importance of the affair, Franco hoped to check the campaign so that he could more easily commit the crime which he planned.

Release Lopez Raimundo and his comrades! This is the demand of the democratic and youth press of the world, expressing the people's determination.

But the workers will not allow themselves to be taken in by cynical declarations whose sole aim is to silence the campaign of solidarity for Lopez Raimundo and his comrades, who are now in greater danger than ever. The latest news received from inside Spain is, in fact, particularly alarming. Lopez Raimundo and his comrades are to be brought before a Court Martial. They have demanded the right to be defended by the famous lawyer, Dr. Perez Victoria, Professor of Law in Barcelona University, who has accepted, in principle, and who is at the moment the victim of a campaign of threats and intimidation carried on at Franco's behest with a view to forcing him to abandon the project so that Lopez Raimundo will be forced to accept a government lawyer, whose role can be easily imagined.

There is an immediate danger to the lives of Lopez Raimundo and his comrades, heroic leaders of the Barcelona strikes. We must strenghen by all possible means the world campaign to have them tried in a civil court and to obtain their immediate release. We must increase the number of resolutions and letters of protest to the Captain-General of the Barcelona Region and the Special Military Tribunal, Rambla Santa Monica 29 bis, Barcelona. We must obtain for Lopez Raimundo the right to be defended by a lawyer of his own choice. We should also write letters by the thousands to Doctor Perez Victoria, Calle Rosellon 253, Barcelona.

If we wish the campaign to attain the scope and strength necessary to save the lives of the Barcelona heroes, we must at all costs develop solidarity for our Spanish brothers *on the basis of the widest unity of action and with the participation of all workers, irrespective of their political opinions or religious beliefs* in the factories and workshops, offices and schools. Thousands of examples show that this can be done. The defence of the Spanish workers, victims of fascism, is our responsibility, the responsibility of the workers of the world.

P.A.

Second Congress of the Sudanese Federation of Trade Unions Held in Khartoum

THE Sudanese Federation of Trade Unions (U.S.S.), an organisation which covers all the trade unionists of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, has only been in existence for three years, its first constituent Congress having taken place in 1949.

It can, nevertheless, probably be considered the most solid organisation in the Middle East and North Africa. This organisation, which owes its existence as a legal organisation to the merciless fight carried on against British imperialism by the Sudanese workers, especially by the railway workers after the second world war, already has an outstanding record.

The second Congress was held at a time when British imperialism, frightened by the mounting tide of the national liberation movement in Iran, Egypt, the Sudan and other countries of the Middle East, has reinforced its system of repression against the people.

On December 16th, 1951, when Mohamed Said Fadl, the secretary of the Congress, announced at the opening of the Congress session that the seats of Mohamed el Said Salem, president, and of El Chaffei Ahmed el Chaikh, General Secretary of the Federation, were empty, the whole audience, delegates and guests, by standing in silence for one minute, rendered solemn homage to these two leaders of the Sudanese working class, who were imprisoned on orders of the British government.

Nevertheless, the strength of the movement is such that the representatives of British imperialism did not dare to ban the Congress. Besides worker delegates, there were representatives of the Sudanese political parties, of the Congress of Graduates, the Sudan Congress, the Front for National Struggle, the Student's Union, the Association of Poets and Artists, local and foreign press correspondents, etc.

In his opening speech, Mohamed Said Fadl declared: "The present Congress is one of the most impressive the Sudan has known. Representatives of the working class, in the forefront of the struggle, are meeting in the presence of delegates of the political parties, press correspondents, as well as representatives of the Sudanese women workers. Among the delegates to the Congress we find for the first time two women representing the Nurses' and Hospital Attendants' Union. That is a step forward on the correct and conscious road of the fight against imperialism to guarantee freedom, democracy and peace to our country. I appeal to all parties, all organisations and the press to work to mobilise the people in the fight against imperialism."

The President of the Congress, Hussein Mohamed Hassan, painted a gripping picture of the working class struggle in the Sudan. He added: "This powerful meeting is determined to fight to obtain the just demands of the working class. Our Federation will also take part in the political fight for the right of the Sudanese to self determination."

The annual report for 1950-51 was given by the temporary secretary of the Federation, Ismail Mohamed Osman.

After praising the great strikes and demonstrations which broke out against the imprisonment of Salam and Chaffei and their repercussions abroad, Ismail Mohamed Osman defined the policy of the

Federation in fighting for their demands and in relation to the national problem. He also noted the advantages already won by the workers. He denounced the visit made to the Sudan by the representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. as "agents of imperialism."

The Sudanese newspaper *El Saraha* of December 21st, 1951, reported that after seven sessions of discussion, often very lively, the Congress adopted the following decisions by a very large majority:

(1) For inclusion in the rules the following paragraphs under the title *Political Tasks of the Federation*:
—(a) immediate economic, political, administrative, and military evacuation of the Sudan by imperialism;
—(b) the right of the Sudanese people to determine their own destiny without outside interference.
(2) Fight for the unity of the Sudanese people in a United Front in alliance with all the political and other organisations whose aims are the same as those of the Trade Union Federation on this point.
(3) The Executive Committee is authorised to accept invitations to participate in workers' congresses or meetings of political and social organisations which would be held outside the Sudan.
(4) Approval of the Federation's policy for the unremitting defence of the workers' rights.
(5) Preservation of working-class unity within the Federation, unity being a sacred duty of the workers.
(6) Strengthening of the link between the workers of the Sudan and the workers of the world represented within the WFTU.
(7) The fight against war and against the use of the Sudanese in military ventures.

At the suggestion of the outgoing Committee, the Congress adopted a motion for a three-day general strike. It was decided that if the government did not agree to the demands of the workers, this strike would be followed by a series of other strikes of 4 to 5 days.

There were also a number of other decisions concerning the participation in the regional Peace Conference of the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, support for the Egyptian people, help for dismissed workers, and an increase in the contribution of individual members to 2 piastres, etc.

The Congress elected its president, secretary, treasurer and executive committee.

Although in prison, Mohamed Said Salam was elected president by a very large majority and his comrade in prison, El Chaffeï, secretary. Other members of the Secretariat are Mohamed Said Fadl and Ismail Mohamed Osman.

The Executive Committee consists of delegates from the following trade unions: 8 from the civil servants' unions, 6 from the unions of workers in foreign enterprises, and 6 from workers in local private enterprises.

Iradj Eskandary.

The Indian Government Admits

MANY Government reports are more remarkable for their omissions than their contents, but where the situation is black enough even these make damning reading. The overall conditions of Indian industrial and agricultural workers vary from forlorn grey to murky black. The working conditions in the cotton ginning and baling industry are a fair example of the average.[1]

Work is done in ill-lit, ill-ventilated buildings where dust and cotton particles are constantly inhaled by the ginners. "The floor is damp and the atmosphere stinking . . . The clearance in between the walls and the wheels is always too inadequate to allow free movement. . . . The clothes of the cobbler . . . get caught in between the belt and the wheel, dragging him also to serious injury or death."

Hundreds of little children between 8 and 10 years old are employed, particularly as gin-feeders. As the Report says, "if the woman . . . can be paid two-thirds of the wages of a man, a child can be paid merely a third."

The Factories Act on the statute book has little effect on the lives of the workers. It is not displayed; many workers have never heard of it and the government does not enforce it.

There are no regular pension schemes and old workers depend on the social consciences of their employers. The futility of dependence on such an embryonic quality is demonstrated by the case of the labourer who, after 30 years work for the same employer, was discarded with a pension of Rs. 5 a month (approximately 7/6d Sterling or U.S.$1.04).

Printers' working conditions are no better. Apart from the congestion (six Madras printers in a room 8 by 5 feet), the shops are hot in summer and cold in winter, with rain coming through leaky roofs and windows in the rainy season.

In Lahore (new part of Pakistan) printers "were found working in such places as stables, improvised sheds and rooms resembling dungeons. In many presses, walls and ceilings, seldom white-washed, had webs, and in one case, a wasp net . . . within easy reach of a compositor."[2] Washing facilities are as rare as latrines.

Child labour is another widespread evil. In the mica factories,[3]

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[1] *Report on Labour Conditions in the Cotton Ginning and Baling Industry*, Labour Investigation Committee, Govt. of India, 1945.

[2] *Report on Labour Conditions in Printing Presses*, 1946.

[3] *Report on Labour Conditions in the Mica Mining and Mica Manufacturing Industry*, 1945, both published by the Labour Investigation Committee, Government of India.

the employers rationalise child labour in three ways. They say that "since children cannot be provided with education, it is better to make them learn the trade rather than let them waste their time," that they must start early in order to learn the trade and that their earnings "supplement the meagre earnings of the family"—a nice confession of inadequate wage scales. As the Labour Investigation Committee says, "the real reason for employing children . . . is that such labour is cheap and can easily be exploited."

Child labour is also common on the tea plantations. In 1948, of 2,322 plantation workers in the Surma Valley of Assam, 841 were children less than 12 years old and 102 more were between 12 and 15.[4] The wages of both adults and children are exceedingly low and at the time of the enquiry, the total family income for an average family of 4 to 5 persons was Rs. 10-13-1 weekly (about 16/3d. Sterling, or U.S. $2.27), representing the wages of 2.44 workers plus income from 'subsidiary sources'—such as payment for odd jobs, and the sale of produce.

The lower the wages, the higher the proportion of total expenditure spent on food: the Tinsukia industrial workers spend an average of nearly 14s in every £ (69c in the $) on food. That nearly one-third of total income is spent on rice is a poverty indicator. The average family of 4 to 5 persons can spend only 3.97 per cent of total income on meat and fish and even less on milk[5].

Housing conditions in India are scandalous. In 1935, 73.68 per cent of Bombay industrial workers lived in one-room tenements. By 1940, the proportion had risen to 81 per cent, the average number of persons to each room being 4. Conditions have greatly deteriorated since and "so great is the congestion and overcrowding that there has been a vast increase in the number of persons without a shelter and who take recourse to the footpaths for sleeping during the night"[6].

The *bustees* in which the Bengal dockers are herded do not reach the hygienic and space standards common in modern cow-sheds[7]. The *bustees* are unventilated, undrained 8 foot mud-walled cubes placed back to back, each inhabited by an average of 3.5 persons. Running water, when provided, is on the basis of some 70 persons to one tap. Sometimes taps are "located within a yard or two of the public latrines and exposed to constant contamination from sewage water . . . . Each latrine, even on a liberal estimate, has to serve 80 or 90 persons." These latrines are cleaned infrequently; the stench can be imagined.

The conditions of unmarried dockers are even worse. About 500 men are garaged in four rooms, each 56 by 32 feet, allowing less than 14.3 square feet of floor space for each man and his possessions.

The fact that all this and much more besides can be found in reports published by the Government of India does not mean that this government intends to do much to alleviate the conditions which admittedly exist. The workers themselves, who suffer from all-round exploitation, must force the government to implement and exceed their projected first Five Year Plan and to increase the ridiculously small expenditure on social services (1 per cent in 1951-2) and to decrease the equally ridiculous over-expenditure on 'defence' (37 per cent in 1951-2).

MARY WOLFARD.

[4] *Report on an Enquiry into the Cost and Standard of Living of Plantation Workers in Assam and Bengal,* Labour Bureau, Govt. of India, 1948.

[5] *Report on an Enquiry into Family Budgets of Industrial Workers of Tinsukia,* Govt. of India, 1946.

[6] *Report on an Enquiry into Conditions of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry in India,* Labour Investigation Committee, Govt. of India, 1946.

[7] *Report on an Enquiry into Conditions of Labour in Dockyards in India,* Labour Investigation Committee, Govt. of India, 1947.

Double Job or Starve in Burma

THE cost of living is so far ahead of wages in Burma that families are obliged to provide two wage-earners—or starve. When no other member of the family is free to work, then the husband must do two jobs, one by day and one by night.

Take the case of a certain worker at the State Timber Board. His basic monthly wage is Rs. 40* in addition to which he receives Rs.24 as a monthly cost of living allowance. He has a wife and five dependent children, two of whom are of pre-school age.

His food bill alone comes to Rs. 87 a month, leaving him with a deficit of Rs. 23 before rent, clothing and other necessary expenses are met. His wife cannot work as there are no creches for her babies, thus he is obliged to augment his income by fishing for the market after his regular work. This alone does not bring in enough to cover family expenses and so the three school children have to work as agricultural labourers in the paddy fields during the harvest. Apart from the disruption of his children's education and the cultural life of his family, the whole family is permanently tired out while their material conditions deteriorate daily.

The plight of this family is not the exception but the rule. Burmese workers today are even worse off than before the war. While it is true that wages have risen, prices have risen more rapidly. The monthly basic wage is Rs. 40, to which must be added the cost of living allowance which varies between Rs. 18 and Rs. 42. Therefore there are many thousands of workers whose total wage amounts to Rs. 58 a month.

The pre-war average daily wage was 13 annas; today's average is Rs. 1-15-0, but, as the following ex-

* 1 Rupee (R.)=1s. 6d. Sterling and 21c U.S.
12 Pice (P.)=1 anna
16 Annas (A.)=1 rupee.

penditure table shows, it does not pay for as much as 13 pre-war annas:

Expenditure	Pre-war	Post-war
	RS/A/P	RS/A/P
Rice	-/2/6	-/12/-
Cooking oil ...	6	4/-
Fish	4/-	14/-
Vegetables	1/-	3/-
	8/-	2/1/-
Income ...	13/-	1/15/-
Surplus ...	5/-	
Deficit ...		2/-

The pre-war wage thus allowed for expenditure on things other than food, whereas today's wage does not even cover the cost of food.

These figures are partially reflected in the official Consumers' Price Index prepared by the Directorate of Labour. The cost of living index for August 1951 was 399 in comparison with the base year 1941 being 100. Therefore, even on this basis, a worker today must have a monthly wage of Rs.95/12/- if it is to have the same purchasing power as Rs. 24 in 1941. In fact, based on these official figures today's wage of Rs. 58 has approximately the same purchasing power as only Rs. 14/8/- in 1941.

Hence the Executive Council of the Burma Trade Union Congress, affiliated to the W.F.T.U., has issued a policy statement asking the whole working class of Burma to fight for a common programme to put an end to this state of affairs. This programme has seven points:

(1) The fight for a living wage guaranteeing decent living conditions for workers and their families;

(2) Against the high cost of living;

(3) For social security legislation;

(4) Against capitalist and bureaucratic oppression;

(5) For the decasualisation of labour and the security of employment and against unemployment;

(6) For trade unions rights; and

(7) Against world war and for world peace.

"The Burma Trade Union Congress is always ready to co-operate and participate in united action for the realisation of this common programme with any trade union organisation or any section of the working masses . . .

"The strength of the working class in Burma is now a considerable quantity and if it transformed into quality, that is to say, working class unity, the success of the workers is inevitable."

Based on a report *Build Working Class Unity for Victory!* issued by the Burma Trade Union Congress, December 1951.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

JAPAN

Minors Still Sold into Bondage in Growing Numbers

More and more minors are being sold into bondage in Japan. The Women's and Minors' Bureau of the Labour Ministry of the Japanese government published December 14, 1951, what might be called a "white book on minors sold into bondage," a statistical research on minors sold into bondage. However, it is taken for granted that the figures in the report represent only part of the actual number of minors sold into bondage.

According to the statistics in the report, 674 minors under the age of 18 were found sold into bondage for advance money or under long-term contract, in the period of eight months from April to the end of November last year. Two nine-year old children were among them.

Fifty-six per cent. of the total were sold into bondage as prostitutes, while others as farmhands, servants, factory workers, etc. These minors sold into bondage mainly came from such poor prefectures as Akita, Saitama, Yamagata. **It is said that in a certain poor village in Yamagata Prefecture, there is no family that has not sold one member into bondage because of poverty.** Eighty or ninety per cent. of the prostitutes in the licenced quarters of Yoshihara, Tokyo, are said to come from this village.

Twenty per cent. of those found in bondage were deceived by agents who falsely promised to give them a good job.

The highest sum paid as advance money was 75,000 yen, the lowest was only 400 yen. Parents receive an advance payment ranging from 10,000 to 15,000 yen, when their daughters are sold into bondage as prostitutes.

"Tokyo Newsletter," 30.1.52, reprinted from Tokyo **"Nichi-Nichi,"** 15.12.51.

SYRIA

Representatives of 9,000 Workers Hold Conference in Damascus

A workers' conference was held on January 25th, 1951, in Damascus on the initiative of the Congress of Syrian Workers. A large number of delegates representing over 9,000 Syrian workers from all the industrial centres of the country, from Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Homah, Djazuah and from the region of the Alaouites took part in the conference, as well as delegates from many trade unions and trade union leaders.

After observing a minute's silence in memory of patriots who had fallen in the fight for national liberation in Aleppo, Egypt and Tunisia, the conference passed to the discussion of three reports presented by the Executive Committee of the Congress of Syrian Workers on the following problems:

1. the importance of achieving trade union unity in Syria;
2. the economic conditions of the Syrian workers, and their demands;
3. report of the delegation from the Congress of Syrian Workers which took part in the General Council meeting of the W.F.T.U. in Berlin.

The work of the conference resulted in the adoption of a number of resolutions, the most important of which were:

1. a resolution on the struggle for a 25 per cent. wage increase;
2. action against the scarcity of bread and the inadequate distribution of foodstuffs;
3. invitation to the two other trade union organisations (the General Federation of Trade Unions and the "Progressive" Federation) to join with the Congress of Syrian Workers in joint action to achieve these demands;
4. denunciation of the imperialist plan for the conclusion of a so-called Joint Defence Pact between the countries of the Near and Middle East;
5. a resolution supporting the Regional Peace Conference for the countries of North Africa and the Middle East and the decision of the Congress of Syrian Workers to participate in this Conference;
6. a resolution for the conclusion of a Peace Pact among the five Great Powers.

The holding of this conference in the particularly difficult conditions of Syria, where the military dictatorship represses all demonstrations of the people's will, is an undoubted success.

"Al Sarkha" (Lebanon), 3.2.52.

TUNISIA

If We Want to be Masters in Our Own Country

It is necessary to be absolutely frank, and to speak the truth, for Tunisia, which was formerly occupied by force, is to-day being drowned in blood, after being attacked for standing up for the right of self-determination. Although the French people, we militants and our brother workers, are not responsible for such aggression, we would nevertheless become accomplices if we stood aside with folded arms.

Hatred for our rulers is accumulating in the hearts of the Tunisians, and it will never be extinguished. Can we sleep soundly and do nothing?

The anti-national and anti-social policy of our rulers is operated at its worst in Tunisia against a people deprived of its rights. If we can take it for granted that such a policy applied here would be revolting to our French scruples, is it not natural that it should rouse a people which desires its independence and the right to demand it? Colonial reaction shouts "stop thief" to the appeal of the Tuni-

sian people and pretends it has given them a number of concessions which they did not have before.

Let us at least examine the list of gifts.

The little that is edifying in Tunisia, as throughout Algeria and Morocco—apart from the fine quarters from which the workers are excluded just as they are in Paris and elsewhere—comes from the trouble, sacrifices and inhuman overwork of the Tunisian people and because the colonisers find it necessary.

You can see for yourselves in the factories here in France the wretched state of workers from Tunisia and other colonies, and can note for yourselves the gifts which have been given them. And they are treated in an incomparably worse manner by the colonisers in their own countries. Except for rifle shots, they are given nothing, while everything is taken from them and they are told that "everything here is ours."

Have not the great majority of the French people had enough of the American "civilisers"? The day is not far distant when they will be sent packing. We fear they will use the same language to us that our rulers use to the Tunisians when we resolve to be masters in our own country.

Our traditions of solidarity and our human feelings demand that we give effective help to the Tunisian people against our rulers. Our interest advises and our honour obliges us to do something. A people which oppresses another can never itself be free.

Gaston Monmousseau in **"La Vie Ouvrière"** (week of Feb. 20-26, 1952).

GREECE

For a General Amnesty

When General Plastiras asked the Greek electors for their votes on September 5th 1951, he expressed himself thus:

"I promise the Greek people that in two or three months from the day I form a homogeneous government, I shall pacify the country by granting a general amnesty. It is impossible to unite the people while the past is not forgiven, while the children of the people are not back in their homes."

Five months have now passed since the General's statement, and more than 30,000 men, women, children, and old people are still in the prisons or penned in like cattle on the deportation islands. Of these 30,000 people, 3,000 have been condemned to death by special military tribunals. There you have the picture of the vicious repression that is battering down the heroic defenders of democratic liberties.

To effect their liberation and to force General Plastiras to keep his promises, a French **Committee for General Amnesty in Greece** is being set up, supported by many leading personalities of all opinions. Politicians, jurists, writers, sculptors, painters, and teachers are signing en masse the appeal launched by the committee.

During a very moving conference, M. Dennery, barrister, before an attentive and distressed audience, recounted the debates in one of these military tribunals where the arrogance and inhumanity of the judges were cynically displayed.

In this way, French public opinion is won, but the powerful voice of the working class must be raised alongside the protests made by eminent persons. Protest lists must be filled with signatures everywhere in the factories, and trade unions. French workers must demand from the Greek government and its leader, General Plastiras, a general amnesty for all those who are fugitives, imprisoned and condemned, according to the solemn promises made before world public opinion on September 5th, 1951. . . .

Once again an appeal is being made to the solidarity of the working class, to its acute sense of proletarian internationalism. It will respond under the impetus given by trade union militants.

"Le Peuple" (organ of the French C.G.T.), week of February 7-13, 1952.

TERRITORY OF THE SAAR

Jahn, West German Railwaymen's President, Visits Saarbruecken

Mr. Jahn, reply to some questions of the Saar railwaymen!

On Saturday, January 19th, the President of the Western German Railwaymen, as guest of the Railwaymen's Association, has to make a statement on a series of trade union problems at a meeting of councillors. On this occasion, the progressive members propose to ask Mr. Jahn to express his view on the following questions: Is Mr. Jahn aware that the road beds on the whole railway system of Western Germany are in a very bad condition and that, despite this, the speed of the trains has been increased at the instigation of the occupation authorities? What has Mr. Jahn done to fight against this growing lack of safety on the railroads?

What has Mr. Jahn done to prevent putting the Schuman Plan and the General Agreement into effect?

What has Mr. Jahn done to appeal to the Western German railway workers to fight against the unconstitutional Adenauer measure for banning the German Communist Party and thirty-seven other democratic organisations?

The lessons of the period before 1933 point the way to action and decision.

What has Mr. Jahn done to prepare and ensure the development of a trade union movement of the railway workers for the whole of Germany, that is, to work in close co-operation with our 200,000 brothers in the German Democratic Republic?

Does Mr. Jahn agree that in the interests of peace, there must be an end to the division of Germany, and that negotiations for this purpose be begun for the whole of Germany? Does he approve of holding elections in the whole country to elect a National Consultative Assembly, as well as to the conclusion of a peace treaty? And that the Federation of Railwaymen be mobilised to achieve these ends?

What is Mr. Jahn's position on the Saar question? Does he agree that the railway workers of the Saar should fight to obtain the democratic unity of Germany and thus to end the separation of the Saar from Germany and ensure the rights of ownership and administration of the Saar railroads by the German people?

Is it true, Mr. Jahn, that you

At Gelsenkirchen, Jahn, President of the Western German Railwaymen's Federation, and a devoted servant of the U.S.A., exclaims:

"Whoever will not accept my wishes will be thrown out of the trade union, broken and chased off the Federal Railways."

returned to Germany in 1945 as an officer of the American Secret Service?

Is it true that you recommended some time ago the dismissal of three progressive members of the factory committee of the E.A.W. firm in Munich, Brothers Reipinger, Ebner, and Blinninger, when the labour tribunal rejected as illegal the punitive measures taken against these three militant and sincere trade unionists?

Is it true, Mr. Jahn, that you declared, in a provocative tone, at a demonstration in North Rhine-Westphalia "I shall wipe out any who are against me"?

These are the questions which the railway workers of the Saar put to you and to which they demand replies. They want an end to the division among German rail workers and they are fighting for the following demands on which they want you to express your opinion:

1—To maintain the monthly wage on the basis of 208 working hours, with 24 days' holiday, full pay in case of sickness or accident, as at present, i.e., the first 26 weeks at full pay, the following 26 weeks at half-pay, as well as the continuation of free travel for all rail workers.
2—An increase of 5,000 fr. per month in the basic wage.
3—Introduction of the sliding scale.
4—To abolish the regulations on working hours and strict application of the 48-hour week.
5—Equal pay for equal work.
6—The right to strike of all employees.

We ask you, Mr. Jahn, to give the railway workers of the Saar a reply to all these questions.

"Neue Zeit" (Saar), 19.1.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

February 1

INDIA.—For the first time in twelve years, Asoka Mehta, leader of the Socialist trade union centre, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, and S. A. Dange, President of the All-India Trades Union Congress, sit together on the same platform. The occasion is a mass meeting called in support of the striking employees of the Bank of India and Larsen and Toubro, Ltd. More than twenty city unions associate themselves with this meeting convened by the Bombay Federation of Bank Employees.

February 2

PARAGUAY.—The Obdulio Barthe Defence Committee launches a new appeal for the release of this trade union leader, who has been under arrest since June, 1950, and is at present imprisoned in Asuncion, and whose state of health is causing grave concern.

ITALY.—Demands for wage increases have been presented by 575 enterprises employing 274,724 workers. 138,733 metalworkers in 323 other factories go on an intermittent strike in support of their demands.

February 3

FRANCE.—A large popular demonstration of 15,000 persons against German rearmament and for peace is held at Nancy, the capital of Lorraine.

February 4

MEXICO.—The Government is trying to break the strike of workers employed by the American electric power company, Mexican Light and Power. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the C.T.A.L., protests against this violation of the right to strike, which is contrary to the Constitution.

TUNISIA.—As a result of popular pressure, Dr. Sliman ben Sliman, President of the Movement for Peace and Liberty, who although ill had been deported to Rémada, in the middle of the desert on January 18, is allowed to return to Tunis.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. F. J. Errol, Conservative M.P., draws attention in the House of Commons to the International Economic Conference to be held in Moscow in April. Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary, states that it is not a matter for the Government, but that individuals are at liberty to attend the Conference.

February 5

FRANCE.—The Government having banned the demonstration planned by democratic organisations for February 10 in commemoration of the anti-Fascist general strike of February 12, 1934, the workers of a number of Paris factories decide to strike on February 12.

WESTERN GERMANY.—In spite of the ban imposed by the D.G.B. leaders, many warning strikes take place against the inclusion of Western Germany in the Atlantic Pact. Among enterprises concerned are the Daimler-Benz factory in Mannheim, the Nordstern mine in Gelsenkirchen, and the Deutsche Werft shipyard in Hamburg.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Right-wing leaders of three trade unions—Transport and General Workers' Union, Municipal and General Workers' Union and the London Society of Compositors—disaffiliate these unions from the London Trades Council in an attempt to weaken the unity of the workers.

DENMARK.—Inspired by the Italian reverse strikes, a group of house painters undertake work in a State hospital in Copenhagen, forcing the Government to allocate the necessary funds for continuing the work.

February 6

FRANCE. — The Paris Regional Trades Council (C.G.T.) announces that it will support the action of workers who have decided to strike on February 12 and calls for wide acceptance of the strike call.

UNITED STATES.—Local 347 of the United Packinghouse Workers (C.I.O.) in the huge Armour Company plant in Chicago re-elect candidates who are pledged to fighting against the wage-freeze, against Jim Crow methods, and for peace.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Committee of West German Metalworkers, elected at the Metalworkers' Conference in Duisburg on January 20, calls on the workers of Western Germany to organise strikes in all factories against the law on compulsory military service.

GUATEMALA.—The General Confederation of Labour expresses the support of the working class for the Government of President Arbenz in its struggle against the American trusts, the United Fruit Company and International Railways.

February 7

GREECE.—Sixty-five thousand civil servants employed in Customs, aerodromes, railways, Ministries of Labour, Economy, Justice, Defence, Transport and Finance, together with employees of the University, of the Social Insurance Administration, post office workers and primary and secondary school teachers, go on strike for wage increases.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Five thousand engineering apprentices from the biggest shipbuilding yards and engineering factories leave work and demonstrate through the streets of Glasgow demanding £1 per week wage increase.

WESTERN GERMANY. — Mass demonstrations are held during the debate in the Bonn Parliament on participation in the European army. Warning strikes and meetings are held throughout Western Germany in protest against the inclusion in the Atlantic Bloc.

SPAIN.—A Military Court in Barcelona condemns eleven anti-Fascists to death and sentences five others—one of whom is a woman—to terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to twenty years.

TUNISIA.—A report of the "mopping up" operations in the Cape Bon peninsula states that 4,700 people have been arrested, 1,587 of whom are to be brought before military tribunals. Also, 350 other Tunisian patriots have been deported. This report does not reveal the full scope of the repression.

February 8

CUBA.—The Supreme Court decides to restore to the Popular Socialist Party the radio transmitting station which the Government confiscated in May, 1948.

BRAZIL.—The Government bans the American Intercontinental Peace Conference which was to have been held in Rio de Janeiro from March 11 to 16. The Minister of Justice admits that this measure has been taken under United States' pressure, stating: "It is the Government's duty to safeguard the interests of those friendly countries to which we are bound by treaty and by ties of an old and strong alliance such as in the case of the U.S."

GREECE.—Fifteen thousand workers in the lignite mines go on strike for wage increases.

FRANCE.—The Toulon dockers, in solidarity with the Tunisian people, victims of colonial repression, refuse to load war material for Tunisia.

BURMA.—At a meeting of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Soviet delegate shows that the rearmament of the Western countries is preventing the export of machines and offers to export transport and mining equipment, machine tools and agricultural machinery in exchange for raw materials.

February 9

ITALY.—Fifty thousand workers of the Montecatini Chemical Trust are on strike for a wage increase of 15%. All the workers of the Arrezzo province stop work for twenty-four hours. In Puglia, 30,000 tobacco workers take part in a 100% stoppage. In the province of Ferrara, 16,000 agricultural workers take part in a reverse strike, demanding work. Dockers in Sicily and on the Adriatic coast strike for 24 hours in defence of their working conditions.

February 10

WESTERN GERMANY. — Thirty-three thousand war-wounded take part in a meeting in Dortmund, protesting against the policy of the Adenauer Government and demanding immediate improvement of their living conditions.

MEXICO.—The National Peace Committee and five political parties, including the People's Party and the Communist Party, publish a manifesto against the secret military negotiations taking place between the Governments of Mexico and the United States.

CHILE.—The Confederation of Chilean workers, the National Miners' Federation, and many organisations and leaders protest against the secret military negotiations between the Governments of the United States and Chile, the chief aim of which is the establishment of American military bases.

JAPAN.—An agreement between the U.S. military aircraft manufacturers and the Japanese aircraft industry for the production of American-type military aircraft has been signed. The Japanese Government is to meet all production costs, and the United States aircraft industry is to hand over patents, blue prints, technicians and certain materials and facilities. Control will be in the hands of the U.S. Military Headquarters in Japan.

UNITED STATES. — Preliminary estimates of the Bureau of Labour Statistics show that 2,100,000 workers were disabled during 1951, 9% more than in 1950. Of this total, 16,000 died and 91,000 suffered permanent disability. This is the result of the speed-up imposed by American employers.

—— Members of sixteen A.F.L., C.I.O., and independent trade unions form an organisation called Trade Unionists for Peace, the aim of which is to "crytallise and give public expression to the overwhelming desire for peace of the American working men and women."

February 11

UNITED STATES.—The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company locks out more than 1,000 workers in some of its shops in Youngstown, Ohio, accusing them of a "slow-down."

GREECE.—The strike of civil servants and public employees which began on February 7 ends in victory for the strikers, who receive a 15% salary increase and promise of no victimisation.

SAAR. — Sixty-thousand miners launch a 24-hour warning strike as a protest against the wages policy and the super-exploitation to which they are subjected by the Schuman Plan and rearmament.

February 12

UNITED STATES.—For the third time in a week, 5,600 C.I.O. workers at the U.S. Rubber Company in Detroit, Michigan, walk out in a fight against speed-up.

U.S.S.R.—The Chamber of Commerce of the Soviet Union, various commercial and industrial organisations, consumers' co-operatives, the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Economic Institute of the

Academy of Sciences form a Soviet Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference.

FRANCE. — The anti-Fascist strike is successful throughout the Paris region and in a number of provincial working class centres. At the Renault plant, the workers fight back against the police and force them to retire. The management is forced to close the factory.

February 14

MALAYA.—The British authorities order the population of Kampong Belum to burn their crops in order to prevent them from being used by the liberation movement.

GUADELOUPE (French West Indies).—The police open fire on workers of the Sugar Refineries in Moule, who have been on strike for eleven weeks for a wage increase. Four workers are killed and many wounded, thirteen seriously.

February 15

TUNISIA.—During a demonstration of women and children in Tunis, the police throw tear-gas bombs and open fire, killing one person and wounding many others.

FRANCE.—The C.F.T.C. (Christian trade unions) section of the Renault plant, meeting on February 15, even though it did not take part in the February 12 strike, declares that it will not accept any arbitrary punishment or dismissals of strikers.

February 16

GREECE.—The unity of 15,000 striking miners wins them a wage increase.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Delegates representing 4,000 engine-drivers and firemen of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen unanimously demand that their Executive Committee call a general strike against the cuts in social services proposed by the Tory government as part of its arms drive.

— Thirty thousand Welsh miners refuse to work the Saturday shift in protest against the government's cuts in workers' standards of living and social security.

February 17

CANADA.—Nine thousand production workers at the Windsor, Ontario, plant of the Ford Motor Company of Canada go on strike.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Within six weeks of joining a trade union, 200 women workers at the General Electric Co. plant at Wilton, Erith, Kent, strike against the victimisation of the workers who organised them.

MOROCCO.—Five thousand Moroccans demonstrate for independence around the Palace of Justice of the Port of Casablanca, and are fired on by the police.

FRANCE.—Three platoons of gendarmes and a squadron of Security Guards occupy during the night the Neuilly-Plaisance military workshops from which 150 workers were dismissed for taking part in the strike of February 12.

DENMARK.—More than 100 delegates elected in the plants and by local trade unions meet in Slagelse to discuss their common demands.

PORTUGAL.—During the meeting of the political and military leaders of the Atlantic Pact in Lisbon, numerous leaflets and manifestos are circulated, expressing the opposition of the Portuguese people to the policy of rearmament and war. These leaflets circulate in spite of the new wave of terror unleashed by the Salazar Fascist Government, which has imprisoned many democrats, including Dr. Rui Luis Gomez, President of the National Democratic Movement.

February 18

VIENNA.—The W.F.T.U. protests against the decision of the American authorities to hand over to the Greek government, Kaloudis, General Secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Trade Unions, sending a telegram to the United Nations and an appeal to all democrats to unite to save this trade union militant.

FRANCE. — Police are massed around the Renault factory, the government fearing the reaction of the workers following the dismissal of many of the February 12 strikers. The dismissed workers go in to work in spite of the fact that they cannot have their time-cards stamped.

MOROCCO.—Mighty demonstrations take place in Casablanca for Moroccan independence during the visit of the United Nations Commission of Enquiry. The police open fire, killing two and wounding many demonstrators.

February 19

TUNISIA.—Police operations continue, particularly in the regions of Soussa and Gafsa. "L'Avenir de la Tunisie," weekly French-language paper of the Communist Party, its Arab-language weekly paper "Ettalia," and "Mission," weekly French-language paper of the Néo-Destur Party are all banned.

AUSTRALIA. — More than 60,000 dockers strike in protest against the refusal of the Arbitration Court to hear an urgent application by the Waterside Workers' Federation for increased marginal rates.

February 20

SPAIN.—Workers of the Madrid Telephone Company strike and demonstrate in the streets demanding a revaluation of their wages. Workers in several enterprises stop work in solidarity.

February 21

JAPAN.—Demonstrations take place in twenty-six principal Japanese cities on the occasion of "The Anti-Colonisation of Japan Day."

MALTA.—Fifteen thousand dockers employed by the British Admiralty go on strike demanding a wage increase of 14 shillings a week.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

MARCH 16—31, 1952 ★ No. 6

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE RAISES PEOPLES' HOPES

G. Di Vittorio

End Germ Warfare in Korea!
• *W.F.T.U. Protest*

United Liberation Struggle in Malaya
• **H. B. Lim**

Draft Programme for International Social Security Conference

Mr. Churchill Makes War on the Children • **Max Morris**

The Conference on Children • WFTU Protest on Greek Death Sentences • Soviet Metal-worker Wins Stalin Prize • Italian Floods • Barcelona Strikes Anniversary • and other regular features

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The General Council calls on trade union organisations to publicise the importance and contribute to the success of the International Economic Conference, convened for April, 1952, in Moscow.

Resolution on the Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise their Living Standards and Against the Economic and Social Consequences of War Preparations, Berlin, November 21, 1951.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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NEW HOPE FOR THE PEOPLES

IN the present world situation, the Economic Conference which is to take place in Moscow assumes the character of a symbol, a symbol of the innate will of the peoples to live and to enjoy peace and well-being. At a time when the most important representatives of the great international monopolies and the governments of almost all the capitalist countries seem to be possessed by a warlike fury, at a time when, for this reason, their press, radio and propagandists speak of nothing but new weapons, new and broader military coalitions, new offensive naval and air bases and new instruments of destruction (as though humanity had nothing better to do than to plunge into a new world war), a mighty voice has resounded throughout the world. This voice goes right to the heart of the peoples, a voice of hope, expressing the certainty that it is possible to create relations among them which would be fruitful and healthy for all. This voice calls their attention to economic problems, problems which involve the life and future of the peoples. It reminds them of the vital necessity for increasing economic exchange—the foundation for human progress; and this has been welcomed by the peoples as the hope of more general well-being and a lasting peace. This, in our opinion, is the great significance of the Moscow International Economic Conference.

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SINCE the most important American millionaire groups have plunged headlong into the intensive preparation of a war of aggression in an attempt to satisfy their insatiable desire for world conquest and domination, they have mobilised their " psychologists " to create a war psychosis, and many reasonable people seem to have been blindly affected by this hysteria. These people have been conditioned to adopt a fatalistic attitude towards war. But the voice of reason and good sense has spoken at the opportune time. It shows the world the way to common salvation by broadening and developing economic relations among all countries, large and small, without any discrimination of a political, social, racial or religious kind, and with the sole objective of the interests of each and all.

The American millionaires, and their Government, who consider war to be " good business," have tried, with their satellites, to isolate and smother the voice of reason and life which has called for the holding of the International Economic Conference in Moscow. They have tried to nullify this initiative, but all their efforts have been smashed. The desire for life and progress which springs from the very heart of mankind has defeated the sowers of hatred and death, and all the obstacles which they have tried to put in the way of the Moscow Conference have been swept away. Already the success of the International Economic Conference is fully assured, because all social classes from many countries of the world have promised to take part.

It is necessary to emphasise that the fundamental problems facing the peoples today (such as the problem of peace or war, of general economic well-being arising from the development of trade on a world scale or the worsening of the

economic depression and the poverty of the masses of the people as a result of even more restrictions on trade), are problems which interest not only the working class, the mass of the people and the middle classes. These problems also concern important sections of the industrial, commercial and agrarian bourgeoisie, and especially that section which is not concerned directly in grabbing armaments contracts and which has not come to consider war as a source of unlimited wealth. Already a large number of industrialists and businessmen from various countries have announced their intention of taking part in the Moscow Conference, together with a considerable number of other people interested in economic problems, with representatives of great producers' and consumers' co-operatives and trade union leaders of varied affiliations.

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THE American warmongers thought that their threat to draw up a "black list" of the industrialists and businessmen who take part in the Conference, who would then be forbidden to enter the United States or to have dealings with American industry, would be enough to cause at least the partial failure of the Moscow Conference. But this blackmail fell flat. It no longer causes any fear to those elements of the bourgeois class of Europe who are far-sighted and endowed with a sense of responsibility. Among these sections, also, the domination and the iron heel of the American rulers, who are trying to become complete bosses of the "Atlantic" countries, is bringing about a growing anxiety and an increasingly strong feeling of revolt. This revolt is the expression of offended national feelings and of the desire of the peoples to ensure the real independence of their countries.

A leading French rightwing newspaper, *Le Monde*, has given a typical example of the great interest aroused by the Moscow Conference, even among the big bourgeoisie of various countries, and an example also of the protest against the blackmail exercised by the American monopolies. A recent article in this paper, written by its editor, says in substance that the Americans are trying to forbid European industrialists from taking part in the Moscow Economic Conference, because of the fear that these industrialists might return to their countries with important orders. They are afraid that these industrialists may demand of their respective governments the lifting of restrictions on international trade imposed by the American Government and the institution of a new policy of large-scale world trade.

A leading Italian newspaper, *24 Ore*, organ of the North Italian industrialists, has expressed a similar point of view on the Moscow Conference and on the vain efforts of the Americans to boycott it. These papers, together with many other organs of the European bourgeoisie, express the hope that many industrialists and businessmen will take part in the Conference. Thus the conspiracy of silence with which the American Government wanted to surround the great International Economic Conference has completely failed.

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FROM all this, we must conclude that reasonable people who live by their own labour or industrial activity, and who represent at least 99 per cent of humanity, and who want to live in peace, are seriously beginning to search for the means by which they can escape from the criminal madness of a small minority of vampires for whom war is a "good business." Reasonable people of all classes are seeing more clearly the way to salvation. This way is not that followed by the criminals who want to erect barriers between the peoples, who want to restrict and prevent economic relations based primarily on reciprocity of interests, and who, day after day, carry on a frenzied, savage propaganda of hatred and war.

Reasonable people, even among the bourgeois classes, are beginning more and more to understand how criminal is the suicidal policy which consists in seeking safety in an incessant increase of armaments, the burden of which is crushing the people which it is supposed to "save" from a hypothetical enemy and a non-existent threat.

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IT is a fact that in all the capitalist countries the economic crisis is becoming worse. It is worsening because of the disturbing reduction in productive investment (the largest part of the resources of these countries being devoted to typically unproductive rearmament expenditure), or because of the increasingly greater restrictions imposed on their economic trade by the American

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Yours fraternally,

T. F. McWhinnie,

for W.F.T.U. Publications Ltd.

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Government. The result of this is a reduction in the production of consumer goods, an increase in unemployment, a rise in the cost of living, a more and more serious lowering of the capacity of home markets to absorb goods and, as a result, stagnation in trade and in the general economic life of the peoples. At the same time, the burden of direct and indirect taxation has everywhere become absolutely crushing.

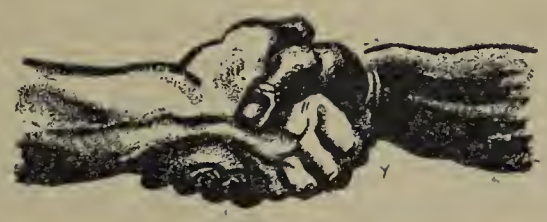
The consequences of this state of affairs are of exceptional gravity for every aspect of life in the different national groupings. Most noticeable of these consequences are the disquieting lowering of the standard of living of the working class and the mass of the people, as well as the natural sharpening of the class struggle and of the social and political contradictions within each country, not to mention the deepening opposition of interests between the ruling classes of the various countries.

It is inconceivable that, in such a situation, most capitalist governments should still dare to accept or submit to the restrictions imposed by leading American circles. The latter wish to increase this control over, even to suppress completely, trade with that large part of the world comprised by the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies, and which extends to China and other vast regions of Asia. There is no need to be an expert in economic affairs to understand what immense profit the economies of the various capitalist countries could derive from normal trading relations and the extension of these relations, with that part of the world where the peoples are making a tremendous and successful production effort and economic advance.

No! The world will not succumb to this madness which is more suicidal than criminal. The already assured success of the Moscow Conference is a triumph of reason over madness; it is a triumph of the determination of the peoples to live in peace and complete friendship with one another, of their determination to promote in a joint effort the general progress of humanity, as a result of a continuous development of economic and cultural relations which are and will be for all time a primary source for the development of well-being and increased living standards.

A W.F.T.U. delegation will participate in the Economic Conference in Moscow. It will participate as will the Trade Union Centres of most countries. It intends to bring the active and enthusiastic contribution of the international working class to the creation of a situation which will enable the maximum development of economic and cultural relations among the peoples of the earth. For these relations are the decisive factors in safeguarding and raising the living standards of the working people and are the basis of the economic and cultural progress of the whole of humanity.

Giuseppe Di Vittorio.



● *FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE "THUNDER STORM" OVER BARCELONA*

United Action

AGAINST

The Franco Terror

by P. ASCARI

A YEAR ago, on March 12, 1951, like a peal of thunder, came news which spread around the world causing a wave of enthusiasm and admiration among all workers. A mighty general strike had broken out in Barcelona! The Spanish people, in chains but invincible, had stood up strongly and staunchly against the tyrant to make its mighty and moving voice heard again.

What had happened? The people of the Catalan capital had just carried out a unanimous boycott of the municipal transport system against an attempt to increase fares, in which they won a first and important victory over the regime. After a week of struggle during which the trams ran empty, booed and stoned by the population, the increased fares which the Barcelona Municipality had wanted to introduce had to be cancelled.

During this first week of victorious struggle, the Catalan workers became aware of their strength and of the possibility of forcing fascism to retreat.

Some days later, called by the underground resistance organisations, nearly half a million workers, that is to say, nearly the entire working population of Barcelona and the surrounding industrial centres, left the workshops, offices and other work places and went into the streets of the capital to protest against the high cost of living and the Franco policy of poverty and war. For twenty-four hours the streets of Barcelona were in the hands of the strikers.

Barcelona was then placed under a state of siege. Large police and Civil Guard reinforcements arrived, brought in from all regions of Spain. Several naval vessels arrived in port and trained their guns on the city. Fearing the worst, the Military Governor confined the garrison to barracks—two sections having in fact demonstrated their solidarity with the strikers.

Several times the police fired on the masses of people streaming into the centre of the city. A number of official cars were burned by the crowd gathered before the Hotel Ritz, occupied by the Americans. The crowd shouted for peace and called on the occupants of the hotel to go home. A gathering of thousands of strikers sang the *Internationale* in front of the City Hall. This was the first time since 1939 that the revolutionary anthem of the world working class had been publicly sung on Spanish soil.

Once more the Spanish people had given the world an example of its grandeur and its heroism.

* * *

THE Barcelona strike was not merely an economic strike. It was not a spontaneous explosion of a starved people, as was asserted by certain people who can only think of the word "spontaneity." It was the fruit of 12 years of struggle and effort by the leaders of the resistance movement. The scope of the movement was the result of the powerful current of united action which arose among the people from the persevering work of explanation, propaganda, and agitation carried on by our Spanish brothers in the difficult and dangerous conditions of illegality. What brought the whole of the Catalan workers and people into the struggle was, as was pointed out by Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria), the great leader of the Spanish people, "hatred of the regime, bitterness, the accumulated anger of 12 years of oppression, 12 years of Franco tyranny, 12 years of terror and police persecution, of privation, poverty and continual decline in living standards, 12 years of passive resistance awaiting the propitious moment for the struggle." And when this moment presented itself during the fight against the increased fares, the people of Barcelona became aware of its united strength.

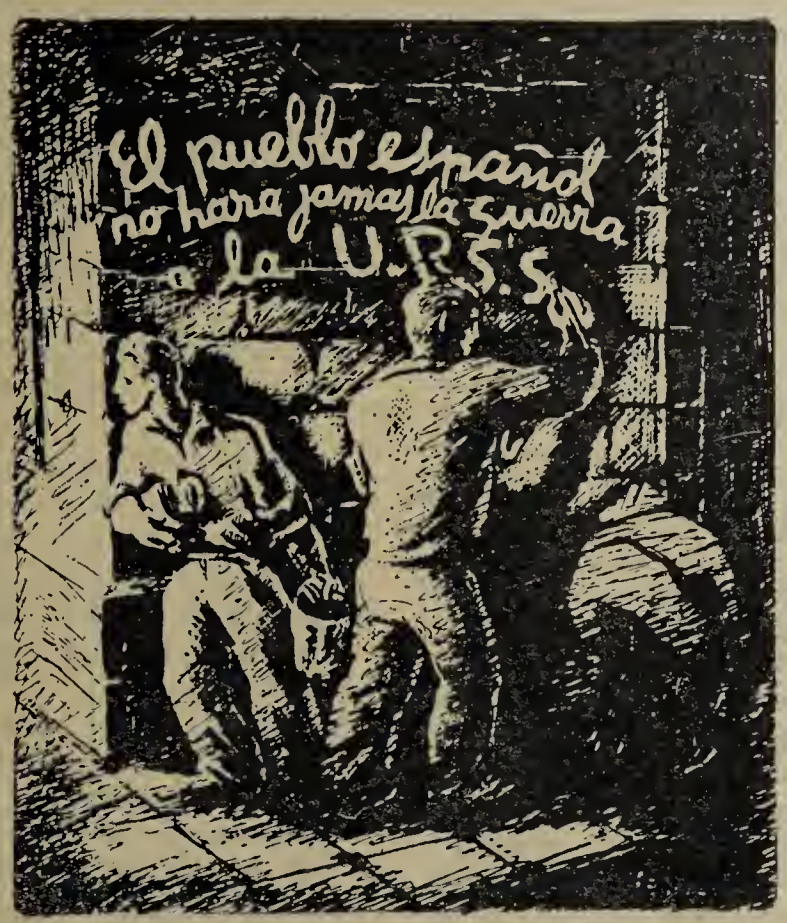
THERE were immediate repercussions throughout the whole country. Within two months, general strikes and mass movements involving nearly a million workers took place in succession in Bilbao and throughout the Basque country, Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, and in Madrid.

Surrounded by his Moorish guard in his Prado Palace, Franco sweated with fear. He was not the only one who was afraid. The Barcelona thunderbolt caused panic in the administrative circles of Wall Street and of the "Western" Governments.

But workers of all opinions in all countries, in the factories and workshops, in the offices and on building sites, everywhere increased their solidarity action for the Spanish people.

This united movement of active solidarity became even broader when the world learned of the wave of terror which had been unleashed in Spain, the repressive measures being directed by former Gestapo chiefs who have found refuge in Spain, together with the F.B.I. specialists sent post-haste from the United States.

Franco and his American millionaire masters, who are transforming Spain into a springboard for a war of aggression, equipped with vast aerodromes and naval bases, intended to make the Spanish people pay dearly for the fear which it caused them by the irresistible scope of the movement. Thousands of workers were arrested and brutally ill-treated for having carried out the strike decision. Mass dismissals took place in the factories, in spite of the resistance of the workers and the often conciliatory attitude of certain employers.



A glow of light in the Spanish darkness.
"The Spanish people will never make war against the Soviet Union."

Then, one day, the working people of Spain and of the world were stricken by the dreadful news that Lopez Raimundo and thirty-three of his comrades, leaders of the Barcelona strikes, had fallen into the hands of the Franco police. The Franco police agents subjected them to three weeks of torture and interrogation in the dungeons of the Barcelona Central Police Commissariat.

But this wave of terror was incapable of damping down the growing anger of the people.

Further, the workers of the world understood the international significance of the struggle waged by the Spanish people against the Franco war regime and for the independence of their country. That explains the scope and strength of the movement of solidarity with the martyred people of Spain which is at present developing throughout the world to demand the release of Lopez Raimundo and his comrades.

Love for the Spanish people, and hatred for fascism, live vigorously in the hearts of the workers of the world, whether these workers are Communists, Socialists, members of the W.F.T.U. or the I.C.F.T.U., or unorganised. It is this love and hatred which are now rallying them together at their work places in a great international solidarity action.

The workers have also understood that the campaign against the terror in Spain and for the release of all anti-fascist prisoners in Spain, and particularly the Barcelona strike leaders is not merely a humanitarian campaign. A struggle of major importance is taking place, a trial of strength between fascism and its accomplices on the one hand and democracy on the other.

Naturally, this movement coming from the ranks of the people is causing concern to certain reactionary trade union leaders, who find themselves in the contradictory position which exists between support for the "Atlantic" policy and the defence of fascist regimes which this support implies, and on the other hand, the adoption, under powerful mass pressure, of an attitude of condemnation of the regime of Franco terror and solidarity with the Spanish people. For this reason, they express themselves against Franco's regime in words only. However, far from conceiving any concrete unity of action for specific aims in the factories, they do everything they can to prevent this, trying to drown any action in a wave of vague and general formulas.

But the workers are not fools. They reply indignantly to these manoeuvres. They are on the side of the Spanish patriots who have recently sent an open letter from the Franco jails to the W.F.T.U., a moving and pathetic letter which appeals to the democratic conscience of the world for measures to be taken to put an end to the inhuman regime in the Franco prisons. This letter draws attention to the fact that there are tens of thousands of political prisoners whose only crime is that of having defended the Democratic Republic and of having stood up against fascism. Our comrades in the Franco prisons ask us, the workers of the world, to demand that the United Nations and our respective Governments establish with the great international democratic organisations, a Commission of Inquiry, charged with visiting the Spanish prisons and

concentration camps and informing the world of the inhuman conditions existing there.

Here are some passages from the letter:

. . . The number of executions of all kinds carried out by the Franco regime is calculated at ONE MILLION PERSONS. Between 1939 *and the beginning of* 1944, *in the Porlier Prison (Madrid) alone, an average of thirty men were shot every week, divided between the notorious Monday and Friday shootings. A human slaughterhouse was built in the Eastern Cemetery (Madrid) to enable executions to be carried out by machine-gun . . .*

In the name of the anti-Franco and democratic prisoners, we ask that a formal enquiry should be made, allowing of access to the prisons and lock-ups for all democrats who wish to discover the truth.

We speak in the name of the 900 *political prisoners of the Bugros Penitentiary, the* 800 *political prisoners of the Dueso Penitentiary and the* 650 *political prisoners of San Miguel de los Reyes, in the name of the* 220 *political prisoners in the prisons of Yeserias and Cuellar. In the name of the political prisoners who are imprisoned in the Celular de Barcelona, the Celular de Valencia, in Puerto de Santa Maria, in the Adult Reformatory of Ocana, the Guadalajara Central Prison, the Penal Workshops of Alcalá de Henares, the Dos Hermanos Colony, the Alicante Reformatory and the Provincial prisons of Albacete, Córdoba, Ciudad Real, Sevilla, etc. In the name of the women political prisoners of Ventas, Malaga and Segovia. Finally, we proclaim in the name of all political prisoners that they have been condemned, not for crimes or common misdemeanours, but for the "crime" of forming political organisations to fight against the fascist regime of General Franco with a view to re-establishing Republican legality . . .*

It is also easy to prove that there are thousands and thousands of Spaniards who have been subjected for political misdemeanours to "restricted," "conditional" or "supervised" freedom. On the slightest disturbance of public order—such as in the recent strikes—they are re-interned in prisons and lock-ups for a length of time which depends on the decision of the Governors, Captain-Generals, Mayors, Falangists or Chiefs of the Civil Guard posts . . .

We ask also for an investigation of the proceedings of the Franco police and the violations of the very laws of the regime committed by judges and competent bodies. We ask further for an investigation of the regime to which political prisoners are submitted in the prisons, which is worse than that given to common offenders . . .

We must support by all our means this move of our Spanish brothers. This Commission must be set up quickly. All the workers of the world, united irrespective of our political and religious opinions or our trade union affiliations, can force Franco to accept this Commission.

The conditions exist for the development of a broad movement, based on united action, of solidarity with the Spanish people. The campaign for the Barcelona 34 has given us a magnificent example of unity among workers of all views. In Italy, Belgium, Britain, France and throughout Latin America, the workers have united independently of their political or trade union affiliations to demand the release of the Barcelona heroes. This unity on the question of Spain will permit the widening and strengthening of working class unity on other aspects of the workers' struggles.

What are the specific bases, and round what fundamental programme can this unity of action be built for solidarity with the Spanish people?

It can:

1. promote the organisation, in factories or other places of work, of widely-based meetings to express solidarity with the arrested Spanish democratic workers;
2. develop a powerful unity campaign to demand the setting-up of an International Inquiry Commission to study on the spot the situation of Spanish political prisoners;
3. stimulate by all means the campaign for the release of Lopez Raimundo and his comrades by sending letters and resolutions to the Special Military Tribunal responsible for the trial and to the Captain-General of the Barcelona region;*
4. use as a basis for these solidarity actions the moving open letter of the anti-Franco prisoners by giving this letter widespread publication in the trade union and democratic press.

To help the victims of fascism is to fulfil the sacred duty of all the workers of the world. United in a wide movement of united action in the factories, we will help our Spanish comrades to smash Franco's regime of terror. We will thus not only have carried out our duty as workers faithful to the principle of proletarian internationalism, but will also have gained a great victory over fascism and for peace.

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* Juzgado Militar Especial, Rambla Santa Monica, 29bis, Barcelona, SPAIN.
Capitan General de la 4a Region Militar, Barcelona, SPAIN.

After the Floods in Italy:

THE GOVERNMENT ACCUSED

By MADDALENA GRASSI

FLOODS in Italy! Last October and November the international press reported the disaster which struck Sardinia, Sicily, and especially the Polesina region in the Po valley.

Is it certain, however, that these reports and photographs always gave the almost inconceivable extent of the catastrophe, that they presented every aspect and showed all its consequences? Did they, above all, show that when the waters receded from the devastated lands, the entire Italian people were, for a long time, faced with a problem of the utmost gravity, the problem of restoring ravaged Polesina? Not in the slightest.

It is therefore up to us to point out that the widespread character of the destruction amounts to a national and not a local disaster. The damage exceeds 500,000 million lire[1] which, according to official figures, is about a third of Italy's investment for 1950 in the whole of its economy including industry, agriculture, public works, etc., or approximately the total annual investment envisaged by that part of the C.G.I.L. Work Plan devoted to agriculture.

We must also emphasise that the villain in this drama is not so much nature running riot, as the Government. By serving the narrow interests of a few multi-millionaire monopolies, the government neglected great afforestation works, and the building of dykes and dams capable of controlling nature. When the disaster became evident, it did nothing or almost nothing even to save human lives. Even in the midst of this drama, for reasons of class policy, it sabotaged the first relief and rescue measures, and now, within the framework of its anti-national policy, it is sabotaging the restoration of the devastated areas.

This national disaster therefore raises social, economic and political problems which the Italian people must solve in the face of the opposition of the reactionary de Gasperi Government.

The waters have receded, but the story of the flooded areas has only just begun.

[1] About £260,000,000.

Facts of the Disaster

TOWARDS the middle of October a storm of unparalleled violence struck the eastern coast of Sardinia. The lands of 40 communes were flooded, 400 houses were swept away, nearly 2,000 were rendered uninhabitable, and a hundred bridges collapsed.

Almost at the same time, the storm ravaged Calabria and Sicily. In the province of Reggio Calabria alone, there were 80 deaths. Eighty-four out of ninety-six communes were devastated and a thousand houses were destroyed. In Sicily, the gardens and citrus fruit plantations, comprising the wealth of the country, were left as though they had been plundered by the enemy.

At the beginning of November, the North was struck in its turn. And it was there, in the Polesina region, that the disaster assumed proportions defying the imagination. On November 12, the Po left its bed at Pavia. Then Padua suffered the combined assault of the Po, the Mincio and the Oglio. On November 14, nearly 30,000 acres of land in the province of Parma were invaded by the waters, nearly 20,000 acres were submerged in the province of Reggio Emilia, about 7,500 in the province of Piacenza, and about 32,000 in Cremona. On the same evening, the Po, seeking a way to the sea, broke the dykes at Occhiobello, and there was a deluge. The whole population was forced to flee on foot for its safety in the darkness. The 20,000 inhabitants of Adri remained isolated in the middle of the flood for two days, waiting for rescuers. Tens of thousands of families lost

everything they possessed. In two days, the number of refugees reached 180,000.

In the Polesina region, 29 communes were completely, and 11 partially, inundated. More than 267,000 acres disappeared under the waters, of which 84,000 were cultivated with wheat, 54,000 with beetroot, 15,000 with maize, 5,000 with hemp, others with vines, rice and fodder, etc. A vast region which possessed sugar refineries, hemp and jute spinning mills, canneries, etc., is now a scene of desolation.

The Government in the Dock

WE know that the Italian Government is not responsible for the rains. But it had never done anything to control the Po, knowing the terrible floods which it was capable of producing.

The Government is spending 650,000 million lire this year on war preparation, but it refused to invest 100,000 million in public utility works which would have prevented the disaster. It refused to consider any of the proposals made by organisations and democratic municipalities, demanding afforestation works, regulation of the flow of the rivers, etc. It rejected, above all, the over-all plans envisaged by the C.G.I.L. Work Plan.

The Christian Democratic Government committed a very much more heinous crime. Unbelievable as it may seem, it went so far as to send the police of Scelba, Minister of the Interior, with his blood-stained record, against the victims of the disaster, solely because they organised the first relief measures with the help of democratic organisations. For the people's solidarity so frightened the Government that, in order to smash it, the Government resorted to repression even during the hours of greatest human distress.

After breaking up the Emergency People's Committees, the authorities were primarily preoccupied with preventing them from being reconstituted. At Corbola, eleven young people were arrested " for continuing to give relief." In the same town, the mayor, deputy-mayor and the chairman of the Communal Committee for Relief were arrested for having distributed fur-lined coats and raincoats, etc.

With the help of the police, the distressed families were herded like cattle into requisitioned places where they were kept under surveillance as though they were in concentration camps. And while the victims, men and women, old people and children waited in vain for the arrival of provisions, clothing and medical supplies, the columns of lorries which had been sent to them by the active solidarity of the workers of the whole of Italy, were stopped by the police before they could get to the distressed area.

At Vicenza, the authorities contemptuously turned back a car belonging to the Union of Italian Women, which was to have taken the children to families in Lombardy and Piedmont, which had offered them hospitality. The mothers had to go on a hunger strike to obtain the departure of the car.

At Ferrara, the women of the town and surrounding district, had to mobilise themselves to force the

Polesina inundated. (The dotted area shows the damaged region).

A sheet of water covering about 39 square miles.

distribution to the victims of food and clothing which had been collected by the local Solidarity Committee. Lorries sent by the Austrian workers were not allowed to approach the disaster region, and aid sent by the people of the U.S.S.R. could not be distributed by the Soviet delegation which brought it there.

We cannot enumerate all the facts of systematic sabotage which took place during those tragic days. For the government, which did not care whether the population perished or not, it was primarily a question of preventing the people from trying out their own organisational strength. With a cynical contempt

"The Po Overflows." (Painting by Gabriele Mucchi).

From everywhere teams of volunteers go to the damaged areas to clear away the debris.

Children from the flooded areas are received in a reception centre of the Union of Italian Women in Rome.

for the misery, it poured out through the press and radio a flood of slanders on the "political" character of the relief activities undertaken by democratic organisations, and sought to confide to a Pontifical Commission the monopoly for giving aid.

But far from being broken, popular solidarity was strengthened. If the Government thought it would prevent the masses of the people from trying out the strength derived from their unity, it was exactly the opposite result which it obtained.

Popular Solidarity

THE C.G.I.L. and its basic organisations created "Emergency Unity Committees," on which there were mayors, leaders of trade unions and peasant associations, Members of Parliament, Senators. the youth and women, regardless of their political opinions.

Thanks to the Ferrara Regional Trades Council, more than 19,000 victims were evacuated and more than 12,000 received food and clothing. The Relief Committee mobilised 500 barges, 350 lorries, 210 automobiles, and 6,000 men and women volunteers. The Milan Trades Council offered hospitality to 2,000 children. In Romagna on the Adriatic, the news of the catastrophe had hardly been announced when fishermen withdrew their nets from the sea and with their boats saved more than 9,000 people in the Adria area. But while they were submerged in water right up to their waists, carrying old people and women on their shoulders, Scelba's police from a small island threatened them with arrest for "contravening the official rescue work." The de Gasperi Government will never be able to efface the stigma of such an infamous action.

In the province of Bologna, a few hours after the Trades Council had launched an appeal for solidarity, 2,700 families had already asked to receive the children of the victims. Ten thousand men and women succeeded in leaving the Modena region thanks to the improvised works put up to preserve 5 villages in Mantua province from the flood. Thanks to the efforts of the Union of Italian Women, 14,000 children were placed with families throughout Italy.

The popular unity so feared by the Government was irresistible and superb. At one bound it drew every section of the population together; town and agricultural workers, tradesmen and artisans, manual and intellectual workers, men and women. Their political or trade union affiliations mattered not. Workers belonging to the Christian or Social Democratic trade unions hurried to the C.G.I.L. Trades Councils asking for places on the lorries going to the distressed areas.

While manning the shovels, no one asked his neighbour's political opinion. No one asked if the old man he was carrying on his back were a Christian Democrat or a Communist, whether the woman weeping in the boat was a believer or not. In the factories and workshops everywhere, the workers, as one man, offered to work over-time to help the victims of the disaster.

The solidarity did not weaken even when the terrible first days of the disaster receded. As a result of numerous initiatives taken by the workers throughout Italy, the subscription fund launched by the C.G.I.L. for the victims was opened with 5 million lire. In Rome alone, 470 million lire were collected, and the total collected by the C.G.I.L. was in the neighbourhood of a thousand million lire.

Thus it was without the Government and against the Government that the Italian people, achieving full unity, were able to take the measures which were called for by a situation of exceptional gravity.

Solidarity of the Soviet and Other Peoples

INTERNATIONAL solidarity also reached mighty proportions. The Rumanian, Hungarian, Polish, French, Austrian and Belgian workers sent large sums of money, food and clothing. The W.F.T.U. sent 5 million French francs to the homeless flood victims.

The Soviet ship *Timiriazev* brought to Genoa a large cargo of semolina, grain seed, sugar, condensed milk, etc., and 20 tractors with ploughs, gifts from the Soviet trade unions, co-operatives and women, together with a gift of 60 million lire.

But so far, the Government has forbidden the distribution of the Soviet goods, preferring to see them rot rather than accept this demonstration of the friendship of the Soviet people for the Italian people. It even went so far as to set the police on the women who demanded the distribution of Soviet semolina. For example, at the end of February, seven women were arrested in Contarina (Adria) during a demonstration protesting against the shameful fact that the Soviet foodstuffs had not to be given out to the starving people three months after their arrival.

In Genoa tractors sent by the Soviet people are unloaded from the ship "Timiriazev." Working throughout Christmas Day, the Italian dockers did this work without pay, as did their Soviet comrades when they loaded the vessel.

The de Gasperi Government has not succeeded in breaking national solidarity. Nor will it succeed in breaking international solidarity. On the contrary, it is paying, and will pay, for its criminal attitude by the strengthening of both these forms of solidarity.

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Long lines of lorries of the People's Solidarity Committees of the C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour) leave the capital.

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The Fight for Reconstruction

BUT the Government is continuing its anti-national policy of inertia and sabotage. Now it wants to forbid the restoration of the devastated areas. Where, in fact, will it find the tens or hundreds of thousands of millions of lira necessary for reconstruction while it is so busily occupied in finding the 650 thousand million which it has voted for rearmament? Reconstruction or rearmament to the utmost, it will be one or the other, and the de Gasperi Government has made its choice.

But the Italian workers have also made their choice. In Ferrara, Rovigo, Mantua and Parma, as in Calabria, Sardinia and Sicily, the population has taken up the struggle against the Government policy of abandonment.

In Gairo (Sardinia), where a terrible landslide threatens to cause the disappearance of the entire village, a hundred women, with their children in their arms, occupied the mayor's offices for two days and two nights to protest against government inertia. Hundreds of police were mobilised against them, using firearms and tear-gas. The bells were rung to mobilise the whole population against the forces of repression.

In Rovigo, Adria, Ferrara, Parma, Luzzara, Reggio Emilia and other places thousands of workers initiated a great reverse strike movement, a characteristic form of the Italian workers' struggle against the Government.

Despite the threat of the police, the workers are returning to their destroyed houses. They are clearing away the debris and shifting the earth to force the Government to take full measures for reconstruction. One day they will present to the Government the bill for the work carried out, as the workers of Cassino previously did with success.* By their "strikes in reverse" they are crying out to the country their will to live, and the Italian people hears them and supports them, for the struggle of the victims concerns the whole nation; it is a fight against the policy of war.

A Conference of the Regional Trades Councils of the C.G.I.L. has placed before the whole nation the problem of restoring the devastated regions of Polesina and of Southern Italy.

This problem can only be solved by following the policy laid down in the C.G.I.L. Work Plan, which sets out to mobilise all the productive forces of the nation for creative work, for work of peace.

The General Secretary of the C.G.I.L., Giuseppe Di Vittorio, has said that the number one problem of 1952 will be the restoration of the regions devastated by the floods last autumn.

* See "The People of Cassino organise a Reverse Strike," WFTU No. 17, 1951.

Why the Young Soviet Metal Worker V. Utkin Received the Stalin Prize

● AN INTERVIEW BY R. LACAZETTE

A STALIN Prize! These words inevitably bring to our minds some great name in literature or science, a famous name filled with glory.

What was it that merited the granting of this high distinction to Vladimir Utkin, a turner in the Calibre precision instrument plant in Moscow?

A Stalin Prize before the age of twenty-five—that must mean something in a man's life. Here he is, this hero of labour, slim, brown, with a fine, open and strong face. An ordinary man who speaks simply and modestly about his life as an honoured worker of his land.

He began work in the plant at sixteen years of age, after finishing his schooling. In 1943, at the time when the Soviet people was devoting its whole strength to the great patriotic war against the Hitlerite invaders, young Utkin had but one ambition—to work, to work well, to know his trade thoroughly in order to serve his country, to help the heroic fighters of the army in their struggle against fascism, for freedom, democracy and peace.

At the factory, the young worker was inspired by the rich experience of the head of his shop, and when the work-day was over, he attended technical study-circles and Stakhanovite schools organised by the trade unions and put at the free disposal of the workers.

His wage as a young worker, like those of adults, is solely based on his skill and the product of his work. The land of Socialism does not permit the sordid exploitation of the youth which exists in capitalist countries.

After the war, having become leader of a shock-team, he never ceased to study, to increase his skill and improve his work. He tells us that it is not a question of using physical strength nor of making strenuous efforts. What is needed above all is an effort of intelligence, to think about each operation, each movement, to study deeply, to learn the functioning of the machines and to discover the best way of using them.

Utkin and his comrades study engineering and technology, helped by the best specialists in the plant, who put their knowledge at the disposal of the youth. They thus succeeded in producing from 160 to 180 parts per day in 1949 as against 80 in 1948, while the number of tools for this output was reduced from eleven to seven.

Initiative, Boldness and the Creative Spirit

IT must not be thought that such progress is due to isolated efforts. The great value of Socialist emulation is that it does not rely on an elite group. On the contrary, it is a veritable tidal wave which has arisen from the ranks of the working class. This powerful and irresistible movement is rapidly drawing in growing masses of workers under a regime in which there are no exploiters, where life is continually becoming better, where modern technique is mastered by skilled cadres who are complete masters of their trade. Whenever a worker in a factory discovers a better method of work, he passes it on immediately to his workmates. Exchanges of experiences take place during short meetings held after work, in which the best experiences are immediately revealed, applied and generalised. It was in this way that Utkin conceived his own plan within that of 35 Moscow enterprises which had made a pledge to Comrade Stalin to achieve economies of 178 million roubles above their plan in material and tools. The share of this total undertaken by the "Calibre" plant was 3.5 million roubles.

Utkin was asked in what way each worker was able to contribute to this task? He replied that, after having requested the technologist in charge of his department to supply him with tools and material for one month, he fixed the objective of saving 288 roubles during three months. Straight away, his team, then his shop and

then the whole factory decided to imitate Utkin according to the possibilities of each worker. During this experiment, the efficient functioning of the whole work of the factory was considerably improved. The scope of the movement was such as to result in a saving of 7.5 million roubles instead of the 3.5 million originally planned.

Popularised by meetings, by the press and by visits of delegations, this initiative was taken up by all the enterprises of the U.S.S.R.

This is a striking example of the enthusiasm of the masses, a condition for the continuous raising of socialist labour productivity, and thus of the growth of the national income. The increase in socialist productivity is essential to ensure an abundance of wealth to assure the transition from socialism to communism, the principle of which is: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

It can thus be understood that Utkin's qualities, his boldness, his creative spirit which does not stop at already established norms, which upsets out-of-date methods, his qualities as a man and a worker, won for him and for nine other workers in his plant in 1950 the great distinction of a Stalin Prize.*

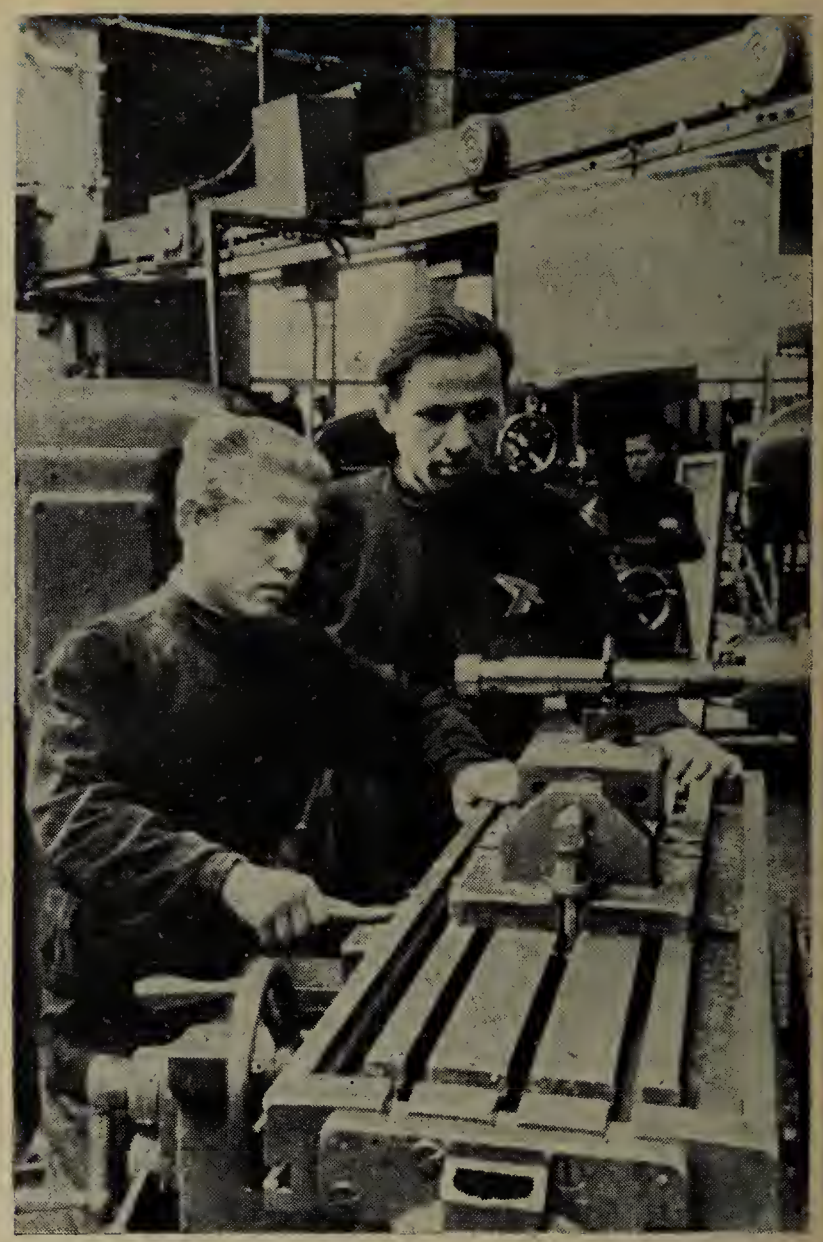
"For me," said Utkin, "this honour is a mark of the great solicitude of the Government for the workers and of the very great importance which it attaches to the development of the value of man, the most precious capital."

Every Worker Can Become a Specialist or a Scientist

THE mechanisation of work is a decisive factor, without which it would not be possible to conceive of the speed and the gigantic scope of production in the Soviet Union. In that country, where the regime offers unlimited possibilities for the development of technique, new types of machines are continually being introduced.

In collaboration with an engineer of the plant, Utkin and one of his workmates invented an automatic machine-tool for the manufacture of parts. This machine did the work of six men. One worker manages the machine easily, his job merely consists of operating push-buttons and observing the conditions of the tools. This worker is taking a course after working hours at the Technical Institute, and in a short time he will be a qualified engineer. Utkin remarked that this example is far from being an isolated one. The Soviet working class has in fact become a breeding ground of engineers, scientists and specialists. These cadres, who are indispensible for the carrying out of the mighty production plans, are recruited partly from among the workers who come from the higher educational establishments which are wide open to them, and partly from among the most skilled and most active workers in the factories. The technical level of the working class thus tends to approximate more and more closely to that of the engineers and technicians. This results in a gradual reduction of the barrier between manual and intellectual workers.

This phenomenon, which is of capital importance for the future perspectives of humanity, can only arise and develop under the conditions of a socialist regime in which the productive forces are freed from the chains of capitalism, where the working class is in power and where the whole of technique and science is opened up before the workers. It is worth while mentioning here a fact that was stressed by Utkin—the role of Soviet scientists, who collaborate more and more closely with the factory workers. This co-operation brings with it a better application of science to production, and thus enriches science as a result of the experience and creative spirit of the workers.



A student being taught by his instructor to operate a milling machine in the trade school of the Stalin Automobile Plant.

When the Workers Produce for Themselves

WE asked Utkin what had happened to the workers who had become redundant as a result of the introduction of the automatic machine-tool in his workshop.

"For my part," he replied, "I was sent on a four-month industrial study course, during the whole of which time I received my full wages without working at the factory. My workmates from the same workshop are at present carrying out other work. They are continuing to act as innovators by making new perfected types of machine-tools."

It can thus be seen that the ceaseless progress of socialist productivity does not bring about under-em-

* Each recipient of the prize received 50,000 roubles in cash (about £4,250 or $12,500).

Reproduction of a Soviet painting, "Exchange of Stakhanovite Experience." A Leningrad turner explains his method for the rapid cutting of metals to workers assembled in his workshop.

ployment. Far from creating unemployment, the growth of economy in the U.S.S.R. is such that there is everywhere a demand for labour in all industries. Workers who are released from one sector to work in another are sure of receiving a wage at least equal to that which they received before. Thus they are afraid neither of unemployment nor of a reduction in the amount of their pay-packets. On the other hand, they have the guarantee that increased production brings a continual increase in both real and nominal wages. They know that the increased wealth produced does not benefit a handful of exploiters, but benefits the whole people.

Utkin quoted the example of his team, whose wages doubled as production doubled, and the case of the considerable increase in the wages of the worker in his shop who now tends the automatic machine-tool. He also told us of the large rewards given to rationalisers and innovators and the bonuses which are granted to the teams which lead in emulation.

To nominal wages must be added all the social advantages, which can be computed at present at 50 per cent of the actual wage. The directing bodies of the U.S.S.R., with the help of the trade unions, are working to extend the already wide field of social and cultural work. In its development, socialist productivity increases the national income and allows a greater proportion of it to be devoted to the improvement of the general well-being. It also permits frequent price reductions, thereby increasing still further the real wages of the workers.

Life Becomes Continually Better

IN these circumstances, it is understandable why the workers in the U.S.S.R., who know that they are working for themselves, for the peaceful development of their country and for the peace of the world, are animated by a mighty creative spirit.

Like his workmates, the turner Utkin lives in ease and comfort with his wife, who is a scholarship student at the Pedagogical Institute, and his two children, one of five years and the other of eight months.

They live in a comfortable flat in Moscow, and they have a small country house on the outskirts of the capital in which the family pass their week-ends. They often go to the theatre or the cinema, and take the children to the puppet theatre. On Sundays, in the country, they go skating, ski-ing or game-hunting.

Utkin is young, and he has no intention of stopping his studies. The Stalin Prize has given him great incentive. He is at present carrying on his studies in the Technical Institute attached to the plant, where he is preparing to enter the Higher Institute. He is given special leave at full pay to sit for his examinations.

In this way his life is daily developing without any obstacle towards his highest aspirations. He is continually improving his knowledge of the trade which he loves, educating himself, developing himself, living happily among a happy people who are taking giant strides along the road of progress, a people which only asks to live in peace in order to fulfil the finest dreams of humanity.

DRAFT PROGRAMME

of the

International Conference on SOCIAL SECURITY AND INSURANCE

A broad basis for discussion and successful action

THE first meeting of the Working Committee for the preparation of the International Conference on Social Security and Social Insurance, called by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, was held in Vienna from February 4 to 7. Besides members of the Secretariat, this Committee included representatives of trade union organisations and Social Security specialists from the following countries: France, Italy, Great Britain, Holland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania.

There were two questions on the agenda: the organisation of the Conference, and the programme of the Conference.

In his opening address, Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., stated:

> "In the conditions of modern life, the help of social security is indispensable for workers affected by illness, accident or unemployment. The fight for social security is an important part of the great battle for better living conditions, for the peaceful development of economic and social advance.
>
> That is why trade union organisations must consider social security as one of their first and most important pre-occupations."

The General Secretary outlined the results which the World Federation of Trade Unions seeks to obtain by organising the Conference, as follows:

—to improve social security and to defend effectively the living standards of the mass of the workers against attacks arising from the armament policy, considering as an essential means of action the improvement of trade union activity concerning social security, the strengthening of united action by workers of all viewpoints, the setting up of a broad fighting front for social progress, and drawing closer to the trade union organisations all organisations and persons animated by a sincere desire for the advancement of social and human progress.

ORGANISATION OF THE CONFERENCE

THE Committee adopted two important recommendations to guide the work of *organisation*: affirming the common interest of the men and women of all opinions and walks of life to work together for the extension of social security, and thus for the success of the Conference, it recommended that a number of persons of various professions, opinions, different social views or trade unions, such as doctors, experts on social questions, directors of friendly societies, and trade union militants of all affiliations, etc., be asked to sponsor the Conference in order to ensure the widest possible participation. It proposed that the Inaugural Committee, thus constituted, should meet after its formation, at the headquarters of the W.F.T.U.

In addition, it formulated the following recommendations for the preparation of the Conference in the various countries:

Mass mobilisation through united action for the defence, extension and improvement of Social Security in the various countries is a necessary condition for the success of the Conference.

In order to carry out such a mobilisation, it is necessary in the first place that the trade union organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. extend and increase their activities for Social Security. This will be helped considerably by the formation of trade union Social Security committees.

Unity of action by workers of varying outlooks and of different trade union affiliations, and of unorganised workers must be organised principally on the basis of **Social Security Action Committees** in the factories and at the place of work.

The Committee considers that the **Trade Departments** have an important role to play in the preparation and organisation of the Conference by putting forward valuable and specific proposals on the prevention of accidents at work and industrial

diseases, factory hygiene and work safety, as well as all other special problems.

United action by the working class must be extended to small peasants, self-employed craftsmen, independent workers and, in general, to all sections of the middle class, through the setting up of **local committees** for the defence, extension and improvement of Social Security.

It is recommended that broad **national committees** of preparation for the Conference be set up as part of the general activity for Social Security in the various countries. These Committees should in particular be responsible for the organisation of national, local or industrial preparatory conferences, in forms corresponding to the actual conditions in each country.

Some New Publications

Finally, it was proposed that the W.F.T.U. Secretariat should publish a special Press Bulletin devoted to social security and the preparation of the Conference, as well as a series of pamphlets dealing with the basic problems of social security, such as:

—The development of social security and action for its defence, extension and improvement.
—Workers' control and administration of Social Security.
—Unemployment insurance.
—Social Security in the Colonial countries.

The W.F.T.U. Secretariat approved all these proposals.

* * *

The Programme

THE discussion on the second point of the agenda resulted in the drawing up of the *Preliminary draft programme* given below.

It was not the Committee's intention to prepare a document which was applicable in all its details to all countries, but merely a general programme which might serve as a basis for regional, national or industrial programmes of a more detailed character and adaptable to various special situations.

Nor was it intended to draw up a definite programme, but only to provide *a basis for discussion* for the workers and all those interested in the development of social security.

Acceptance of this document is **not** a condition for taking part in the Conference.

It is in this sense that the W.F.T.U. Secretariat presents this draft programme to the trade union organisations and to the workers of all countries. The wider the discussion that takes place on the general demands outlined in this draft, the greater are the chances that they will be rapidly achieved.

J. D.

PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF A GENERAL PROGRAMME

I. PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL SECURITY

1. Any real system of Social Security should be based on the recognition of a fundamental social right guaranteed by law to every human being who lives by his labour.

Social Security must provide a guarantee against all social risks without exception, that is to say:

—Sickness
—Maternity
—Disability
—Old age
—Accidents at work and industrial diseases
—Complete or partial unemployment
—Death.

Social Security must also provide paid holidays for the workers and family allowances.

In all these cases, Social Security must provide cash benefits, guaranteeing a reasonable standard of living for the whole working population.

2. Social Security must also ensure free medical care for all workers. The extension of free medical care to the whole population through the establishment of a National Public Health Service should be secured.

3. Social Security must also promote the application of the principles of prevention in the medical and social spheres.

4. In the sphere of accidents at work and industrial diseases, Social Security must ensure:

—the adoption of adequate preventive measures
—complete compensation for all injury caused
—effective organisation of industrial rehabilitation, re-education and guaranteed re-employment.

5. Social Security must be compulsory and guaranteed by law. It must have a unified structure. Benefits and services must be accorded without any discrimination based on race, nationality, religion, sex, age or profession. With regard to benefits, the unification of the system must, however, take into account the gains won by the special conditions of certain industrial categories, for which specially favourable measures are justified.

6. Social Security should extend not only to all manual workers and salaried employees (including agricultural, seasonal and domestic workers, share-croppers and apprentices), but also to farmers, artisans, students, professional people, and self-employed workers.

7. In general, Social Security should be financed by the employers or by the State, or both, in accordance with the existing conditions in each country. In particular, it should not be based upon contributions made by wage or salary earning workers and employees.

Wherever such contributions are at present collected from workers and wage or salary earning employees, not only should there be no increase in those contributions, but every effort should be made to reduce them until they are completely abolished.

8. The administration of Social Security, with the exception of public health and other technical services, should be entrusted to the elected representatives of all those who are covered by the system.

The administration of the system for wage or salary earning workers and employees should be entrusted to the trade unions.

In all cases, the participation of the workers at all levels of administration of Social Security should be increased, especially through the election of their representatives to its highest bodies.

9. Social Security must be organised in such a way that all beneficiaries have the guarantee of rapid settlement of their claims.

10. Cash benefits should be calculated as a percentage of total actual wages, with the guarantee of a minimum to protect the lowest-paid categories of workers.

In all cases, the value of cash benefits should be

adjusted automatically to the movement of wages.

11. The right to social security benefits for migratory workers should suffer no interruption on account of movement from one country to the other, regardless of the length of stay in each one.

II. THE STANDARDS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The following standards are proposed as a basis of discussion. It is obvious, however, that achievements surpassing these standards which have been won in a certain number of countries must be maintained and improved in the course of the general struggle for the defence and improvement of Social Security.

1. **Sickness**
   - (a) Free medical care as long as required for all those covered and entitled to benefit.
   - (b) Cash benefits to be paid from the first day and throughout the entire period of incapacity for work not covered by payment of disability benefit.
   - (c) Cash benefits to be calculated on a day-rate basis as a percentage of wages, and to guarantee a reasonable standard of living.
   - (d) Cash benefits to be paid on the same conditions to a working mother when she has to care for a sick child.

2. **Accidents at Work and Industrial Diseases**
   - (a) Free medical care as long as required.
   - (b) Rehabilitation and industrial re-education with guarantee of re-employment.
   - (c) Cash benefits equal to 100 per cent. of wages, calculated on a day-rate basis during the period of medical treatment.
   - (d) In the case of permanent disability, a pension calculated on the basis of the real wage and according to the degree of physical and industrial disability.

3. **Maternity**
   - (a) Free pre- and post-natal examination.
   - (b) Free hospital service and confinement.
   - (c) Paid maternity leave, before and after birth, of a minimum of 14 weeks, with day-rate benefits calculated on the basis of the wage.
   - (d) Supply of layette and nursing mother's allowance.
   - (e) Paid rest-time during nursing period.

4. **Old Age and Disability**
   - (a) For normal retirement, the pensionable age should be 50-60 years for men, 45-55 for women, according to the nature of the work.
   - (b) Disability and old age pensions should be paid independently of other sources of income.
   - (c) The minimum basic rate for these pensions should be 50 per cent. of total wages earned. Disability pensions should represent a fixed percentage of total wages calculated in relation to the degree of disability.

5. **Total and Partial Unemployment**
   - (a) Unemployment benefit should amount to 75 per cent. of wages, to be paid from the first day and for the entire period of unemployment.
   - (b) Unemployment benefit may not be made conditional upon the acceptance of a job which does not correspond to the qualification of the person concerned.
   - (c) In the case of partial unemployment, benefit should amount to 75 per cent. of wage for hours worked below the legal or normal working time.
   - (d) Unemployment benefit should be paid to young people who have reached the legal working age and who have not been able to find work.

6. **Family Allowances**
   - (a) Family allowances should be paid to all workers, regardless of their situation, starting from the first and for every further child.
   - (b) Allowances should be paid for every person in the care of a worker without sufficient resources of his or her own to ensure a reasonable standard of living.
   - (c) The minimum rate for family allowance should be 10 per cent. of wages for every child.

7. **Survivors' and Death Benefit**
   - (a) An indemnity for funeral expenses should be paid.
   - (b) The widow should receive a pension as long as she has children under her care, or for life if she is 45 years or older, or if she has no other resources guaranteeing her a reasonable existence.
   - (c) Allowances for the children should be paid up to the age of 18 years, or 24 years, if they complete their education.

III. SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

1. The introduction of Social Security is an urgent demand of the peoples of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries.

In all of these countries it is possible and necessary to achieve immediately considerable advances in the sphere of social legislation in general, and of social security in particular.

2. Racial discrimination in the sphere of Social Security must be eliminated. Equal social advantages must be extended to all workers whatever their origin.

3. Social Security in the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries should include in particular the following measures:
   - (a) Free medical care for the workers at the place of work, creation of new hospitals, clinics and out-patients' services, an increase in the medical personnel and nursing staff.
   - (b) The protection of mother and child must be organised to include free medical services during pregnancy and confinement, the payment of nursing allowances and baby bonuses, paid maternity leave for working women and family allowances.
   - (c) The payment of cash allowances to all wage-earners including agricultural workers, in the case of sickness, accident, disablement, total or partial unemployment and old age.
   - (d) Complete compensation in the case of accidents at work and industrial diseases, including free medical care and social services aiming at occupational re-education, with guarantees for re-employment, the payment of cash allowances during medical treatment and of a reasonable pension in the case of permanent disability.

4. In the colonial countries no workers' contribution to the finacing of social security is admissible.

5. Programmes for immediate action formulating the demands of the workers should be designed on the basis of the conditions existing in each country or territory, ensuring the rapid satisfaction of the most urgent needs of the people while indicating definite stages for the establishment of complete systems of Social Security.

Mr. Churchill Makes War on the Children

by MAX MORRIS

CHURCHILL has declared war—on the children of Britain. In a series of draconian measures, the Tory Government has attacked the schools with a verve and gusto that can only come from politicians consumed with hatred of all popular progress.

Almost the first decision announced by the Churchill Government was a three months' building standstill which, among other things, stopped all new school construction. This was done although all responsible educational opinion had declared that further economies in school building must either lead to a reduction in school life or overcrowding to an extent that would deny educational benefit to the children.

That a reduction in school life was the Government's intention soon became clear. Inspired articles and statements appeared, obviously aimed to test public opinion. The Prime Minister, closely questioned in the House of Commons, refused to deny the story. It was plain that the attack was being prepared.

But they reckoned without the people. Rarely has there been such an outburst of popular indignation as greeted these 'rumours,' with the result that the Government's plans had to be changed. The attack continued but in a different and more concealed form.

The Minister of Education issued a circular asking for a reduction of 5% to be made by the Local Educational Authorities in their expenditure, while hypocritically suggesting that the main fabric of the education system be not impaired. It was quickly pointed out that such a cut, imposed on services such as school transport, repairs, and improvements to buildings, youth clubs, physical, social and recreational education could not be imposed without severely mauling the schools. Especially so, since the *Schoolmaster*, organ of the National Union of Teachers, had already stated that we were only separated by a small margin from a breakdown of our education system.

"Massacre of The Innocents"

THE result of the circular has been an unprecedented orgy of 'economies' made by Tory-dominated Local Education Authorities. All over the country the axe has been swung, hitting right and left at the children. So far from confining themselves to cutting the services the Minister mentioned, reactionary Authorities have extended the cuts into every aspect of school life. They have regarded the Minister's orders (as she well knew they would) as a green light to go ahead and mutilate a system won by generations of popular struggle.

The meanness of these cuts is astounding only to those who do not understand the Tory mind. To Churchill and his colleagues, education for the children of the workers is a luxury that Britain cannot afford. All they want are people who can read and write and count—literate machine minders for capitalism. Education, in the broadest sense, is to be reserved only for those who can afford to pay for it, the children of the well-to-do.

Thus reactionary Authorities have cut children's games and swimming lessons, stopped all improvements and repairs to buildings and playgrounds, refused new paint to brighten drab walls, denied new equipment to schools and technical colleges. They have made children of eight walk six miles to school and back in the countryside in wintry weather, and in one notorious case abolished school guides who help the children to cross busy streets.

Other Authorities have closed some nursery schools and classes, thus reducing the already meagre opportunities that exist in Britain in this section of the school system. Some have cut down school books and paper at a time when rapidly rising prices demand *increased* allowances. One county has actually cut half a day off the home tuition of specially handicapped children who cannot go to school!

The list could be continued indefinitely and reads like a catalogue of woes to be imposed on those least able to defend themselves. It is veritably a new massacre of the innocents.

Not content with the results of this offensive, new measures have been announced following Mr. Butler's wholesale economies in the social services. A new circular has been issued by the Minister of Education which drastically cuts school building. This new blow hits particularly at the secondary school children since it rigidly limits new buildings to certain categories. Existing secondary schools will be allowed to become overcrowded, and where there is no space for the children, rooms in the primary schools will be used if they are available.

New secondary schools, if and when built, will be on a reduced standard of accommodation. The building programme for 1952/3 will be of *the same size*

as previously planned but will now include 65 per cent of the projects carried over from the previous year, which were not even started! This is in effect, an enormous cut in the schools planned to be started this year.

In order to make sure that there will be no queues for secondary school accommodation Local Education Authorities are expected by the Minister to keep children in the primary school for an extra year. Though it is not clear when this provision is to apply it is to be expected that reactionary Authorities will begin to apply it at the first opportunity, with the consequence that the primary schools will become even more overcrowded than they are at present, and prospective new entrants will be excluded to ease the congestion.

Thus bowing to the public storm against the proposal to cut school life by a year, the Government is trying to get its way indirectly—both by giving some children one year less in the secondary school and by keeping other children out of the primary school for a year—'till there is room.'

The new circular, however, is not confined to these matters. It also lays down regulations deferring the building of teachers' training colleges, school clinics and playing fields, and it limits new technical training to several trades, specifically excluding art, commerce, printing and catering.

Guns Before School Books

AS though this were not enough, the country has been warned to expect further economies. What we have had are only the first instalments in the rake's progress to cultural suicide. In particular, an announcement has yet to be made on new regulations on grants for the entry of working class children into higher education. Already fees must be raised in all forms of evening classes to satisfy the Minister's demands, despite Britain's desperate shortage of skilled personnel.

Because of the rise in prices any new regulations which do not give big increases in grants to students can only impose cuts—for long the Tories have been complaining that too many children are getting higher education. It is quality, they say Britain needs, not quantity! But the quality they wish is that of the well-to-do, of those who can afford to pay out of their rising profits for their children's education.

All these economies, part of the strategy of the ruling class to hold down the workers' children, are being imposed to facilitate an ever-rising expenditure on armaments. The Minister of Education has repudiated the idea that education should even absorb a constant part of the national budget far less an increasing part. So education takes, in fact, every year a decreasing share of the national resources, while war takes an increasing one. While £1,500 millions will be spent on rearmament the Government insists on having its 5% pound of flesh—amounting to £14 millions. While war factories are rising, plans for school buildings remain on dusty shelves. While uniforms are made for soldiers, school clothing allowances are cut. While guns and planes pour out of the workshops, pens and books are denied the children.

That is the logic of an economy geared to war production on American orders. That is the road Churchill and his kind are travelling in their desperate preparations to destroy the world of Socialism.

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No comment required!

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Storm of Protests Grows

BUT the last word has yet to be spoken. Every teachers union, the Trades Union Congress, the Workers Educational Association, numerous trades councils and trade union branches, co-operative guilds, and people's organisations of all kinds have sounded the alarm. The National Union of Teachers has set up an Action Committee to mobilise public opinion against the cuts. In a series of open letters which have been distributed as leaflets to M.P.'s, councillors and parents in tens of thousands the Union calls on parents to "speak out now and make your feelings known to your local councillors, your Ratepayers' Association, your M.P., and the local newspaper. If you belong to a parents' association, make your views and those of other parents known. . . . If you do not belong to such a body why not join with other parents who feel as you do and see that those who sit in town hall and shire hall know what you think of people who would jeopardise your children's education."

All over the country the movement is rising and is bringing together the teachers' associations and the trade unions in common struggle on behalf of the schools. Public meetings have been held at Bromley, Chorlton, Hornsey, Surrey, London, Somerset, etc. and many others are planned. In the last few months, conferences in defence of children have been held in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow—all with wide trade union participation. Teachers' associations in Birmingham and Sheffield have sent deputations to their local councillors and M.P.'s. In Leeds, the Trades Council is calling a conference of trade union and other public bodies and in Sheffield the teachers and Workers Educational Association are organising joint action.

In Nottingham, the Co-operative movement has taken the initiative in setting up a council for educational advance and the teachers have decided to hold a protest meeting. The Buckinghamshire teachers have set up a watching committee, as has the Aylesbury teachers' association which will take action including approaches to M.P.'s. Leicester teachers plan to revive the local council for educational advance and the Essex county teachers have set up an action committee, while in Durham the teachers have decided on a public campaign with the W.E.A. The Stockton council for educational advance is being revived and the Middlesbrough Trades Council has protested.

In London, the shop stewards of Standard Telephones have protested and have taken a deputation to the House of Commons. St. Pancras Trades Council is calling a conference and other conferences and meetings are scheduled for Woolwich, Wandsworth and Lambeth. The Middlesex county teachers' association has set up a special vigilance committee and conferences are planned for Acton and Hornsey in conjunction with the Trades Councils. Surrey trade councils lobbied the county council meeting in a militant demonstration.

The protest has been widespread and it is growing. These are only samples of what may well become one of the biggest movements of the British people against reactionary social policies.

The movement is as yet only in its elementary stages. In many towns it has not yet begun. The organised working class, the trade unions, have given support, but only on a partial, scattered basis. In the factories the movement to defend the children's education has not yet made itself felt, except in one or two isolated cases. The campaign throughout the country is still only expressed through elementary forms of struggle.

But already it is clear that the people have been roused by what stands out as a naked class attack on their rights, and in a few short weeks they have reacted in a militant class way, which gives promise of the development of a powerful mass movement. They mean to force a change in the Government's policy before it is too late. For the children must be helped now. Their growth cannot be postponed, nor their education, happiness and future deferred.

The British people are more and more determined to halt the progress to national disaster. They will not allow their children to be thrown to the wolves to make an American holiday.

February 1952, *London.*

The look of a child!

Save Humanity's Mo

IT is now nearly seven years since the end of the war against Hitler. At that time, hundreds of millions of mothers and fathers hoped to be able to build the better life for their children for which the peoples had fought and suffered so much.

Throughout a great part of the world that hope has been shattered. Though there are countries in which the people can say for themselves and for their children that it is good to be alive, where science and technique are opening up unlimited perspectives to the young generation, there are also many other countries where parents can only offer their children a life filled with anxiety and poverty.

Even worse, hundreds of thousands of children are suffering an agonising death in Viet-Nam, Malaya and Korea. Life for children in these countries means fleeing from napalm bombs. In Greece, children are suffering and dying in concentration camps.

There hangs over all the children of the world the threat of an atomic war.

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THESE are the circumstances in which 96 eminent men and women from 38 countries, doctors, educators, sociologists and artists have appealed to all who are concerned with the fate of children to make their contribution towards the success of the International Conference in Defence of Children which is to take place in Vienna from April 12 to 16, 1952.

This appeal has met with a tremendous response everywhere throughout the world. Hundreds of millions of parents have decided to fight for the happiness of their children, and above all to protect them from the threat of a new world war.

Thus a great movement is developing in all countries, in which parents, doctors, psychologists, artists and representatives of the Churches are taking part.

Up to the present, 26 National Committees have been set up, and National Conferences for the defence of children have been held in 16 countries: France, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, Tunisia, Viet-Nam, Guatemala, Mongolia, Bulgaria and China.

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THERE are many countries in which the situation of children has continued to worsen as a result of war preparations. Even in a country such as France, there are frequent cases of eight people living in a single room. In 1952, the government will spend 1,400 thousand million francs on armaments, about 70 per cent of the budget, while it will only devote 5 per cent to education. In the schools, 30,000 class rooms do not comply with the most elementary conditions necessary for their functioning. Foul literature and films in which gangsters are glorified distil their poison into the minds of the youngsters and give them a taste for brutality, quarrelling and war.

A Children's Charter was adopted by the National Conference, and millions of people in France, including members of the trade unions, are fighting for its introduction.

In Italy, the Union of Italian Women has published a pamphlet *Save Our Children*, which reveals that there are in the country 15,000 children mutilated by war and 200,000 war orphans, while 2 million do not go to school and 100,000 teachers are unemployed. The number of homeless is 3 million, and 3,700,000 people have insufficient economic means. Among those who participated in the National Conference were the President of the Republic, Luigi Einaudi, the President of the Senate, Enrico de Nicola, the Italian Red Cross, the Medical Association, the Union of Italian Women, the Public Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. This Conference brought about a vast movement for the defence of the children.

PROGRAMME FOR CONFERENCE IN DE

THROUGHOUT the world the voice of doctors, professors, educationists, lawyers, parents—the voice of all to whom the fate and future of our children is a matter of concern—has been raised in denunciation of the continual worsening of the standard of life of children in the majority of countries and of the new, serious dangers, which, sharpening day by day, threaten their very existence.

This conference, through friendly, objective and official exchanges of views on studies, aims and achievements, will endeavour to discover what can be done to resolve the most urgent problems that confront our children.

. . . To protect the lives and health of children threatened by a new war. . . .

. . . To guarantee them the nourishment, living conditions and medical care essential for their proper development. . . .

. . . To create the possibility of every child having access to education and vocational training. . . .

Our Precious Capital—

THE CHILDREN!

Hundreds of thousands of people in Western Germany are living in shanties or barrack-like buildings, 186,000 in Hamburg alone. In Schleswig-Holstein, 400,000 people are considering emigrating this spring to the south as a protest against their poverty. The schools of the Ruhr lack 10,000 classrooms. The country is flooded with pornographic illustrated papers. Juvenile delinquency increased by 72 per cent during the first quarter of 1951, in Hamburg.

The situation is even more tragic in the colonial and dependent countries.

In Iran, infantile mortality is 70 per cent according to government statistics, and 85 per cent according to UNESCO. Children work 12 hours a day in textile factories, clothing workshops and other enterprises. Eighty-five per cent of the children do not go to school, and 95 per cent suffer from trachoma.

The circumstances are as terrible in Egypt, Tunisia and India and in other countries subjected to colonial exploitation.

But surely America, a country of such vaunted prosperity, must be a place where children are well cared for? An American mother who took part in the 2nd Session of the Preparatory Commission declared:

"In our country 85 per cent of this year's budget will go to military expenditure. Since 1950, the housing programme has fallen from 1,400,000 units to 850,000. The already reduced expenditure on education, health and housing has been further cut by 50 per cent. An order was issued in New York to make children wear identity plaques so that their bodies might be identified after a bombardment. The indignation of the parents was such that the authorities were forced to cancel the order. The same thing happened in Chicago and in some West Coast cities."

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HOW different is the life of children in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies!

In those countries a major part of the state budget is devoted to the material and cultural welfare of the people. Mothers and their children are surrounded by the constant solicitude of the State, which is supported by a huge network of people's organisations, particularly the trade unions. Wherever we look we are confronted with a tremendous and constant increase in the number of maternity homes, creches, kindergartens, schools, children's theatres, etc. Children's books and popular treatises on science are produced in hundreds of millions of copies giving the youth a taste for creative work and a love of peace.

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THE General Council of the W.F.T.U., held in Berlin from November 15 to 21, 1951, recommended that the National Trade Union Centres and the Trade Unions Internationals "assist in the preparation and holding of the International Conference in Defence of Children."

In the application of this decision, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat has asked all affiliated organisations *to pay special attention to the consequences of the exploitation of child labour, to labour legislation for children especially in the colonial and dependent countries as well as in those industries where this exploitation and the lack of protective legislation require continuous action by the trade unions. The Conference must obtain sufficiently extensive and objective information to serve as a basis for its work.*

No trade union organisation which really defends the workers' interests can, as a matter of fact, ignore these questions which constitute an integral part of the problems facing the international working class.

The defence of children is one of the cardinal points in the general defence of the living standards of the workers.

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AT the International Conference in Defence of Children, the representatives of all the nations will discuss what millions of people who desire peace will be able to do together to ensure for children throughout the world a serene and happy future.

This Conference will mark an important step forward in the fight of the peoples for peace and for the happiness of our children.

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHILDREN

. . . To protect children from the pernicious influence of immoral books, radio programmes and films, and to organise healthy pursuits for them. . . .

. . . To carry out an effective campaign against juvenile delinquency and to tackle decisively the problem of re-educating maladjusted and "lost" children. . . .

. . . To study methods of solving the problem of vagabond and abandoned children, especially in colonial and dependent countries. . . .

. . . To campaign against the exploitation of child labour and to urge improvement in legislation relating to the working conditions of adolescents. . . .

. . . To educate our children in the principles of democracy and friendship among all people. . . .

To us alone, through the united struggle of all who hold dear the life and welfare of our children, is granted the power to guarantee to our young ones a healthy, happy and fruitful life in a world at peace.

THE AMERICANS ARE USING BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS IN KOREA

UNITE TO PUT AN END TO THIS CRIME!

A Solemn Protest to the United Nations by the W.F.T.U.

The Americans, who are seeking to disrupt the armistice talks in Korea, have spread quantities of insects carrying the virus of plague and other epidemic diseases in the northern part of that country which they are ravaging.

The W.F.T.U. has sent the following telegram to the Chairman of the U.N. Security Council to protest against this atrocious and barbarous crime:

THE World Federation of Trade Unions strongly protests to the United Nations against methods used recently on a large scale by American troops in Korea, operating under the flag of the United Nations.

The All-China Federation of Labour informs the World Federation of Trade Unions that large quantities of plague and cholera virus have been spread in Korea, both at the front and behind the lines.

The announcement of such a crime appals every decent man and woman. The very thought of such a crime puts us back centuries and brings back to us the horror we felt when we first heard of the Nazi concentration camps.

It is inadmissible that the U.N. should permit the misuse of the most recent discoveries of medicine and science for outrages against entire civil populations.

The World Federation of Trade Unions advises the United Nations of this criminal deed, which is a violation of all treaties, and a contradiction of the most sacred principles of Human Rights which the United Nations is pledged to defend.

The World Federation of Trade Unions appeals to all decent people throughout the world, and calls upon them to take action with all their force and use all the means within their power to bring about the immediate cessation of this barbaric use of the latest scientific achievements, and to demand the ending of war in Korea, which is a pretext for experiments in the use of the most abominable weapons of destruction.

LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary.

The Korean Trade Unions Denounce the Crimes Committed by the American Imperialists

The World Federation of Trade Unions has received the following telegram from brother Nen Nun, President of the United Trade Unions of Korea:

THE American imperialists, regardless of human morality, have brutally violated all international rights by systematically using bacteriological weapons at the front and in the country. Last year these barbarians had already used asphyxiating gas in Korea, an act which caused a feeling of deep hatred in the hearts of all peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

Nevertheless, beginning on January 23 this year, they have again begun to bombard the front and the country with large quantities of various kinds of insects, mosquitoes, fleas, spiders, crickets and ticks contaminated with cholera, plague and other contagious diseases.

These crimes have been committed by barbarians from across the ocean, and are an incontestable proof of their criminal aim of mass destruction of the fighters of the Korean People's Army, the Chinese Volunteers and the peaceful population of Korea, with the purpose of spreading the Korean war.

However, the Korean people are firmly resolved to avenge the intervention by the American Army and to punish severely the barbarous crimes which this army continues to perpetrate.

We are unable to contain our just anger at the crimes committed by the barbarian American aggressors. We call upon all workers to unite around the W.F.T.U. for the application of strong measures to put an immediate end to these grave crimes and to see that they are punished severely on the basis of international law.

NEN NUN,
President of the United Trade Unions of Korea, Phenyang, Korea. *March* 6, 1952.

The Struggle of the Workers Inside Malaya's Police State

By

HONG BEE LIM

(Editor "Malayan Monitor")

WHEN British imperialism re-occupied Malaya at the end of 1945, it aimed to restore the country to its pre-war colonial status, as a strategic military base, a source of raw materials, especially tin and rubber, and a huge source of dollars and profits. But to achieve these aims, it had to contend with a newly awakened people who were determined not to go back to 1939. In the face of this challenge, the imperialists had only one solution—repression.

In every part of the country, the demand for independence, rice, clothing, and freedom of organisation was met with rifle butts, and in many cases with bullets.

The workers from both factories and plantations formed the overwhelming majority of the patriotic elements and bore the brunt of the imperialist attacks.

It was in this period of militant action that the biggest confederation of workers in the history of Malaya was formed—the General Labour Union of All Nationalities, later known as the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions.

The struggle of the workers gained the support of the peasants, fishermen, and even white-collared workers in government and British Army establishments. The Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions achieved a membership of over 400,000. The British military administration was compelled to accept its representatives in all negotiations on trade disputes despite the fact that the P.M.F.T.U. was denied recognition by the colonial law. The British authorities were also compelled to accept "in principle" the demand of the workers for the right of organisation, although it was known even at that time that the British authorities had other ideas about what a "legally constituted" trade union should be.

These limited concessions from the colonial authorities were forced out of them by the unrelenting struggle of the workers in a series of sustained and co-ordinated actions spreading throughout the country.

Rule of the Gun and Concentration Camps

FOR nearly two years (October 1945 to July 1947), the British colonial authorities directed their efforts towards attempts to confuse the workers and to split their ranks by manoeuvre and forcible suppression.

When they failed, they threw all pretence of "peaceful rehabilitation" to the winds. In June 1948, the British government forcibly suppressed all political parties that stood for independence and utilised armed force to suppress the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions. The people fought back with arms in defence of their freedom and livelihood.

The British government soon extended its action into open war and clamped down a police-state regime. Henceforth, any meeting of five persons could be broken up with force by the police, and only a political party or trade union sponsored by the colonial authorities could function legally. Even the extremely limited scope for free speech and publication which hitherto existed could now only be exercised at the price of deportation, imprisonment, or detention in the concentration camp.

The details of the so-called "Emergency Regulations" and the long record of violation of human rights would fill several volumes. The Government in Britain has not attempted to deny the existence of its police state in Malaya. It merely seeks to justify the crimes against the Malayan people by labelling every victim a "bandit" or a "terrorist." The local population, however, know the truth, and even some who, in the past, were favourably inclined towards the "democratic order" of British-controlled Malaya are now openly saying that they have not known anything like it since the days of the Japanese fascist occupation.

The British colonial authorities introduced the "Briggs Plan" in

1950. The essence of this plan is the forcible removal of workers and peasants to barbed-wire "re-settlement areas," not in tens or hundreds, but in terms of entire villages and even towns. This plan is cynically and deceitfully advertised by the British authorities as a "rehabilitation" and "re-settlement" plan. In fact, it is a punitive and cruel measure to turn a total of 900,000 workers and peasants in the rural areas into forced labour corps under army and police supervision.

For a time, the British government in London denied that these so-called "re-settlement camps" were concentration camps. Some of their spokesmen even dared to tell the press of the utopia-like conditions of work, play and "cultural" activities prevailing in these camps. The truth has now trickled out, and the smooth hypocrisy of the British authorities changed to outraged anger when the Red Cross Society of China requested permission to investigate the treatment of Chinese inmates in the camps in March, 1951.

Tactics of Colonial Office-sponsored Trade Unions

THE suppression of the organised workers within the P.M.F.T.U., who comprised 91% of the total union membership, was followed by the establishment of government-sponsored "yellow" unions. So-called "trade union advisers" were imported into the country as far back as 1945. Their object was to smash the militant unions and to set up in their place "non-political," non-strike unions which would abandon the fight for better conditions and for national independence.

The "trade union advisers" sent to do the job work in close co-ordination with the British colonial administration, although when they came, they protested that they were not officials of the Colonial Office in London, but merely emissaries of Transport House. No practical differentiation exists, however, since the Colonial Office consulted Transport House on all matters concerning trade unionism in the colonies.

This poor attempt to fool the Malayan workers failed. In January 1950, the government-sponsored unions claimed a membership of only 70,000, as against the then illegal P.M.F.T.U. membership of 300,000. By the end of that year, even the members of the yellow unions had seen through the government deception, so much so that the government itself admitted that their total membership dropped to a little over 40,000.

The colonial authorities, however, tried to present a facade of success by raising a crop of mushroom trade unions, so that, on paper at least, they could tell the public that 169 trade unions were now in existence. Yet even the government officials could not conceal the fact that whilst the number of mushroom unions went up, the total membership went down.

As the full significance of the colonial government's sponsorship of trade unions became more clearly understood by the workers, a more persistent struggle developed within the ranks of the legal unions and their treacherous leaders began to be exposed.

Workers Study the Bosses' Profits

THE first sustained resistance from among the legal unions began with the outbreak of the Korean war. A war boom in rubber and tin followed and prices reached a peak never equalled before. The British rubber growers and tin mine owners drove the workers harder than ever. They created an artificial scarcity, and sent the prices of necessities rocketing. Meanwhile, profits made by the bosses reached fantastic proportions. The following typical examples speak for themselves:

Rubber Profits	1949/50	1950/51	% of 1949
Muar River Rubber	£ 19,927	£91,341	458
Kepong Rubber Estates ...	£125,583	£577,313	460
Lanadron Rubber Estates ...	£ 77,375	£333,261	430
United Sua Bentong	£256,000	£1,436,000	560
Sogoman Rubber	£ 69,600	£251,960	362
Tin, Copper, Base metal Profits	**1949/50**	**1950/51**	**% of 1949**
Total profits of 22 companies	£7,303,000	£9,116,000	125

Living huts in a typical "resettlement" area, into which whole villages have been forcibly moved and required to live behind barbed-wire entanglements.

With huge profits rolling in, the employers took advantage of the government ban on strikes to enforce the wage-rate fixed by the Wages Commission in July 1947. What this means to the workers can be seen from the following:

	Wages	Cost of Living Index (based on 16 staple items from Federation of Malaya official prices)
1939	100	100
1949	200	562
1950/51	200 (225 if present promise materialises)	600 (estimate on present prices)

With the crisis in Egypt and the prospects of another boost to the war boom, British big business in Malaya is already licking its chops in pleasurable anticipation.

Workers Take Action

BUT the colonialist policy of squeezing blood and sweat out of the workers is paying a different kind of dividend. The age of quiet robbery and unruffled coupon-clipping has passed, and the workers are hitting back. During the past four months, increased dissatisfaction among the workers has reached the point of desperation, and despite vicious government suppression, the rumble of discontent is spreading throughout the country. Since the beginning of 1951, an increasing number of workers have gone on "unofficial strike" in factories and rubber plantations. Where they were not permitted to strike, they walked out. The latter action was particularly noticeable in the plantations, causing government and business officials to raise the false scare of a "manpower shortage."

Perhaps the most significant feature of the present phase is the fact that all the major government-sponsored unions are involved, and even members of most docile unions have presented either strike ultimatums or demands in terms strong enough to have been feared "subversive" a year ago.

In the middle of 1951, a comprehensive demand was presented by members of the Army Civil Service Union (union of Malayan employees in British Army establishments in Malaya). The union failed to secure redress at the first attempt, but persisted in even stronger terms coupled with an ultimatum:

> *"The Union has made several representations for better wages, increased cost of living allowances, medical facilities, provident fund, old age pensions and security of employment."*
>
> (*Straits Times*, June 22, 1951.)

The primitively harsh conditions of working are apparent from the above demands—no medical facilities, no old age pensions, no security of employment. Yet, Transport House officials in London have been boasting of the tremendous progress they have been making in

On the pretext that workers must be "protected" from guerrilla attacks, tin mine workers are virtually turned into forced labour corps under army and police supervision.

ABOVE: **Workers being escorted to work by armed constables.**

RIGHT: **From a vantage point with steel plating a constable "protects" the workers from attacks from the hills.**

"putting trade unionism on its feet" in Malaya.

In July, 1951, 12,000 workers of the government and municipal establishments in Singapore demanded one day a month off, with full pay. Such an elementary demand, which would have been more appropriate in the 1800's, again shows up the fruits of the colonial government's policy of keeping down the workers. It is also proof of the pressure exerted by the rank and file on their reactionary leadership.

Close on the heels of the above demands came the ultimatum presented by the Singapore Lighter-workers' Union in August. The union called for "action" by the ranks if their demands were not met.

In September, 1951, the Mining Section of the Federation of Clerical and Administrative Staff Union demanded a wage increase to meet the rising cost of living. The Malayan Mining Employers' Association tried to fob off the demands of the workers with an offer of "bonus shares." This was rejected by the Union as "only a name" and "not enough to meet the increase in the price of firewood. While the tin industry is enjoying such a boom, the clerical workers expect to share this prosperity" (*Straits Times,* September 25, 1951).

A revelation of working conditions in Malaya is contained in the demands of the workers in the Teng San Brickworks, Singapore:

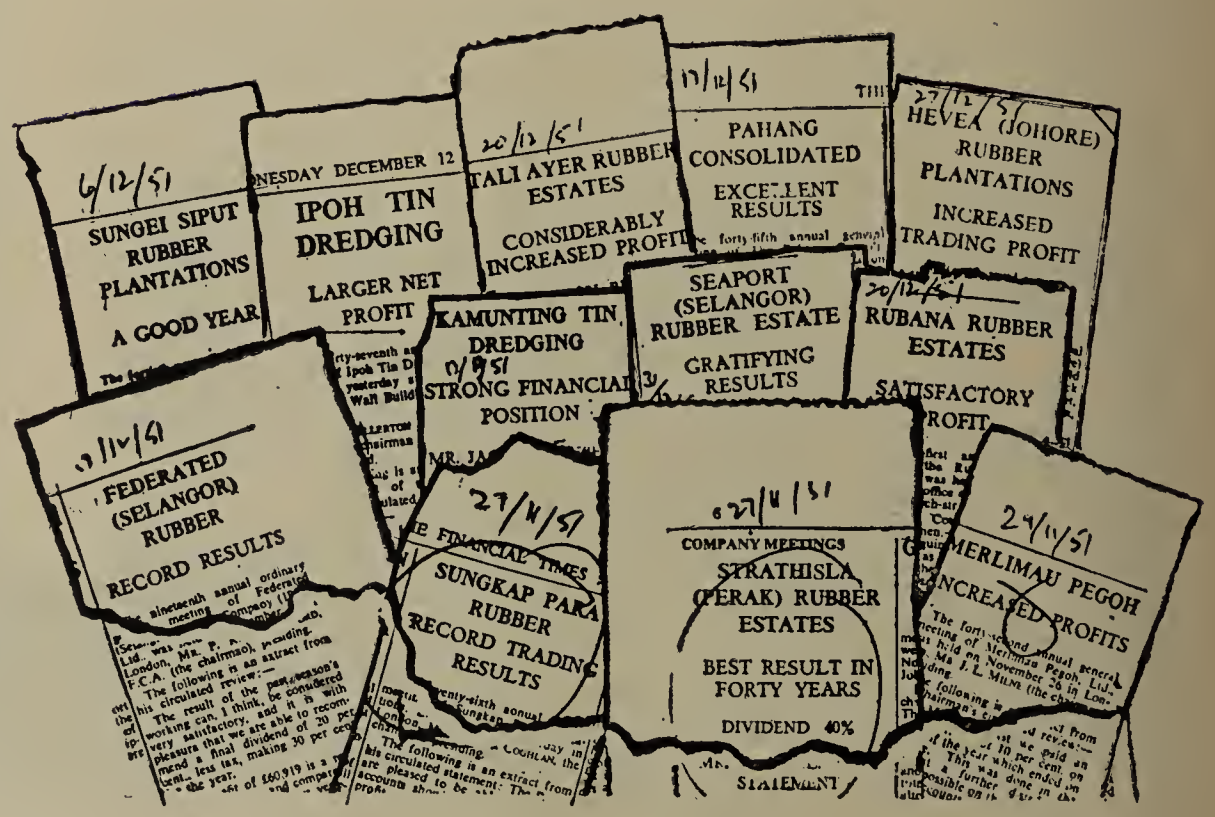
> "Thirty per cent. increase; 8-hour day; one day off a week with pay; double pay for overtime; free medical attention; medical leave with pay; 12 days holiday a year with pay; security of employment."

On top of such inhuman conditions of work as exist, the government and its big employer allies have imposed yet another burden on the workers—taxation.

But the workers of Malaya are fighting the taxation issue as well. The anger of the ranks has compelled the official of a docile union to say: "*Tax increase is an attempt to add more troubles to the miserable living conditions of the workers*" (*Straits Times*, August 18, 1951). Even the government-backed Singapore Trade Union Congress was compelled to echo the feelings of the rank and file and to issue a statement saying: "*Any further increase in fees and taxation would mean the collapse of the economic stability of the workers*" (*Straits Times,* August 18, 1951). The use of the euphemism, "economic stability of the workers," is almost pardonable in the circumstances.

Transport workers are also to the fore in the present fight against their conditions of work. In October, 1951, the Malayan Railway Traffic Operating Union started a "go slow" movement, following the refusal of the government to grant its members a wage increase. On October 18th, the Malayan Federation government threatened the union with severe action, adding that the "go slow" action was hindering the "anti-Red drive."

A tin mine in Malaya.



A contrast in living accommodation for Malayans and Europeans in Malaya. The Malayan village of Kampong and the Raffles Hotel in Singapore.

From the above summary of the activities of the unions during the past four months, it is clear that more and more workers of all categories are breaking through the iron cordon which has bound them for so long.

Workers Win Right to Strike, Reject I.C.F.T.U.

THE biggest single admission by the colonial government of its failure to quieten the workers is, however, its decision to lift the three-year-old ban on strikes. Since June 1948, the British colonial authorities in Malaya have suppressed all strikes or threat of strike with imprisonment or deportation. Now, after a long and sustained struggle of the rank and file workers, both in the cities and in the plantations, the government is forced to retreat. In the conditions prevailing in Malaya today this is a big victory for the workers. It is also a warning to the British colonial authorities that the workers of Malaya are not to be intimidated.

As a consequence, there have been widespread strikes on the rubber estates. However, when the rubber workers took the government at their word and went on strike, troops and armed police were immediately rushed to the spot and the movement violently suppressed.

The failure of the British colonial trade union "policy" can also be seen from the summary way in which the workers in Malaya have rejected the overtures of the U.S.-British imperialist sponsored I.C.F.T.U. For all the material facilities which the British colonial authorities offered them for setting up a Malayan nucleus in their proposed S.E. Asian block of "free" trade unions, the result has been one of ignominious defeat. Workers of Malaya are rapidly learning from their daily experiences and struggle, as well as from the experiences and struggle of their brothers in the liberated countries in Europe and Asia, that imperialist-sponsored "trade unions" are nothing but streamlined machinery for deceiving and exploiting the workers.

The tremendous fall in the number of pro-I.C.F.T.U. elements

during the past twelve months is one proof of the increasing realisation and vigilance of the Malayan workers. The growing support—clandestine though it still has to be at present—for the W.F.T.U. is another, and even more decisive proof of the Malayan workers' solid stand with genuine and democratic trade unionism throughout the world. The British colonial authorities in Malaya have repeatedly barred representatives of the W.F.T.U. from entering Malaya, and have to this day maintained their ban on affiliation with the W.F.T.U. But despite all their efforts affiliation remains an unalterable fact. The colonial authorities can neither ban nor deport this solidarity.

Despite the use of armed force, the British colonial authorities have failed to crush the Malayan workers. They have failed because at no time did they succeed in securing the co-operation of the local population, least of all from the workers, whether organised in illegal or in legal unions. Above all, they failed because the workers and the people realise that the Liberation movement and the Malayan National Liberation Army are fighting the just cause of ending imperialist domination and exploitation.

Workers Refuse to be Imperialist Cannon-Fodder

IN vain have the British colonial authorities tried to recruit the people and the legal trade unions to contribute manpower and material aid for the war against the Liberation movement. They pleaded and threatened. They punished entire villages collectively, as in Hinamkang, Pusing, Sungei Siput and Jenderam (where the whole village was wiped out and the inhabitants, mainly women, children and old men, driven to concentration camps). They even resorted to foul slander and scare stories of "Russian submarines" entering Malayan waters, and of "Communist invasion" from China in a desperate effort to get recruits to fight for them. The workers and people of Malaya have given them a crushing rebuff that has stung them to fury.

The colonial authorities have now dropped all pretence of voluntary recruitment, and have resorted to forcible recruitment of all men between the ages of 22 and 40. Workers in the factories and in the plantations are not exempt, and are put on the footing of part-time guards. Others are posted with the Special Constabulary and the Auxiliary Police. Speaking at the Legislative Council meeting in Singapore on September 20, the British Secretary for Defence in Malaya revealed that the number of police stations and outposts had been increased from 379 in 1948 to 853 in 1951. "In addition, there are 380,000 special constables and a much larger number of Auxiliary policemen and Kampong (i.e. village) guards."

Bearing in mind that Malaya (with the principal naval and bomber base of Singapore) is the biggest military base held by the British imperialists east of Suez, and that the country has been hemmed in on four sides since 1948, one can appreciate the staunchness of the Malayan Liberation fighters, workers and the general population in hitting back for nearly 3½ years. Far from wilting, the Liberation Army has increased its attacks to over 800 a month (August 1951). The previous highest monthly total was 568 in October 1950.

Imperialists Try New "Independence" Dodge

REALISING that the people of Malaya would not support them in any way, the British colonial authorities have now resorted to the time-worn expedient of setting up a puppet "independence" party. The thinly-disguised "Independence for Malaya Party" was launched on September 12, 1951. Under the slogan of "independence within ten years," it has indicated its intention of struggling for this improbable goal under the "benevolent" guidance of the imperialist government!

There is, however, no danger of the Malayan people being fooled by this device. They know the principals in this farce for what they are worth—men whose hands are worn to the bone, not by hard work, but by long and constant rubbing in obeisance to the imperialist masters. Workers in the plantations and the mines in particular, recognise with amusement that of the twelve organising committee members of the party allegedly setting out to sweat and shed blood for their freedom and higher living standards, no less than ten are plantation and tin mine owners, landlords, and bankers, and one a declared (and unabashed) millionaire.

U.S. Government wants Malaya lined up for War

THE many-sided character of the workers' struggle is becoming more intense. The desperate drive of the American imperialists to increase their stockpile of Malaya's raw materials in preparation for war, and their pressure on imperialist Britain to include the military, naval and air bases in Malaya among the chain of bases for future use by a Pacific Pact organisation, have increased in recent months. Following the visit of an American military mission, headed by John F. Melbey, in August 1950, Thomas Dewey called at Malaya on a "study tour" in July 1951. Among the economic and military data which he collected was a volume containing the names and pledges of some local business and other elements on whom the U.S. government is recommended to depend when "closer co-ordination" begins.

The increasing encroachment of the American imperialists is, however, causing widespread alarm among even the moderate elements, who rightly fear that "closer co-ordination" could only mean tighter grip on the materials marked out for American stockpiling, and a suffocation of their local market. This fear was reflected immediately after the results of the general election in Britain were known, when the price of tin fell by $25 (Straits) a ton (October 26 quotation) in anticipation of a closer co-ordination between the Conservative government and the U.S. government.

Workers' Answer: Struggle for Peace and Independence

DESPITE a government ban on the Peace campaign, people in all walks of life are expressing opposition to the remilitarisation of Japan, which they see as an integral part of the U.S. imperialist drive to war. On this question, the people of Malaya need no second thoughts, for they suffered and fought for three and a half years to rid the country of the Japanese militarist invaders. Before that, between 1931 and 1941, the workers of Malaya were in the vanguard of the boycott and strike movement in protest against the Japanese invasion of China.

Towards the U.S.S.R. and China there exists a deep feeling among people in all walks of life of respect and trust, and a regard for the people of these countries as the living symbol of peace, and as the champions of oppressed nations. This feeling is not confined to those who understand the character of these states. It exists even among those whose only knowledge is based entirely on the contrasting economic and political results of British and American penetration on the one hand, and the peaceful and mutually beneficial trade policy of the Soviet Union and China with Malaya. When the British colonial authorities accepted American pressure to curtail Malaya's trade with the U.S.S.R. and China, a wave of protest was heard among workers and businessmen alike. Even the *Straits Times*, organ of British big business in Singapore, had to bow down before public opinion, and to declare editorially:

> *"There is no reason why Malaya should refuse to sell rubber to Russia, as long as the amount is controlled. And there is every reason why Washington should be told, bluntly and forcibly, that British and Malayan export policy is not going to be directed from Capitol Hill or the Pentagon."*
>
> (August 23, 1951).

From a different standpoint, the workers of Malaya have resolved to work and struggle for peace and not for war.

Struggle for peace, independence and prosperity is today a banned slogan in the police state of Malaya, but the workers are already working according to that formula, and will continue to do so.

W.F.T.U. Strongly Protests Against Death Sentence on Greek Democrats

The World Federation of Trade Unions draws the attention of all workers and all democrats throughout the world to the so-called trials taking place in Greece before Military Tribunals and Courts Martial, which, within a few weeks, ended in the following sentences:

K. Halkias and A. Kitsos, sentenced to death;

George Bakas, sentenced to death;

P. Bakas, life imprisonment;

C. Kalkias and A. Ekenomou, 12 years' imprisonment;

A. Droubakis, 20 years' imprisonment;

N. Beloyannis and seven other democrats, sentenced to death.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has sent the following cable to the Secretary General of the United Nations:

> *Contrary to assurances given to Sixth Session U.N. General Assembly, lives of Nikos Beloyannis and his democratic Greek comrades again threatened by Military Tribunal stop World Federation of Trade Unions expresses views of workers of world in protesting vigorously and demanding general amnesty for brave defenders of democratic liberties and end to regime of Military Tribunals.*
>
> **Louis Saillant,**
> General Secretary.

The World Federation of Trade Unions appeals to all workers and all democrats to protest vigorously against the death sentences passed on Greek democrats and to prevent the new crime which is being prepared, to force general amnesty and respect for trade union rights in Greece.

Vienna, March 6, 1952.

Firemen Fight For Higher Wages: An Example of United Action

DURING October and November, 1951, Britain's firemen, employed in Local Authority Fire Brigades, conducted nation-wide demonstrations to support their claim for pay-parity with the police. For over 50 years they had been on terms of pay equality and new men had been recruited on the direct understanding that their pay would be not less than that of the police. In December 1949, however, the Labour Government's wage-freeze policy became the excuse for the Industrial Court to refuse to the firemen a wage increase which had already been granted to the police.

In April, 1951, the Fire Brigades' Union tried to reduce the gap by applying for a 15 shilling per week raise to meet the increased cost of living, but the Local Authorities granted only half the claim. The firemen's discontent arising from these rebuffs reached a breaking point at the end of August, 1951, when the police were awarded a further increase of 27 shillings per week.

This police wage increase, out of all proportion to those granted to other workers, is for obvious political reasons. Yet, it reflected only the increased cost of living and, therefore, made more apparent the real reduction in the living standards of firemen whose pay had dropped by 27% in 18 months in comparison with the police.

In another effort to counter this trend, a wage claim of 35 shillings per week was submitted early in October, 1951. This represented the difference between Police and Fire Service pay. In the light of recent experience, the Union held out little hope of a reasonable settlement and advised against reference to the Industrial Court whose previous decision had been prejudiced.

Following this, a campaign to support the wage claim developed. On the initiative of the rank and file a meeting of delegates from London and nearby counties was held on October 12, 1951. They unanimously agreed to conduct a 48-hour boycott on October 16 and 17, of routine duties such as cleaning and polishing of fire stations and appliances, drills and attendance at lectures, but assuring that all fire and emergency calls would be answered as usual, thus protecting the full interests of the people. The decision was taken to "assist our leaders in their efforts to obtain a satisfactory settlement." This reflected the confidence in and unity with their leaders too often absent in many unions when the members take militant action.

They elected an action committee and made their decision known to firemen throughout the country. The Press gave their intended action wide publicity. An attempt was made by Sir Richard Coppock, Chairman of the London County Council Fire Brigade Committee, to get the leaders to warn off the men and repudiate their decisions.

His threat that the Fire Brigades' Union might suffer the same fate as the short-lived Police Union following its strike of 1919 reveals his position on the fight of British workers to defend their living standards. His dual role of Union leader (General Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives) and employers' spokesman apparently creates no mental conflict in his mind. His

During the 48-hour boycott of routine duties Manchester firemen, refused right of entry to their normal sleeping quarters, sleep by their engines ready to answer fire-calls.

threat was, of course, abortive.

With virtually one hundred per cent support in London, the demonstration quickly spread to all the main cities and industrial areas of Britain, gaining wide support from the workers and people. Because of the suddenness of the demonstration, its "unofficial" character and the General Election taking place, only limited attempts were made to break it.

Subsequently, a special delegate conference on November 12, 1951, was informed that the final offer of the employers was 15 shillings per week. It was flatly rejected. Another 48-hours' demonstration in support of the 35 shillings per week was unanimously voted for the following Monday.

The new Tory Government immediately undertook a programme of intimidation and repression. The Home Secretary, Sir Maxwell Fyfe, said that the demonstration would constitute a serious breach of Fire Service Regulations. This was an encouragement to local authorities to take repressive measures.

The Union also warned its members of the confidential instructions issued by the employers to suspend from duty and eject demonstrators from their stations with the aid of the police. The day before the demonstration, Arthur Greenwood, Labour M.P., tried unsuccessfully to get the Home Secretary to prevent the use of the police.

Following the Union ban on routine duties, the police were called to eject firemen from their stations, particularly at places where some of the men had refused to participate in the action and where a show of force was calculated to intimidate the remainder. The effect, however, was to strengthen the unity and determination of the firemen and, in many instances, the men who had initially refused now joined the demonstration.

In Manchester, the people were treated to the amazing spectacle of demonstrating firemen riding motor cycles and cycles to fires and those who had managed to ride the fire engine to the fire being compelled to walk back to their stations.

Throughout the country only 6 small brigades out of 145 failed to take part—an action in trade union solidarity very different from the more normal one of thousands of workers in the same factory acting in unity. These small groups of men, isolated from each other by many miles, gloriously upheld the traditions of British trade unionism. These demonstrations have no precedent in the history of the Fire Service. Of the sixteen thousand men who took part nearly two-thirds had been recruited from the armed forces within the past five years and had no previous trade union or industrial experience.

The solid ranks of hundreds of London firemen, marching through Euston Road, to back their demand for equal pay with the police.

The use of police resulted in a wave of protest from the rank and file of the Labour movement. Immediately, hundreds of telegrams protesting against police interference were sent to the Government from factories, building sites and trade union branches. The Yorkshire Area of the National Union of Mineworkers demanded T.U.C. intervention, as did the Fire Brigades' Union itself.

Failing to appreciate the mood of the labour movement, the employers, led by the reactionary Tory councils, introduced the most savage reprisals against the firemen. Thousands were fined, others were demoted in rank and some were sacked. The Labour-controlled councils of London and Staffordshire also took part in this disgraceful victimisation of trade unionists.

Resolutions and letters of support flooded the Union offices of the firemen by the thousand from practically every section of the labour movement, including trade union branches and national executives, trades councils, local labour parties, co-operative organisations, women and youth organisations and organisations outside the labour movement. Public meetings in large centres throughout the country condemned the victimisation of the firemen.

This resulted in the T.U.C. requesting the government to intervene to end the victimisation, and the National Executive of the Labour Party instructing Labour Councillors throughout the country to oppose penalising the firemen for taking part in the demonstration. The Tory Councils now began to retreat, sacked men were re-instated, decisions not to collect fines or not to proceed with charges were made by one Council after another. The two or three Councils that are still obdurate will be compelled to bow to a sustained campaign by the Union.

The fight of the firemen has clearly exposed the real attitude of the British Tory Government to trade unions prepared to defend the

interests of their members by militant action, and makes clear the kind of "co-operation" that can be expected from the acceptance of the plea of the T.U.C. General Council to co-operate with the Tory Government.

It has also helped to destroy the illusion about the alleged difference between so-called "official" and "unofficial" action. Some workers have been persuaded in the past to condemn "unofficial" action as undisciplined and harmful to the real interests of trade unionism. What they have in fact condemned is militant action as a form of struggle. The firemen's fight has shown that to the enemies of trade unionism all militant action is anathema, "official" action organised by a Union on a national basis demanding even more extensive and drastic methods to secure its defeat.

Finally, and most important of all, the firemen's struggle has destroyed any illusion of Tory tolerance towards the trade unions, and has demonstrated that trade union interests can best be defended by a united Labour Movement.

A LONDON FIREMAN.

West German Militants Strongly Oppose Rearmament

THE press is itself forced to acknowledge the firm opposition of the German people to rearmament.

Within the trade unions, as a result of the workers' pressure, the opposition of militants of all opinions to rearmament and the policy of Fette (president of the Western German Trade Union Federation—D.G.B.) is being strengthened. At Dusseldorf, for example, 400 D.G.B. militants held a secret meeting and, after a long discussion, went on record against the policy of the so-called "contribution to defence" of Fette, Vom Hoff and other leaders of the trade union centre. They declared themselves against the opposition of the D.G.B. leadership to public discussion in the factories. One of the most outstanding members of the opposition was Woenner, leader of the Bavarian trade unions, totalling 900,000 members.

The statement issued after the meeting asks the political parties to insist that the people themselves be consulted and that the people decide the question of rearmament.

Another secret meeting in Frankfurt-on-Main on March 3 gave rise to the same opposition within its ranks.

K. HERMANN.

Algerian Railwaymen Refuse to Submit

THE year 1951 in Algeria was very rich in events of great interest to our working class. Big collective actions took place in the banks, hospitals, mines, in teaching and among the dockers, who were the first to express their international solidarity and their determination to defend peace by refusing to load ships carrying supplies for the war in Viet-Nam.

Our railwaymen have also demonstrated continuously and will continue to act to win their legitimate demands and to defend the rights and advantages they have already gained.

Since the abandonment of the policy established in France after the liberation in 1945, the railwaymen have again become the target of the workers' enemies, the imperialist trusts. These trusts, on the pretext of a deliberate deficit on the railways—an inescapable consequence of their policy—are waging a campaign of systematic disparagement of the railwaymen in order to divert the discontent of the mass of the workers and of wider and wider sections of the middle and professional classes, and also to strike a blow against a group of workers whose influence and strength they fear.

The conditions of the railwaymen are constantly deteriorating. Their standard of living, like that of all other workers, is still only half its pre-war level, despite concessions gained by their action. Advantages which they believed could not be questioned, rights dearly acquired, are daily threatened and every sort of measure is being used to lower their living conditions still further.

For more than three years no new personnel have been employed. Staff reductions have been made to such a degree that the safety both of staff and travellers is seriously jeopardised. Several fatal accidents have already occurred, for which the management has cynically blamed the victims themselves.

A great many jobs have, for many years, been held by auxiliaries. This is clear proof of the intention of the country's masters to continue exploiting the corporation's agents at reduced wages.

On those lines said to be running at a loss many stations have been closed. This is a measure which not only has no effect on the "deficit," but, on the contrary, is prejudicial to the administration of the network. This has become so evident that they are going to reopen these stations, but in condi-

tions which are the clearest indication of the reactionary spirit behind the decision.

It will not be the railwaymen who will ensure service at these stations but outsiders who will be permitted to carry out other functions, such as ticket distribution, or looking after premises, as extra work. It goes without saying that the remuneration would be determined on the basis of a very limited time fixed for these jobs. Pensioners are given preference because their difficulties in making ends meet on their inadequate pensions are well known, due to the high cost of living. They will also be able to hold out to them the lure of living quarters with a little garden and the possibility of petty commercial transactions.

This method of running our railway lines is planned for the whole network and our organisation has warned all railwaymen of the threat it constitutes to the maintenance of their living conditions. We have called on the representatives of other trade unions for joint action with us to defeat these plans and to force respect for our regulations. These formally stipulate the obligation to ensure that all railway services are carried out by appropriate personnel who fulfil clearly defined conditions.

Algerian railwaymen, of whom the majority are organised in the C.G.T. unions of our Algerian Centre, are perfectly aware that these reactionary measures are the result of the policy of governments chained to the U.S. trusts. To safeguard their rights already attained, to secure respect for their Collective Agreement, to protect the dangerously threatened railroad, and taking into consideration their demands for the readjustment of their wages, the sliding scale, the normal recruitment of employees, the nomination of auxiliaries, etc., the Algerian railwaymen who, on February 20, struck for 24 hours with complete unity are organising themselves more and more solidly. They are helping workers in other industries everywhere to strengthen the working class movement throughout the country. By their united action, they will succeed in breaking through all the difficulties imposed on them and going forward towards a better life, in happiness and in peace.

X. ROCCHISANI.

U.S. Maritime Workers Win Victory, but Battle Continues

THE Marine Cooks & Stewards Union, Independent, demonstrated twice in the past two months that only economic action can move the employers and the Truman anti-union Wage Stabilization Board into granting the demands of the militant unions.

On January 19, the Union won its demand for the 40-hour week at sea after refusing to sign on any ships after January 21. This demand and other gains won from the shipowners had been submitted to the government Wage Stabilization Board on September 19, but the Board took no action until the work stoppage threat.

In December the Union refused to sign on any ship until the shipowners paid its wage increase demand of 6.2%. After four days, the shipowners started paying off and the ships sailed.

Immediately after the 40-hour week at sea was won, the Attorney-General's office announced that it had subpoenas out for M.C.S. President Hugh Bryson, Secretary-Treasurer Eddie Tangen and San Francisco Port Agent Nathan Jacobson for Federal Grand Jury hearings to investigate "waterfront security."

"These Washington politicians will try to get back at us for spoiling their game, that's for sure," Tangen said. "This Union, its officials and members can expect to be smeared by every committee and every so-called 'investigation' the Trumanites can dream up."

M.C.S. President Hugh Bryson immediately announced that the Union's General Council had recommended immediate negotiations for further gains, including additional monthly pay hikes ranging from $10 to $40 a month for various classifications.

Demands will include raising chief steward's pay on freighters from $330.71 to $367.50 a month; chief cook's from $299.49 to $372.50 and second cook and baker from $273.03 to $295.00, and that messmen and the assistant-cook be raised $15 a month.

M.C.S. research director Paul Pinsky pointed out that since 1945 base wages of M.C.S. members have increased from $87 a month to $226.46 and the work week reduced from 56-63 to 40 hours.

The General Council also recommended continued affiliation to the World Federation of Trade Unions, pointing out the importance of world-wide labor unity and the value of such affiliation if any attempt was made to sail any ships with scabs aboard instead of M.C.S. members.

At the same time, M.C.S. members are leading the fight at home for unity in the maritime industry and throughout the land.

"The only way to really guarantee peace is to have labor unity. The only way to stop the anti-labor government drive against unions is to have labor unity. The only way to stop un-American discrimination and witch-hunting is to have labor unity," President Hugh Bryson declared in opening the recent General Council meeting.

"We are fighting to make our Union the rule rather than the exception, and we know that what's good for our Union is good for our country. The fight for unity must go on and on until we, the workers, have complete democracy and security in our country and the world. This is the program of M.C.S. Only when it is fully accomplished will we have filled our responsibility to the people here and overseas," Brother Bryson concluded.

NATIONAL UNION OF MARINE COOKS & STEWARDS.

Eighteen Miners Killed Daily In Capitalist World

No More Mine Disasters Through Super-exploitation!

The Miners' Trade Unions International (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.) writes to the International Labour Office. It also proposes to the Miners' International of the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.C.C.T.U. (Christian Trade Unions) the holding of a MEETING TO TAKE JOINT ACTION.

The letter to the Director-General of the I.L.O. follows:

OUR organisation, whose responsibility it is to defend the economic and social interests of miners throughout the world, draws your attention to the heavy tribute in human life exacted each day from this courageous group of men.

Not a single day passes without miners being killed either underground or in mine workings. Disasters caused by explosions, gas, dust, fires, falls of rock or earth, flooding, etc., claim innumerable victims. These miners have died under horrible conditions, burned alive, suffocated or drowned. Thus, for example, during the period between December 20, 1951 and January 15, 1952, alone, 270 miners were killed in mining disasters, 119 in the State of Illinois, U.S.A., 17 in the Cornelaja Mine in the Orange Free State of the Union of South Africa, 15 at Spitzbergen in Norway on January 8, 100 in Bolivia about the same time, 19 in Canada on January 14. To these tragic disasters must be added the many fatal accidents which claim one or more victims at a time.

Therefore, as a result of disasters alone *more than* 18 *miners are killed every day* throughout the world.

We consider it our duty to suggest ways of putting an end to these tragic disasters which are decimating the ranks of miners everywhere. In the main, these disasters occur because the most elementary measures of safety and health in the mines are neither enforced nor respected.

The following are the conclusions arrived at by enquiries and the observations of experts in various countries.

On the Creswell pit disaster, Derbyshire, in Great Britain, which occurred in 1950, the enquiry revealed that the explosion, which cost the lives of 80 miners, was caused by a fire which started due to friction of a jammed driving belt. The enquiry stated that the water pressure was not strong enough to put out the fire. It pointed out that a great many miners could have been saved had the "Paddy Mail" underground transport system been functioning.

On May 29, 1951, a disaster occurred in the Heinrich Robert pits in the Ruhr (Germany), killing 17 miners. The enquiry concluded that the explosion was caused by the over-heating of a transmission belt. We must note that since 1946, when the section in which the explosion occurred was first opened, the workers' delegation had informed the management and inspectors of the danger.

At pit No. 5-B in the Bruay group, France, 12 miners were killed by a dust explosion, after the miners' delegate, himself a victim, had pointed out the danger. In his work book, which was found on him, he had noted "Too much dust, *danger*."

For the disaster which has just occurred in Illinois in the United States, the President of the Miners' Union, John L. Lewis, considers the responsibility of the owners to be clearly established and the Mine Inspectors declare that "Safety regulations had not been observed."

We could cite many other examples of disasters and accidents which have taken place in Belgium, Africa, India, and Japan, in a word, in all the mining countries.

In addition, the statistics published in the various countries, which are certainly not unknown to you, show that fatal accidents occur far more frequently in mining than in any other industry.

Here are some figures. The rate of accident frequency is calculated by dividing the number of killed or injured by the number of man-years and multiplying the quotient by 1,000.

Fatal Accidents for the year 1949:

Africa	1.74
Japan	1.54
Australia ...	1.09
Canada	2.70
Austria	1.19
New Zealand ...	1.03
United States ...	1.08

Fatal Accidents for the year 1950:

France	1.17

Non-fatal accidents for 1949:

United States ...	10.10
Burma	48.10
Japan	299.34
Austria	190.87
France	672.28
Great Britain ...	369.34

The purpose of this document addressed to your organisation is to ask you to take steps to hasten the application of standard safety measures for underground work, in order to combat these accidents which occur too frequently.

Furthermore, it is both desirable and necessary to work for the widespread introduction of inspection carried out by delegates nominated by the workers themselves. These delegates, miners or worker inspectors, should have extensive powers, as well as ways and means by which they could force the owners to take notice of their recommendations.

The proposal of concrete measures which we have formulated must not only be limited to coal miners, but must apply to all

workers extracting underground wealth, for the methods of work in different types of mines are often similar even though the material mined may differ.

It is urgent that safety measures be taken to reduce disasters and accidents, to avoid the further loss of human lives, to put a stop to the afflictions which strike at the families of miners, and we believe that in 1952 important decisions on this subject can and should be taken.

We should like to have your opinion on our proposals.

Yours faithfully,

HENRI TURREL,
General Secretary.

* * *

In addition, Henri Turrel has written to the Miners' Internationals of the I.C.F.T.U. and the Christian Trade Unions to propose a meeting for the purpose of planning joint action against this scandalous situation. The letter states in particular:

No miner is unconscious of the sorrowful catastrophes which occur. Those who are unanimously united against the danger, in the pits, would not understand why our respective organisations could not agree to their desire for common action in order to protect them from the death which constantly hangs over their head.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

JAPAN

Conditions of Japanese Youth

Japanese youth suffer horrible living conditions as a result of the war policy pursued by the Japanese Government and the American occupants. The youth, like the adults, suffer from widespread unemployment, but the situation of those who work is hardly better. Thus there are, for instance, the young girls working in the Dai Nippon textile factory, situated in Tokyo. Work goes on in three shifts. The monthly wage of these girls is from 4,000 to 5,000 yen (that is, between 10 and 12 U.S. dollars). With the exception of a few minutes there is no lunch rest. The windows are closed all the time, and there is a permanent temperature of 38 deg. Centigrade. The workers are controlled by foremen, who run around with stop-watches in their hands.

The working day has been lengthened arbitrarily by the employers. Particularly since the beginning of the Korean war, the exploitation has increased immeasurably. To prevent the workers from expressing their opposition to this inhuman treatment and to protect themselves from the protests of the workers, the employers have called American soldiers to their aid, who now stand in front of the factory gates with bayonets on their rifles.

The number of labour accidents is continually increasing. In the Japanese district of Kawzaki alone, 67 workers died last year as a result of accidents at work, 4,325 were severely hurt, and 3,755 slightly. This picture becomes even clearer if one remembers that the total number of workers in this district is only 79,021.

The situation in the countryside is no different, there being a surplus labour force of 9,000,000 workers. In Japan it is usual for the eldest son to inherit the property of his parents. The other children must fend for themselves; they go to the cities to look for work. But there it is also impossible to earn a living. Thus the young peasants and agricultural labourers — and half Japanese youth are of peasant origin—also live under inhuman conditions.

Nor do Japanese students escape this misery. Official statistics confirm that 70% to 80% of students are looking for work, as they would not be able to continue their studies if they did not find work.

These conditions explain why Japanese youth have also welcomed the calling of an International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth and are preparing for it with great enthusiasm.

Information Service (World Federation of Democratic Youth), 1.2.52.

INDIA

In the rural areas of Telengana, the People's Democratic Front put up 40 candidates, 35 of whom won...

Out of the 700 detenus, only 17 were on the voters' list. None of the leading comrades were among those 17, in spite of the fact that the Government had tomtomed that the detenus would be enrolled as voters.

Meanwhile, the formation of the People's Democratic Front brought a tremendous change in the situation. Due to its gallant efforts, seven or eight leaders in detention were put on the electoral lists just on the eve of the day for filing nominations. . . .

The FIRST WEEK OF DECEMBER. Polling was to start on the 21st of the month. And yet none of the leaders, even those who filed the nominations, had been released. The P.D.F. kept up a continuous agitation, and then dawned that memorable day—December 5. Yella Reddy, Narayan Reddy, Makhdoom and Chandragputa Chowdhury were out.

The releases had their magic effect. The grip of terror on people's minds lost its hold; they flocked to the receptions in tens of thousands. In the words of Makhdoom, women wept and children shouted with joy. . . .

By the end of the first week of December, the enemy camp in Hyderabad was thrown into utter confusion, what with the "bandits" turning overnight into the idols of millions. The Congress and the Government shrieked: Beware, you are inviting another Police Action. Those who intend to vote P.D.F. would forfeit their ration cards. . .

The Socialists joined with Congressmen in organising stone-throwing at P.D.F. meetings. . . .

The P.D.F., however, quietly went ahead, braving the hell-fire that raged all around. There were not enough candidates to put up in all constituencies in Telengana. . . .

In every constituency, of course, village youths had come forward to do the preliminary work in response to the call of the P.D.F. But the main lever of the election campaign in the whole district was a volunteer force of 150-200 who were transported from one constituency to the other on a schedule based on the dates of polling.

AND THE RESULT IN WARANGAL? ELEVEN CONTESTED; NINE WON.

What resources has the P.D.F. had? In Kinarum, there were only four days left before they started the campaign. All they had in man-power was six High School students. They held two public meetings. . . .

AND THE RESULT IN GARIMNAGAR? CONTESTED, 7; WON, 7. AND IN NALGONDA, TOO, DESPITE ALL ODDS, THE P.D.F. WON ALL THE 14 SEATS CONTESTED. . . .

The Socialists have gained seats only where the P.D.F. did not contest. Wherever the P.D.F. was, there the Socialists could not retain their deposits, barring in one or two places. The over-all picture, according to Yella Reddy, is that in every district the rank-and-file, along with the middle leadership, are breaking away from the Party. . . .

In the course of the polling itself, eight comrades were shot dead in cold blood—three in Huzurnagar, two in Mehboobnagar, two in Vikarabaug, and one died in police custody in Jangaon. Fifteen women were raped in Huzurnagar by police and Home Guards. Arrests continued unabated. Underground Communists were pursued relentlessly.

But the unconquerable peasantry of Telengana refused to bend its knees and sent 35 of the 40 P.D.F. candidates victorious to the Assembly and all the six to the House of the People.

Agricultural labour voted solidly for the P.D.F. Womenfolk too. Poor and middle class peasants and sections of rich peasantry, too turned out in big force for the P.D.F. . . .

And how did the P.D.F. win the votes? Threats, intimidation, terror? Ravi Narayan Reddy put it very neatly: "We secured votes not with bayonets, but UNDER THE SHADOW OF BAYONETS."

Cross Roads (Bombay), 8.2.52.

RUMANIA

Foreign Workers Visit the People's Republic

If we were to draw up a balance-sheet of what we saw during our short stay here, of what we heard during our conversations with the workers and active trade unionists of the R.P.R., we would be forced to say that the development—crowned with success—of your country since its liberation greatly surpasses the level attained by Norway. Proof of this is the constant improvement in the living standards of the workers in the R.P.R., the possibility they have for rest in the sanatoria and rest homes which are very well organised, and the many other rights they have.

We also had occasion to admire the beautiful Pioneer Palace in Bucharest. What we saw there is evidence of your Government's great solicitude for the children and the younger generation of the country. When we visited Bucharest, we saw the new modern houses for the workers, which are gradually replacing the slums of capitalist Rumania. During our stay in your country, we noticed the joy of life, the spirit and enthusiasm of your people. Friendly relations and a spirit of camaraderie unite the workers of the R.P.R. I understand that the motive force of this enthusiasm is the gigantic social and cultural progress shown in Rumania.

Peter Hansen, Norwegian Worker.

I was amazed by the tremendous efforts made to ensure the best living and study conditions for students—by the great number of scholarships for students and the care which is taken of their health as well as the exceptional sports facilities provided for them. . . .

I chatted with many students, who declared themselves satisfied and happy with the opportunities offered them. A number of them explained to me that in former times they would never have been able to go to University because they would not have had the means to do so, and that it is only now, since the inauguration of the new régime of People's Democracy, that they have been able to achieve their desire. I want to mention the profound impression made on me by the special two-year school for workers. I was struck by the high standard reached by the students of this polytechnic, and by the great successes they gained in their studies.

Geoffrey Kean, Student, Nottingham University, England.

Information Roumaines, 8.2.52.

FRANCE

Our Textile Industry in Danger

The symptoms of an unprecedented economic crisis have appeared in the important economic region of the Nord, where a number of industries are threatened. Among those first affected are the textile industry, rolling stock construction, and shipbuilding.

In textiles, the crisis broke at the beginning of September, 1951, with such force that it surprised and surpassed the most pessimistic forecasts. At the present time, of the 70,000 workers in the important wool centre of Roubaix-Tourcoing, 18,000 are unemployed and 25,000 are on part-time. A 30-hour week is the rule.

A number of factories suspend their activity for varying lengths of time. At Tourcoing, for example, the Tossée Combing Mill closed its doors for a fortnight. There have been complete stoppages of the Fouars Combing Mill and the Tourcoing Combing Mill, while Tiberghien Frères closed down for four weeks. . . . At the Mallart Combing Mill, only 35 sorters out of 110 are at work. The Desurmont firm dismissed 250 workers.

At Roubaix, at the Motte Combing Mill, the number of workers has fallen from 2,000 to 1,500 and the factory is operating at 50% of capacity. At the Lainière plant, a fortnight of unemployment alternates with a fortnight of work. At the Amédée Prouvost Combing Mill, the 1,500 who remain at work out of 2,000 only work a 32-hour week.

A 30-hour week, growing unemployment, and the closing of factories—that is clearly the crisis in its most classic form.

The figures also clearly show the considerable reduction in production in the Roubaix-Tourcoing wool centre.

In September, 1951, the production of combed wool was 3,628 tons, as against 5,504 tons in September, 1950. In the same months, wool weaving produced 3,224,312 metres of cloth, as against 3,894,570 metres. The dyer-finishers only delivered 1,656 tons against 2,127 in the preceding year.

There is no doubt that the lower purchasing power of the French people, and the marked decline in retail trade have led to lower production. But "Le Nord Industriel" for November 17 gives the chief reason when it says: "This decline in production is due for the most part to the reduction in our exports."

Textile exports in the last few months have, in fact, shown a marked drop. From January to September, exports of combed wool fell by half, exports of combed wool yarn by two-thirds, and wool

fabrics by a quarter.

The fall in the world wool markets this summer led to the cancellation of orders, which put a brake on exports. . . .

The primary cause of the slump in our exports is the vicious competition in the dollar zone of the U.S.A., Belgium, Holland, and Italy.

Our wool industry must export to live. Thus in Roubaix-Tourcoing, in the different stages of production such as combing, spinning and weaving, the part reserved for export is considerable. Our textile industry must export or perish.

"Le Nord Industriel" puts the problem in this form:

"Our industry . . . finds itself obliged to export about 40% of the productive capacity of its mills."

The saturated markets are those of the dollar zone. As new outlets there are the Peoples' Democracies, the Soviet Union, and China.

The countries in the East, however, whose needs are very great, especially for combed wool, actually buy very little from us because of the absence of widespread general trade agreements. . . .

Before the war, Czechoslovakia alone bought a quarter of our exports of combed wool. . . .

The limited agreement signed with Poland last September provided for the export of 350 tons of combed wool. Poland would buy much more if France would sign an extensive general agreement. Thus the Franco-Polish agreement of 1949 enabled us to export 1,500 tons of combed wool to Poland that year. Commenting on this agreement, the financial newspaper "Les Echos" recently wrote: "Our trade with Poland had reached in 1949 relatively high figures: 10,000 million francs work of exports and 11,000 million of French imports. It is to be hoped that the present situation will soon be improved and that we shall not lose our place in the Polish market for purely political reasons."

There are thus immense possibilities open to French industry through East-West trade. A resumption and extension of our trade with the East would bring an immediate solution to our export crisis, would set our factories into action, and give jobs to our workers.

Jacques Estager in "Peuples Amis" (Polish-French Friendship Review), Jan.-Feb., 1952.

SPAIN

How Spaniards Live: A Right-wing Journal Admits—

The special tourist exchange rate enjoyed by British visitors to Spain (of whom there will no doubt be fewer this year) is apt to give much too favourable an impression of the cost of living in that country. Nor is it always easy for the casual visitor to appreciate the very wide gap that exists between wages and prices. Take, for example, a young couple in Madrid, where conditions compare favourably with most other parts of the country, particularly the south. The husband works in a clerical job on the railways from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. daily, earning 1,000 pesetas a month. This sum includes a bonus distributed on a points system—five for a wife and one for each child—and is about double the earnings of a normal worker. Even so, with such staple items of Spanish diet as bread (black market) and beans at between 10 and 12 ptas. a kilo, lentils at 8.50, vegetables between 8 and 12, and chickpeas between 7 and 9 ptas. a kilo, his salary is barely sufficient to feed his wife and young child, let alone to clothe them and pay the rent. He has therefore to supplement his income by doing another job in his spare time, and rarely gets to bed before midnight. His wife also earns money by sewing.

The young couple live with their in-laws in a working class district. Their tiny bedroom has no windows and little space for more than the bed, while the child sleeps in an equally windowless alcove. This is the only place that this young married couple have to themselves. To get a flat in a working class district, they would have to pay between 8,000 and 15,000 ptas. key money and then about 500 ptas. a month rent for a new flat or 150 ptas. for an old one (three rooms and a kitchen, two of the rooms without windows). It is hardly surprising that husband, wife and child have all been unwell. Their experience of the medical attention . . . was thoroughly unsatisfactory. But it must be remembered that this family is fortunate by comparison with many, particularly with those agricultural workers who are also casual labourers, and who constitute about a quarter of the total population of the country.

Spanish attention has recently been focused on working class conditions by an article in "Ecclesia," the organ of Acción Catolica. This article is the record of a talk given by the Archbishop of Valencia on the findings of a sort of "Gallup poll" taken among workers. It is the first of its kind to have been made public in Franco Spain, and it is doubtful whether such outspoken comment would have been allowed except in a religious journal with a limited circulation. The following are some of the findings of the inquiry.

The worker believes his legal wages to be at starvation level, and unjust . . . he attributes his plight to the anxiety of his employers to enrich themselves and to the extravagance of the wealthy. . . .

"The Economist" (London), **16.2.52.**

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

February 19

GUATEMALA.—The Labour Tribunal of Escuintla decides to requisition the property of the United Fruit Co. at Tiquisate and to sell it by auction if this American monopoly does not pay the wages which it has owed to nearly 4,000 workers since last September.

SPAIN.—A street demonstration of workers of the telephone system takes place in Madrid, in spite of the deployment of the Franco police. Solidarity strikes take place in several enterprises in the capital.

February 20

ALGERIA. — Almost unanimously, tramwaymen in Algiers and Oran and railwaymen throughout Algeria launch a 24-hour strike for better working conditions.

February 21

UNITED STATES.—In Montana State-wide farmer-labour unity is being forged behind the drive to secure improved workmen's compensation laws. A conference representing almost all Montana labour and the Farmers' Union achieved a united programme. The move was initiated by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and the Farmers' Union.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The State Planning Commission announces that the production plan for 1951 has been achieved by 105.2%. The level of production has increased by 21.9% as compared with 1950.

MEXICO.—The Mexican Government announces the breaking off of conversations with the United States for a Military Pact. This is the result of strong pressure from the Mexican people and is a considerable defeat for the American war policy.

FINLAND.—The Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs approves the sending of a delegation to the Moscow Economic Conference.

JAPAN. — A great demonstration takes place in Tokyo on the occasion of the International Day of Struggle against the colonial régime. A resolution is adopted against the remilitarisation of Japan.

February 22

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Congress of the Trade Unions of Public Employees and Transport Workers, representing 800,000 workers, meets in Hamburg. In spite of the presence of the president of the D.G.B., Fette, and of the representative of the A.F.L. for Western Germany, Rutz, the Congress goes on record against the contribution of Western Germany to "defence."

— Hamburg dockers again refuse to unload a British munitions ship.

AUSTRIA.—Following the refusal of the Leghorn dockers to unload American arms destined for the United States Occupation Forces in Austria, Austrian workers in large meetings express their support for the Leghorn dockers and their desire to do everything to safeguard peace.

FRANCE.—A 24-hour tramway strike takes place throughout France for a wage increase and for the sliding scale.

FINLAND.—A conference of factory representatives and democratic organisations takes place in Tampere and decides to organise a National Committee for struggle against the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

AUSTRALIA.—The National President of the 60,000 strong Australian Railwaymen's Union states that the millions to be spent on atomic war experiments for Great Britain in the Woomera region would be more usefully spent for the building of hospitals, houses and schools.

February 23

GREAT BRITAIN. — Over 40,000 Welsh miners ban the Saturday working shift in protest against the economy cuts imposed by the Government in the interests of war preparations.

February 24

IRAN.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs calls on his country's delegation at the United Nations to support the demands of the Tunisian people.

— The number of signatures for a peace pact between the five Great Powers is now 2,000,000.

SWEDEN. — The newspaper "Ny Dag" announces that the national delegation to the Economic Conference in Moscow includes the Director of the Economic Institute, the Director of the Co-operative Union, three university professors and many industrialists and economists.

KOREA.—The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic protests against the use of bacteriological weapons by American troops in Korea.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Shop stewards at the Hercules Cycle and Motor Co., Ltd., request the management to attend the International Economic Conference in Moscow in order to reopen their markets in China.

MALTA.—Following the refusal of the British Naval authorities to agree to the clauses of a wages agreement, a strike takes place involving 15,000 dockers in complete unity and supported by the entire population. Mr. Reg Miller, General Secretary of the General Workers' Union, accuses the British Naval authorities of introducing blackleg labour to break the strike.

February 25

FRANCE. — The mine owners of Cévennes (Gard Department) intend to sack 600 miners, most of whom have been carrying out a stay-down strike for three weeks in support of their demands. Miners in all the pits in the Gard demand the withdrawal of this measure.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Derbyshire Area Committee of the National Union of Mineworkers recommends that its members stop Saturday work if the Government does not revoke its decision on economic cuts.

— It is announced that the Government estimates the armament expenditure for 1952/3 at £1,363 million, which is an increase of £325 million over the preceding year.

MALTA.—Labour Party members boycott Parliamentary sessions in sympathy with the 15,000 dock strikers. During a meeting addressed by a Labour leader, the effigy of Winston Churchill is burnt.

ALGERIA.—Oran dockers refuse to unload a ship loaded with war material.

LISBON.—The ninth session of the North Atlantic Council, which began on February 20, ends. The conference decides officially on the rearmament of Germany, the entry of Western Germany into the Atlantic system, new crushing burdens to finance military plans, and the participation of monarcho-fascist Greece and of Turkey in the aggressive bloc.

February 26

CYPRUS.—The British authorities refuse to give their authorisation for the holding of the Regional Peace Conference for the peoples of the Near and Middle East and North Africa.

U.S.S.R.—The Soviet people in many conferences and meetings commemorate the anniversary of Victor Hugo, the great French writer. A huge and solemn meeting is held in Moscow. A special study session of the Gorky Institute of World Literature is devoted to the memory of this writer, with the participation of Paul Eluard, the French poet.

ITALY.—Sixty thousand miners take part in the national 48-hour strike called by their Federation for a wage increase, the renewal of the labour contract and the absorption of the unemployed. This movement supports the struggle of the 10,000 Sicilian miners which has been going on for 32 days, and that of 25,000 Sardinian miners, in which members of the three trade union centres are acting together in complete unity.

February 27

ITALY.—Fifty thousand textile workers of the town and province of Biella stop work for two hours after, a few days before, carrying out a 24-hour strike. A 24-hour strike also takes place in 13 enterprises involving 18,000 workers of the town and province of Turin. These strikes, which have been carried on in unity by the three trade union centres, are for wage increases and other demands.

AUSTRALIA.—Premier Menzies is forced to receive a deputation from 300 delegates of various organisations opposed to the ratification of the Japanese Treaty. By 54 votes to 46, the Menzies Government ratifies the treaty amid noisy scenes following the Government's refusal to allow the treaty to go to a referendum of the people.

MEXICO.—The Confederation of Workers and many other trade unions express their solidarity with the Spanish workers imprisoned by Franco and demand their immediate release.

GREAT BRITAIN.—In a debate on foreign policy in the House of Commons, it is revealed that the Attlee Government had made a secret agreement last May with the American Government for the extension of the war to China.

WESTERN GERMANY.—Dr. Joseph Wirt, former chancellor, again calls for elections to the National Assembly, the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany, and against the inclusion of Western Germany in the aggressive Western system.

February 28

JAPAN.—Without even consulting Parliament, the Government signs an agreement with the United States Government, giving American occupation troops the right to be stationed indefinitely on Japanese territory. This agreement causes considerable discontent among all sections of the population and leads to the organisation of protest meetings.

ISRAEL. — A committee composed of prominent Israeli figures is formed with a view to participation in the Moscow International Economic Conference. These include several members of Parliament and well-known economists.

IRAN.—More than sixty business firms in Teheran have addressed petitions to the Minister of Commerce demanding the immediate conclusion of a trade agreement between Iran and the Soviet Union.

FRANCE.—Eight workers from the Renault factory and 460 miners of the Gard Department, a part of those who were dismissed for going on strike, are reinstated as a result of the solidarity action of their workmates and of the people.

— Telegrams and protests from all parts of the country are sent demanding the acquittal of eight Greek patriots condemned to death, one of whom is the workers' leader, Beloyannis. The C.G.T. sends a telegram of protest to the president of the Athens Military Tribunal.

— After six days' strike, dairy workers obtain a wage increase of from 5% to 11.5%.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Committee against Military Service in Duisburg sends a message to all members of the Bonn Parliament asking their support for the appeal of the German Democratic Republic addressed to the Four Powers for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany. A committee representing 415,000 unemployed in Lower Saxony associates itself with this campaign.

February 29

MEXICO CITY.—The Confederation of Latin-American Workers calls upon the workers and democrats of all the Latin-American countries to demonstrate their solidarity with the working class and the democratic Government of Guatemala, which is threatened with a coup d'état by the powerful American monopoly, the United Fruit Company, which controls great economic wealth in the country.

POLAND.—Condemning the criminal use of bacteriological weapons by American troops in Korea, the Polish Micro-biologists' Association has launched an appeal to the bacteriologists of the world exhorting them not to allow science to become a weapon of destruction.

AUSTRALIA.—Five thousand eight hundred workers refuse to load or unload ships in Sydney in support of the 36 Watersiders wrongly dismissed. The Federal Arbitration Court grants the Stevedoring Industry Board and the Commonwealth Attorney-General to issue summonses against officials of the Waterside Workers' Federation if work is not resumed from midnight March 2.

March 1

AUSTRIA.—After a munitions explosion in the Stadl Paura factory,

large meetings of Austrian workers are held in the factories protesting against the remilitarisation of Western Austria.

March 2

BRITAIN.—249 delegates, representing 250,0000 engineering workers, meeting in Sheffield, denounce the disruptive tactics of the Right Wing and inaugurate a new workshop drive to oust the Tories and to achieve peace and higher living standards.

ITALY.—Throughout the country demonstrations take place in favour of the eight Greek patriots condemned to death. Fights take place with the police in Rome. A delegation of Senators and deputies goes to see Venizelos, who is at present the guest of de Gasperi, demanding in the name of 291 members of Parliament the immediate release of the eight prisoners.

— After a long struggle (rotation strike), 30,000 tobacco workers obtain an indemnity of from 1,500 to 4,000 lire and the improvement of certain clauses in the labour contract.

FRANCE.—On the appeal of three trade union organisations (C.G.T., Christian and Independent), practically the entire personnel of the Radio System stopped work for several hours in support of their demands.

— Many organisations and leading persons continue to intervene to save the lives of the eight Greek patriots.

— Two hundred and nine North African trade union militants at a week-end school, representing their compatriots who work in France, decide to contribute to the fight of their respective countries for national independence and to carry out joint action with the French workers for their economic demands and for the strengthening of the C.G.T.

TURKEY. — The Turkish Government is envisaging the building of 200 new prisons, which will cost four million Turkish pounds.

WESTERN GERMANY.—1,500 representatives of all the youth organisations of Western Germany meet in Darmstadt under the slogan "Down with Remilitarisation." A resolution appeals to all Germans to oppose remilitarisation and the conclusion of the General Treaty, and to demand that talks be immediately undertaken with the government of the German Democratic Republic.

March 3

POLAND.—The Diet approves the National Economic Plan for 1952, which provides for an increase of 22.3 per cent. in industrial production and improved living standards for the Polish workers.

March 4

FRANCE.—A strike begins in Douaisis (Nord) against repressive measures and for increased wages. The Regional Miners' Federation (C.G.T.) is carrying out a referendum among the miners in the Nord and Pas de Calais departments on the union's demands.

— Many thousands of protests are organised in the factories and among the most varied sections of the population — writers, artists, musicians, politicians, scientists, etc.—to save the lives of the eight Greek patriots.

— Work stoppages, delegations and resolutions for a government of peace and social progress take place in the factories, workers of all political and trade union affiliations taking part.

ITALY.—Work stoppages, meetings and protests take place in factories throughout Italy to save the lives of the eight Greek patriots. A telegram demanding their release is sent to Plastiras by the C.G.I.L. in the name of its five million members.

— Police suddenly occupy the Pibigas enterprise (Carrara), which has been occupied by the workers in protest against the dismissal of sixty-five workers. A 24-hour strike is decided upon by the workers of the province.

U.S.S.R.—The Soviet people solemnly celebrate the centenary of the death of the great writer, Gogol. A special session of the Gorky Institute of World Literature is held for this occasion. A monument is unveiled in Moscow in memory of this great writer. Many foreign guests take part in a meeting in the Bolshoi Theatre.

March 5

BULGARIA.—A mass meeting takes place in Sofia for the release of Beloyannis and his comrades. Telegrams are sent to the Greek government and to the United Nations demanding the acquittal of those condemned.

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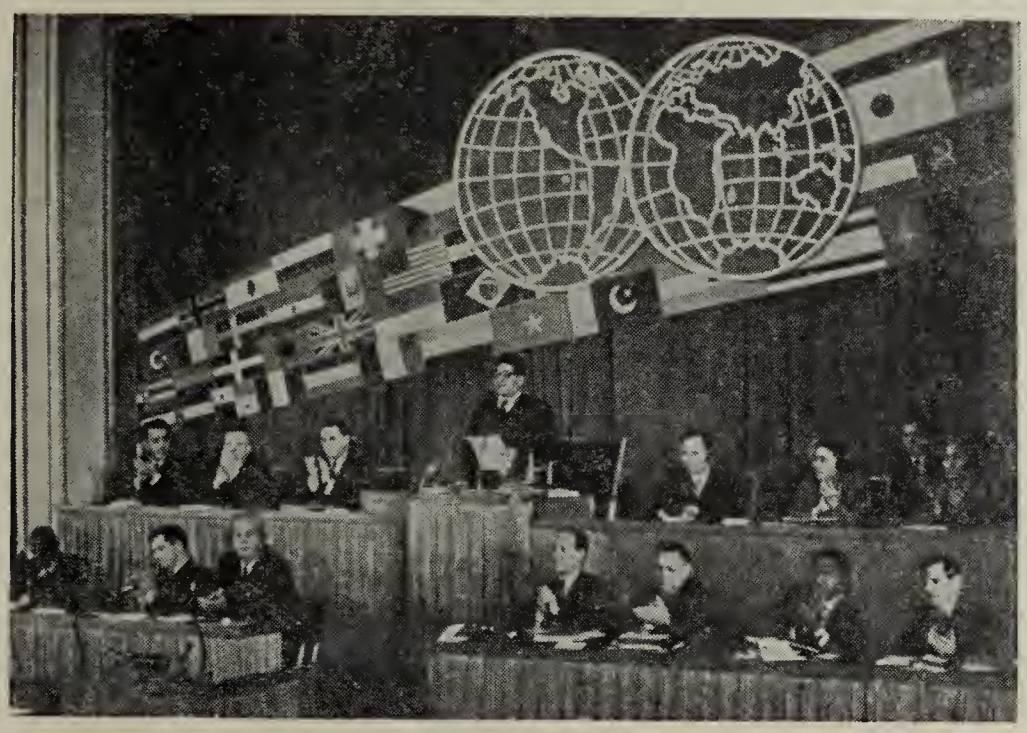

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

APRIL 1—15, 1952 ★ No. 7

The Economic Conference — Two Examples

Jack Stanley on Britain

Bruzio Manzocchi on Italy

Unions and National Independence Struggle • **Louis Saillant**

American Women Fight for Equal Pay • **Sylvia Cohen**

Peoples Reject Yoke of Central African Federation • **A Correspondent**

French Miners Defend Social Benefits • **Henri Turrel**

A Soviet Metalworker Speaks • WFTU Declaration on Situation in Egypt • Economic Notes on Unemployed • Spotlight on U.S.A., France, Lebanon, South Africa • and other regular features

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The General Council recommends the Executive Bureau, the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.), and all trade union organisations to give more effective support to the workers' action and to develop much wider demonstrations of international solidarity, to strengthen aid to the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Resolution on the Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise their Living Standards and Against the Economic and Social Consequences of War Preparations, Berlin, November 21, 1951.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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EDITORIAL

The Trade Unions and the Struggle of the Peoples for National Independence

BROTHERS Jacques Marion, member of the W.F.T.U. General Council, and Maurice Carroué, Vice-President of the Trade Unions International of Agricultural and Forestry Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), were delegated by the World Federation of Trade Unions to visit the Tunisian workers. They brought these workers the warmest expression of the solidarity of men and women workers throughout the world with their heroic fight against colonial oppression and for the complete national independence of Tunisia.

During their two weeks' stay, the W.F.T.U. delegates collected a host of detailed facts on the system of slavery and police terror to which the French colonialists are subjecting the Tunisian people.

Before leaving Tunisia to present their report to the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., the delegation issued a declaration to the press. This declaration recalled that, from the first days of the bloody events which have plunged the Tunisian people into mourning, the W.F.T.U. had protested to the United Nations against the brutality of the police and the military, the arrests and deportations to which so many Tunisian trade unionists, members of political parties and patriots have been subjected.

This declaration states that "*the W.F.T.U. demands respect for the unanimous desire for independence of the Tunisian people, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations' Charter.*"

In line with previous decisions of the W.F.T.U., the delegation also demanded: "*the right of the Tunisian people to have decent human living conditions and to develop freely in peace and national independence.*"

* * *

THESE recent events and the just declaration of the W.F.T.U. delegates are mentioned here in order to bring to mind the particular role of trade union organisations in the struggles of the peoples for independence and national liberation.

In no country can the trade unions remain aloof from these historic struggles. Whatever form the struggle takes, solidarity with the workers and their fighting trade union and political organisations must mean action for all trade union organisations of the working class in all countries. The trade unions cannot avoid their responsibilities when the people act for national independence and enter into struggle for its achievement. They cannot remain onlookers. If they were to attempt to avoid their responsibilities, to refrain from useful action in support of the peoples' right to national independence, the trade unions and their leaderships would be guilty of political abdication, and they would never be in a position to exercise any influence whatsoever on the social life of the country.

By abandoning part of their role, these trade unions would lose any real capacity for defending the rights of the workers. They would in no way be qualified to represent the desires of these

workers. They would be slave trade unions, and would inevitably become docile instruments in the hands of the oppressors of the people, for the maintenance of that oppression.

The history of working-class struggles throughout the world is filled with valuable lessons and experiences in this connection. The workers do not recognise as being *their* trade unions those organisations whose leaders submit to imperialist oppression or which form alliances with the forces of political and social reaction which betray the national interests.

The Italian workers never considered the fascist trade union organisations of Mussolini as being *their* trade unions. They proved it in July 1943, when they transformed these tame trade union organisations of fascism into legal organisations of struggle against fascism itself. The great strikes of the Turin metalworkers and of the workers of Northern Italy in the summer of 1943 sounded the death-knell of Mussolini's pseudo-trade unions. The struggle of the organised masses integrated the trade unions, transformed them in action into the anti-fascist and patriotic fighting front against the combined forces of the Hitlerite and Italian fascists.

In the course of their long fight for liberation, which lasted more than 25 years, the Chinese workers had to smash by their own efforts the endeavours of corrupt trade union leaderships subjected to the Kuomintang. This was a patient and persevering fight by the most conscious section of the working class within the legal trade unions, and it contributed to transforming those organisations into instruments of concrete action against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, the oppressors of the Chinese people.

The great Barcelona strikes, exactly a year ago, recalled to the entire world the fascist character of the Falangist trade unions, maintained by the power of the Franco regime as a means of oppression and exploitation of the mass of the Spanish workers. In the inevitable process of disintegration of the Franco regime, the Spanish workers will know how to transform the existing trade unions into fighting organisations for their liberation from the fascist yoke, fighting, in fact, for real national liberation.

In France, during the years from 1940 to 1944, under the Hitler domination, attempts were made, with the complicity of Hitlerite agents organised in Petain's pseudo-movement of National Revolution, to muzzle the French trade unions and working class. Nothing, however, could prevent the workers from combining in legal and illegal trade union action in the hard fight for independence and national liberation. The handful of trade union leaders who attempted at that time to deflect action by the trade unions from the liberation struggle went down in dishonour to the nation and cowardice to the working class.

But these are enough examples. All those that we could quote would support our statement of the importance of the role of active trade union organisations whenever the need arises to struggle for national independence.

We must, then, know how to fight should occasion arise against those points of view which may still exist in certain trade unions in the capitalist and colonial countries, and which stand for non-participation by the trade unions in the peoples' struggles for their national independence, on the pretext that this is political action.

We are well aware of the relation of cause and effect between the imperialist policy of national oppression and the maintenance of the peoples at abnormally low standards of existence, or the lowering of these standards in certain developed capitalist countries.

Of course, these struggles do not assume identical forms in each of the countries concerned. But they are all inevitably bound up with active manifestations of working-class internationalism.

The Trade Union Conference of the Countries of Asia, held in November and December, 1949, considerably helped the world trade union movement to obtain a more exact idea of its role than it had had before, and of the role of trade union action in general, in support of the liberation and the national independence of oppressed peoples.

The Asian Trade Union Conference—unique in the history of our international trade union movement—showed that purely reformist trade union action is not capable of freeing the oppressed working class and working populations from their state of servitude and dependence. Reformist and restricted trade union action cannot meet the demands of the situation in countries deprived of their national independence. Under certain circumstances, through intervention by the mass of the workers and their trade unions, reforms can be won, and compromises can be reached on demands put forward, *but these reforms can only be an accessory to the*

permanent fight of the workers for radical changes.

Of course, the correct role and action of the trade unions for the urgent demands and immediate needs of the workers must not in any way be considered as secondary forms of real trade union work. It would be a mistake not to be interested in these demands, to allow trade union groups linked to government policies and imperialist circles to divert the workers' discontent in order to prevent them from discovering in the course of their action the link existing between the permanent struggle for their economic and social demands and the fight for the national independence of their country.

Radical changes in the social conditions of the workers in the dependent and oppressed countries will be obtained by the success of the fight for independence and national liberation. *The real possibilities for these radical social transformations will be created by the eviction of imperialism, the destruction of its forces, of its means and methods from the territories where it still maintains its rule.*

No repression of any kind can any longer hold back the development of the people's struggles for national liberation. Restrictions imposed on trade unions which take up a correct position in this struggle can no longer hold back the course of healthy trade union activities which play their part within the united action of the people for their emancipation. *Repression can have no other result than to lead the trade union organisations of the working class to use new forms of action appropriate to the circumstances, and to complement the previous forms of action. Trade union organisations must fight everywhere in such cases for the maintenance of their legal rights to exist and function.*

The Trade Union Conference of the Countries of Asia brought out a fact that must be emphasised in order that its lessons may be everywhere applied—the need for all trade unions to be active elements in each *national fighting front for national independence.*

In fact, though the working class in countries which are in a state of dependence or subjected to the laws and the acts of imperialism has formidable enemies—the most reactionary elements of the national bourgeoisie, the feudal elements, those who benefit from fascist regimes, or the initiators of such regimes, whether or not they be directly or indirectly supported and sustained by foreign imperialist forces—this same working class, and hence its trade unions, also has allies.

These allies are the peasantry, the intellectuals and other progressive elements of the population. Thus the working class and its trade unions are not isolated. We must not allow the attempts to isolate the working class to succeed. A restricted conception of the role of the trade unions in the fight for national independence can lead to the isolation of the workers and of their trade union organisations. This isolation can lead to serious setbacks because of the weakening of action undertaken, or can, in the last resort, even make it impossible for any effective action to be taken at all.

* * *

A WHOLE series of events which have taken place since the end of the second world war show that the workers must have a very clear view of what action should be undertaken by the trade unions in countries in which the peoples have been deprived of the right to govern their own affairs. The fact is that the presence of the imperialists in a dependent country is incompatible with the existence of an entirely free national trade union movement, since, nationally, the country itself is not free.

The trade union organisations of such a country can submit to the influence of this state of affairs. On the other hand, they will attain the title of free and democratic trade union organisations only when their programme and action bring them into the world trade union movement represented by the W.F.T.U., and when their policy is faithful to the noble traditions and principles of working-class internationalism.

The link between the trade unions of the countries fighting for their independence and the trade union organisations of other countries, whose action is on a higher level of this same basic struggle of the working masses, provides the means by which the trade unions of the countries under imperialist oppression can give to their form of organisation and to the orientation of their day-to-day activities a genuinely democratic content favourable to a real mass movement.

* * *

TRADE union organisations prove their attachment to democratic forms of trade unionism by united international anti-imperialist action, which completes unity of action at the

national level, and at the same time guarantees the success of their struggles.

Only the World Federation of Trade Unions offers this guarantee to the workers' trade unions throughout the world. The W.F.T.U. is the only world trade union organisation which is truly and sincerely anti-imperialist.

The example of Tunisia proves it.

The W.F.T.U. voluntarily delegated a member of its General Council and a leader of one of its Trade Departments, both of French nationality, to go to Tunisia.

These two militants of the French C.G.T. and of the W.F.T.U. were able to visit the Tunisian workers and the United Trade Unions of Tunisian Workers (affiliated to the W.F.T.U.) to carry out their international mission, fully appreciating the community of interests between the Tunisian workers, victims of French colonialism, and the French workers, in solidarity with their Tunisian brothers.

The I.C.F.T.U. has refrained from sending a delegation to the U.G.T.T. (the nationalist Tunisian trade union organisation affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.) which was formed with the representatives of the French trade union organisation called Force Ouvrière, also affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.

Why was this? Because the French trade union leaders who belong to the I.C.F.T.U. cannot at the same time approve, in Paris, the policy of the French government which keeps the Tunisian people in slavery, and then present themselves in Tunis to the workers who are fighting against the French colonialist oppressors of the Tunisian people as bearers of a message of solidarity.

This is a contradiction which should draw the attention of the workers of all countries to the origins of the false internationalism of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. It also explains the deceptive character of the democratic declarations and of the programme of that organisation.

The United Trade Unions of Tunisian Workers, member of the W.F.T.U., should be in a position to explain to the Tunisian workers, and above all to those who belong to the other Tunisian trade union organisation attached to the I.C.F.T.U., the ambiguous position of those Tunisian trade union leaders who are linked with an international organisation whose role and aims have been revealed, in the recent events in Tunisia, to be in opposition to the legitimate aspirations of the Tunisian workers and people.

THIS case is not unique.

The Iranian workers are aware of this, for without being consulted by the leaders of the pro-government trade union organisation of their country, they have been "affiliated" to the I.C.F.T.U. They are still waiting for this organisation, and especially for its British president, Sir Vincent Tewson, to take a stand on the question of the demands of the Iranian people in its fight against British imperialism.

The Egyptian workers, and the Egyptian trade unions are no longer surprised at the silence of the I.C.F.T.U. and its president on the subject of Egyptian demands to the British capitalists and their government.

The workers in Tunisia, as in Iran and Egypt, regardless of their political opinions or religious beliefs, must be fully informed of the solidarity action of the W.F.T.U. and of all its affiliated trade unions, in contrast to the hostile and negative attitude of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U., in connection with their aim of national independence.

To make these things clear to the workers means to strengthen their possibilities of struggle and to help them recognise those who are their friends and brothers throughout the world and those who are, in truth, their enemies.

By helping them better to understand this truth, we shall help them to transform the role and action of the trade union organisations to which they belong, when these organisations, such as the Tunisian U.G.T.T. and the pro-government trade unions in Iran, find themselves in a position in which they have to fight for national independence, and when their present international trade union relations lead to a weakening of that fight.

The trade union movement is a mass movement by its nature and composition. Its role must be laid down unequivocally and with the greatest political clarity in relation to the national liberation movements in progress.

Given the will of the workers to unite in this struggle, and with its development and success as their objective, clear-sighted and responsible trade union militants must find new possibilities for raising the level of these struggles according to national circumstances.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

Two Articles—Two Examples on the Moscow Economic Conference

I.

Smash the Stranglehold on Italian Economy

By BRUZIO MANZOCCHI

Director of the Review "Notizie Economiche"

THE *Galileo* factory in Florence is a large engineering plant employing 3,000 workers and office employees. It is a large factory, especially when we take into account the fact that Florence is not considered among the most important cities in Italy and that it is in the heart of Tuscany where industry is far from being developed as it is in other regions of Italy such as Milan, Genoa, Turin, or Naples. The *Galileo* is one of the fundamental mainstays of prosperity and development for Florentine economy. Three thousand workers earning and spending money means a great deal to the tradesmen and artisans in their community. An enterprise like the *Galileo* gives work not only to those directly employed by it, but to many smaller enterprises, both industrial and artisan.

The *Galileo*, however, is much more than an essential factor of Florentine economic life, it has a considerable importance for the whole of Italian economy. Founded long ago, this factory produces precision instruments, scientific apparatus, etc. As a result of the work of two generations of workers and technicians, it constitutes a tremendous heritage of production methods; it represents precious capital in the experience which has been accumulated there.

After having suffered destruction during the war, the *Galileo* has been reconstructed, stone by stone, through the indefatigable efforts of its workers and engineers. During the fascist war, its machines were used for the manufacture of precision apparatus for land, sea and air weapons. It was therefore necessary after the war not only to rebuild the factory, but to convert it once again to civilian production. While half the factory resumed the traditional production of scientific instruments, the other half was organised for the production of wool, cotton and silk looms. The productive capacity of this part soon attained 300 looms per month. There was a magnificent future ahead of the *Galileo*. To make this future a reality, however, the framework within which the *Galileo* operates, that is, the Italian economy, had also to be directed towards economic progress and peace. But, just at the moment when the factory was ready and mass production on the looms could have begun, the Marshall Plan came along.

Carrying Coals to Newcastle

THIS plan brought about serious consequences for Italian economy, among others the indiscriminate importing of industrial equipment. The position taken by the unity organisations of the workers (the C.G.I.L. and the unified Factory Committees) concerning these imports was quite clear. "We agree," said these organisations, "with the rationalisation and improvement of the technical structure of Italian factories. It is evident, moreover, that this transformation must be based on modern means of production; in the same way it is evident that in no case should the introduction of new machines into any sector of industry be made to the detriment of Italian enterprises capable of producing such equipment."

That proviso was not observed. It was decided to import all categories of machinery without taking into account either the production possibilities of Italian factories or the demands of a coordinated policy for the re-equipment of the whole industrial system of the country. Even more serious was the fact that the imported American machines were neither of better quality nor a better bargain than those which could have been produced in Italy. For example, the only American loom comparable to the loom produced at the *Galileo*, the Crompton loom, is 30% dearer. The American four-motor *Super-Constellation* plane has characteristics slightly inferior to the Breda four-motor B.Z.-308 of Milan, but it costs 25% more. These facts have not prevented the import of many American planes while the *Breda* plant was undergoing a serious crisis.

Imports of industrial equipment based on the Marshall Plan have been a serious blow to the Italian engineering industry. The *Galileo* has also felt the effects of this. But this was only the beginning.

Diminishing domestic and foreign markets have caused catastrophic unemployment throughout Italy. Our photo shows an impressive unemployed demonstration.

The Iron Triangle

THE policy of foreign trade pursued by the present Italian Government presents other aspects which had, and which continue to have, disastrous consequences on the country's industrial activity. The integration of Italy into the international economic system dominated by American imperialism has had the effect of restricting Italian trading relations within a triangle of which the three points are represented by Italy, the United States and that group of countries called "Western Europe."

This fact soon precipitated a crisis in Italy's foreign trade. For under these conditions Italy is forced to import from the United States and to export to the countries of Western Europe. As a matter of fact, although Italy imports raw materials and the machines imposed by the Marshall Plan from the United States, her exports to the United States meet with the insurmountable obstacle of the American protective tariffs, as well as the extraordinary productive capacity of that country. On the other hand, the countries of Western Europe only buy from Italy a few of her characteristic products such as citrus and other fruit. Also, since Italy has been progressively drawn into the economic orbit dominated by the U.S.A., the Italian balance of trade has carried a large deficit to the United States and at the same time a credit account with Western Europe. This credit account has considerably increased during the last few months, reaching more than 300 million dollars at the end of 1951.

What has the Italian Government done? Instead of reducing imports from the United States by trying to find supplies of cereals, coal and cotton elsewhere, it increased its imports of manufactured goods from the European countries. First of all, it used pounds sterling which Great Britain owed Italy to buy machinery in that country. During the last few months, the government has gone even further in granting very advantageous credits to Italian importers wishing to buy *all* kinds of merchandise (not only machinery) in *all* the countries of Western Europe (and not only from Great Britain).

Let us come back to the *Galileo*. This factory was in serious difficulties as a result of the country's imports from the United States and Western Europe. A few weeks ago, the management of the *Galileo* wanted to solve its difficulties by reducing the working week from 54 hours to 24. Only the courageous and victorious fight of the *Galileo* workers, supported by all sections of the working population in the Florentine region, prevented the management from achieving this plan.

We have chosen the example of the *Galileo* because it is the most recent. But it is neither the only example nor the most important one to demonstrate to what extent Italian economy has been upset. We could also speak of the *Ansaldo* shipyards in Genoa, the *Reggiane* enterprises at Reggio Emilia, the *Breda* metal plant in Milan, or the *Oto-Melara* tractor plant of Spezia and of hundreds of other enterprises where only the heroic resistance of the workers was able to prevent the worst from happening.

Shrinking Home Market

THE gravity of the economic situation in Italy is not only a result of conditions imposed by foreign trade. There is, in fact, a close interdependence between foreign trade and the home market. When the former is in difficulties, the whole of production is affected, with disastrous results for the level of employment and wages, and consequently on the purchasing capacity of the home market. The depression of the latter has repercussions, in its turn, on the whole of production. The cost of production increases due to insufficient use of equipment and it becomes more and more difficult to keep the national production flowing into international markets. For a country like Italy, insufficient

exports of manufactured products implies an insufficiency of imports of raw materials for industry and of food products. Prices are maintained at a level largely beyond the reach of the workers and completely inaccessible to the unemployed. It is a vicious circle which threatens to stifle Italian economy.

The crisis on the Italian home market has become more acute since the rearmament of the country has been undertaken. Prices continue rising, and unemployment is growing as a result of the slowing down of civilian production. In the factories, the exploitation of the workers is continually becoming more vicious. The rise in the prices of food products is forcing the workers to devote an increasingly larger part of their family budget to food, to the detriment of other needs such as clothing material, shoes, furniture, etc.

The crisis is rapidly extending to the consumer goods required by the more leisured classes. In the autumn of 1951, *Fiat*—the largest automobile plant in Italy—decreased its daily production of vehicles for civilian use from 484 to 383. The *Snia Viscosa*—artificial silk trust—reduced the number of working hours by more than a third. Those are two typical examples revealing the decline in consumption chosen from the vast gamut of articles hit by the crisis. Let us add that from 1950 to 1951, the consumption of meat (beef, mutton and pork) fell by 11.75% in the large Italian centres. That is the outline of the trend in the Italian home market during the last few months.

The decline in consumption brings in its train a crisis in the industries making the machines destined to produce these consumption goods such as looms, machines for working leather and wood, etc. To return to our first example, it is not accidental that precisely during these last few months, the *Galileo* should have experienced the greatest difficulties. To the export crisis must be added the contraction of the Italian market for looms.

With its trade tied up in the contradictions of the "Atlantic" policy, with its home market restricted as a result of the rearmament policy, Italian economy is faced with anything but brilliant prospects.

The Iron Triangle Must Be Smashed

HOW can we solve these problems which are daily becoming more desperate?

The Italian workers' movement has, for a long time, not only indicated the way for the revival of the national economy, but has conducted the fight to have this plan effectively adopted.

The economic policy supported by the Italian workers and put forward by their united organisations is centred on a long-term production plan, a plan which stimulates at the same time the production, flow and consumption of goods.

The Work Plan, drawn up by the C.G.I.L. at its Genoa Congress in 1949, represents an overall coordinated solution capable of giving a tremendous impetus to the Italian economy. Productive investments, raising the living standards of the Italian people, broadening trade relations to extend to all countries in the world, those are the fundamental points of the C.G.I.L. Work Plan.

The great struggles of the industrial workers in defence of their factories threatened with closure, the reverse strikes in town and country, organised by the workers to force the government to start work on pub-

"The workers of Fiat Mirafiori demand the production of automobiles for peace." That is the text of a placard showing a passenger car shoving a Fiat jeep out of the way.

lic utility schemes such as roads, bridges, hydro-electric stations, etc., the great united battle for a general increase in wages to raise the workers' standard of living and purchasing power, all these are the most significant aspects of broad actions undertaken by the Italian workers' unity organisations according to the line of the Work Plan.

The demands of the Italian workers for the development of foreign trade are being made within this general framework. Every action undertaken by the C.G.I.L., by the Factory Committees and by the unity organisations takes this constant objective into account, that is, the reorganisation of Italy's foreign trade.

In substance, all these actions set out to smash the iron triangle within which Italian economic relations are being strangled. The *Galileo* must be free to export looms to the countries of Eastern Europe which are, as we know, fully engaged in industrialisation ; the *Ansaldo* shipyards must be allowed to build merchant ships for the Soviet Union ; the *Ilva* must be able to export its rails for the construction of the mighty railway network being built in People's China ; all Italian factories, large or small, must be free to seek their foreign markets.

East-West Relations

THE resulting growth in the volume of exports would give a new impetus to Italian production and would, in its turn, lead to a growth in the volume of imports from all those countries which do not impose conditions on the countries with whom they have trading relations.

We must add that economic relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and People's China would permit the establishment of long-term production programmes because the economic life of these countries is marked by continued progress. Economic relations with those countries dominated by American imperialism, on the contrary, are fundamentally unstable, these countries being a prey to the contradictions of war preparation.

For all these reasons, the Italian workers have greeted with joy the announcement of the International Economic Conference which will take place in Moscow in April, with the aim of considering possibilities to improve the peoples' living standards on the basis of the peaceful co-operation of different countries and different systems, and to assist the development of economic relations.

At the *Magona* metal factory of Piombino, which produces special steel sheeting both for the engineering industry and for the consumption goods industry, a workers' delegation demanded that the management of the factory send a representative to the Moscow Conference. The *Magona* is also beginning to feel the effects of the economic crisis. Workers' action in hundreds of factories for the development of foreign trade is constantly growing.

Furthermore, interest in the Moscow Economic Conference is growing every day in all circles of Italian economic life and applications to attend have come in from many industrialists, large and small, from technicians and economists.

This interest is very well illustrated by an editorial which appeared in *24 Ore*, the most important economic and financial journal in Italy and spokesman for the large industrialists:

> *"In our opinion it would be useful for businessmen to make the journey to Moscow and obtain markets there. The closed market policy produces in the long run economic disorder, poverty and prejudices the interests of those who allow themselves to be guided by ideological considerations or doctrinal passions . . . It would be a good idea if someone authorised by the government would state quite clearly the attitude of our country towards the Moscow Conference. What we do not want are slanging matches and political digressions which only serve to arouse doubts as regards the good faith of those who take part in them, but serious and well-*

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The Galileo management decided to reduce the working week from 45 to 24 hours for the 950 workers in the textile machinery department. In a vigorous and united protest, the workers in the plant forced the management to cancel its decision.

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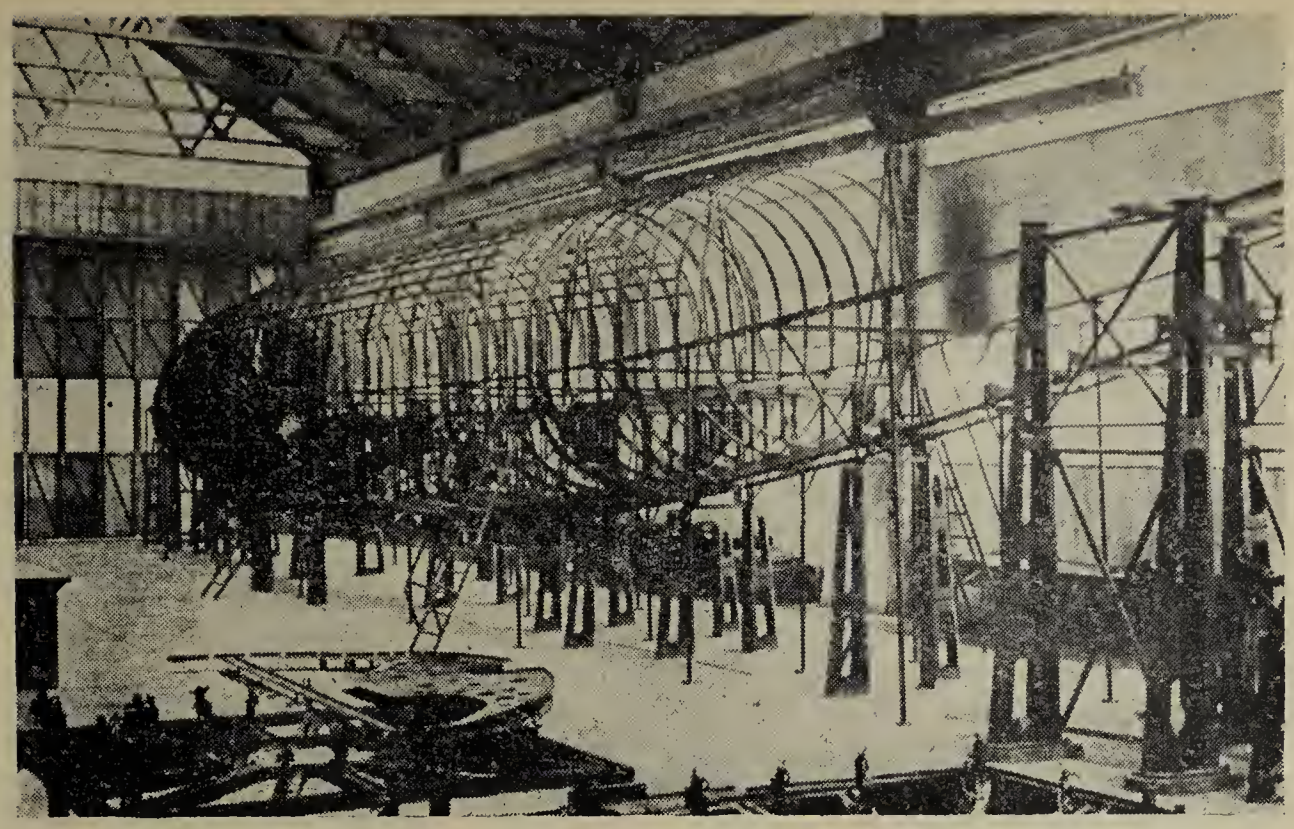


The economic policy of the de Gasperi government threatens Italian aeroplane production. Will this skeleton of a Breda remain unfinished?

based arguments. If we cannot come to agreement, let us say so openly. Otherwise, can anyone explain for what mysterious reasons, should the Iron Curtain be raised, even momentarily, it is considered that no advantage should be taken of that fact, other than to sacrifice industries and hold back exports."

But facts will prove to be obstinate no matter what political position is taken.

The power of facts is so great that the results of the Moscow Economic Conference will, no doubt, have a decisive influence on the solution of the serious problems facing Italian economy.

II.

Britain Needs East-West Trade

A Statement by JACK STANLEY

General Secretary, Constructional Engineering Union (Gt. Britain)

THIS is a serious subject, not only for Great Britain and her friends in the Commonwealth, but equally for all the peoples of the East.

To Great Britain itself, with its increasing population and decreasing agricultural area, it is of paramount importance in many respects.

Why are trade unionists so interested in trade with the East? The answer is simple, especially for British trade unionists.

It means fuller employment, increased rations, an improved standard of living and, above all, the best method of ensuring lasting *peace*.

Why, then, is our Government not doing more trade with the East?

First, because as a result of the conditions attached to Marshall Aid, we are prohibited from exporting the goods the East needs and, secondly, the prejudice amongst certain British political and trade union leaders against the system of government in the Eastern countries.

I am positive that the trade union rank and file do not associate themselves with the actions of their leaders, but many are frightened by all the adverse propaganda constantly being written in certain trade union journals, Labour Party publications and, of course, the press.

The necessity for our increasing trade with the East should be apparent to anyone who troubles to understand our present economic position.

Our rations of meat, bacon, cheese, eggs and milk, to name a few, are meagre indeed and health suffers

as a result, so unless we can improve our agricultural output, we must purchase overseas.

To purchase overseas we must sell our own products, or purchase for sterling or dollars. This is becoming extremely difficult, as we know that one of our own Commonwealth countries, Australia, is now controlling her imports and exports. This is bound to affect adversely our already difficult food problem, for if we can't export, we can't import.

Government subsidies, unless kept very high, will not ease the position. Farmers are killing off thousands of heads of poultry, because the price paid to them by the Government for eggs is not sufficient, according to them, to ensure them a reasonable profit. The same applies to milk. Cows are being slaughtered for beef instead of being kept for milking.

It is stated Australia is to cut her imports of certain goods by 80 per cent and this will affect Britain's exports of textiles, clothing, boots and shoes, cutlery, chinaware, washing machines, motor cars, motor cycles, whisky and other spirits, radios, lawnmowers, etc., making a possible total loss in a year to Britain of £150,000,000 or more.

This from industries which are already feeling the pinch and have a considerable amount of unemployment already. Its reaction on our imports is obvious: less meat, wool, fruit, wines, etc., from Australia.

If our present markets are drying up, there is only one solution: "Find new ones" or expand trade with those with whom we already have trade agreements. To do otherwise or stand still is the "Economics of the Madhouse" and Britain's leaders are the lunatics.

What can we purchase from the East? Grain and flour, barley and maize and many other types of food, such as eggs, pork, hams, tongues, bacon, sweets, biscuits, lard, geese, turkeys, chickens, etc. Wood and timber, textiles, hides and skins, furs, oils, fats and resins, paper, cardboard and dozens of other articles necessary for keeping our economy going.

What does the East require in return? The East could use: wool, iron and steel and iron and steel manufactured products, cutlery, hardware, implements and instruments, electrical machinery and instruments, machinery, air and gas compressors and exhausters, water tube boilers, boilers (other than water tube) and boiler-house plant, excavators and similar digging machinery, metal working machine tools, internal combustion marine engines, chemicals, drugs, dyes and colours, rubber.

These are commodities we have already bought and sold, but the trade, instead of increasing, is dwindling.

British businessmen are becoming alarmed, wondering what the outcome will be, yet still sticking to old prejudices to the detriment not only of themselves, but of the workpeople and, incidentally, their country.

Increased production is needed so that we can sell more abroad in order to purchase essentials.

How are we to do this unless we trade more with the countries that require our goods?

The more interchange of goods and contacts, the better the knowledge of each other; the better the knowledge of each other, the brighter prospect of lasting peace and, through that, prosperity.

This is why trade unionists cry out for and insist on more East-West trade.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING FALLS IN GREAT BRITAIN

We know how adept all Western governments are in the art of rigging statistics to their own advantage.

Nevertheless, here are some points revealed by official British statistics.

The general *cost of living* index in Britain rose by 12% in 1951. Wages, however, increased by only 10.5%.

From the third quarter of 1950 to the third quarter of 1951, the purchases of footwear fell by 23%, clothing by 20%, household utensils by 15% and foodstuffs by 2%.

The budget for education has been cut by 5% and social insurance benefits have been reduced.

The number of fully unemployed was estimated in March, 1952, at 600,000, but the former Minister of Labour, Mr. Robens, thinks that the number of unemployed will reach a million this year, without including the number of partially unemployed.

What is the explanation of all this?

The total *Military budget* has been raised to £5,200,000,000, of which £1,377,000,000 is for 1952. This formidable sum would not only be sufficient to re-establish State food subsidies which have recently been reduced by £55 million, but also to cancel the restrictions on education expenditure and to re-establish and to revalue all social insurance benefits. It would allow the building of primary and secondary schools, hospitals and clinics. It would permit the inauguration of an investment plan which could ensure a new development for the whole of British economy.

Imports of soft wood from the Soviet Union have already made possible the building of 250,000 homes. Yet the housing needs are far from being met, although 72 houses could be built for the cost of one bomber, and 37 for the cost of a "Centurion" tank.

But it is not possible at the same time to increase imports of materials indispensible for civil production and to speed up the armaments race.

That is why everything must be done to reduce the present international tension, the consequences of which are a lowering of living standards.

One of the most important means to this end is the development of international trade, particularly between East and West.

IN THE UNITED STATES:

Women Demand Equal Pay For Equal Work

By SYLVIA COHEN
District Representative, District 4, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

★ *On March 8, women in all countries celebrated their International Day, under the banner of the Women's International Democratic Federation, to which are affiliated organisations in 64 countries with 135 million members.*

This year in particular, International Day was of unprecedented importance.

Women everywhere held impressive meetings in which they proclaimed their unshakable determination to fight for peace.

They branded the unspeakable crimes committed by the Americans in Korea and demanded the end of the wars in Korea, Viet-Nam, Malaya and other places, and freedom for all peoples to govern their own affairs.

They greeted the heroic women of Korea, Viet-Nam and the colonial countries, who are fighting for independence.

They demanded disarmament and the banning of the atom bomb and weapons of mass destruction.

They looked towards the citadel of peace, the Soviet Union, where women are freed from all oppression and have full and complete equality of rights.

Working women, who form the backbone of this powerful movement in the capitalist countries, have associated themselves closely with the fight for peace, for their children's daily bread and for equal pay for men and women.

We give below an example of that fight, carried on by women in the United States.

INDUSTRY in the United States has drawn a pretty picture of the easy life led by the American woman. Magazines usually picture her in a shining kitchen surrounded by the most modern and time-saving household appliances.

Such magazine illustrations, however, hide the real picture—a picture in which American women as a group, and particularly women wage-earners, are subjected to the most shameful exploitation. Economic discrimination against women workers has been a major policy of industry in this country. Like the oppression of any minority group, discrimination against women enriches and strengthens the corporations. It is a source of super-profits to industry and a means of depressing the earning level of all workers, thus keeping down the living standards of the working people as a whole. Finally, it is a dividing weapon weakening the unity of the workers in the plant and reducing the effectiveness of the trade union movement.

The Facts

THE economic facts of life regarding women workers reveal themselves most dramatically in the report of the U.S. Census Bureau. This Government statistical agency reported that, in 1948, the average family headed by a male had an income of only $2,396 a year. But the average family headed by a white woman had an income of $1,133 a year—*one-half* the mans' income! The economic position of the Negro woman is infinitely worse, reflecting the double discrimination against her both as a Negro and as a woman: the average family headed by a Negro woman had an income of only $492, or *one-fifth* of the yearly earnings of white men!

Here is both the result and the proof of the discrimination practised in many forms against women wage earners:

Women, and especially Negro women, are denied the right to work in many industries. Companies restrict

job opportunities to unskilled jobs, force women into sweat-shop industries, refuse to grant them equal pay for equal work and lay them off where possible without regard to seniority. All of these factors combined force the average woman worker in American industry to receive sweat-shop wages of less than $1,500 a year during a period when authoritative studies revealed that a worker's family required at least $4,008 a year to live on an adequate standard of health and decency.

At the very heart of the fight for economic equality for women workers is the struggle to abolish discrimination in rates of pay which contribute to keeping women at the bottom rung of the economic ladder. Rate discrimination in American industry takes two major forms. First is the employers' policy of paying women a lower rate than men for the *same* or *comparable* work. Second, and even more widespread is the *underpaying of jobs* customarily performed by women in relation to jobs performed by men requiring less or equal skill.

Employer's Arguments Answered

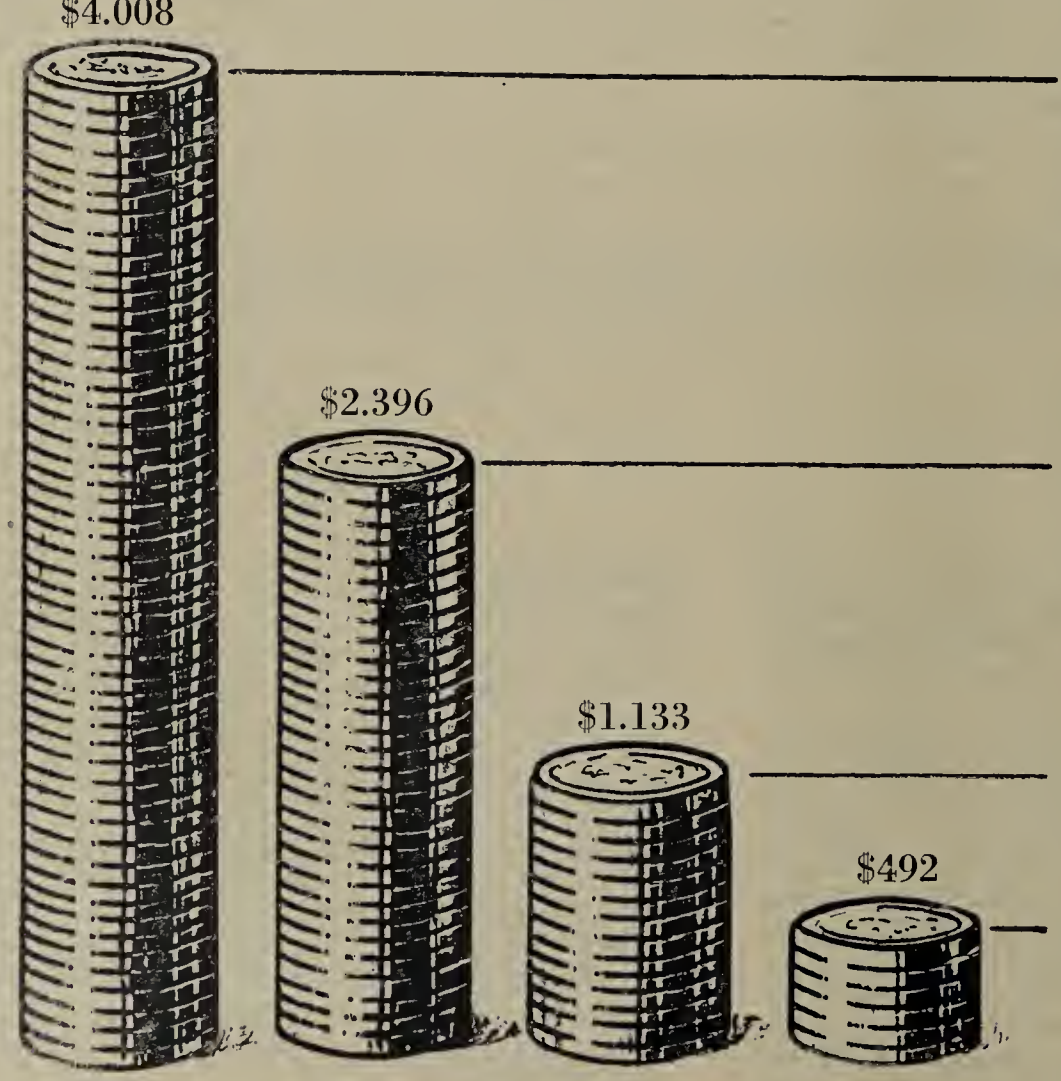
IN its ordinary usage, the failure to pay "equal pay for equal work" usually refers to a situation where men and women working side by side on the same operations, such as drill press, winding, and other occupations, are paid at different rates, with the differential in favour of the man.

What are the arguments advanced by industry for this policy of unequal pay? It must be said that few employers have attempted to justify this policy by the claim that they secure less profits from the operation of women drill press operators for example, than they do from men drill press operators. Nor have they seriously alleged that there is a difference in the quantity and quality of work upon which such a differential can be justified. Therefore, in an attempt to create some ideological justification for so obvious a discriminatory practice, employer groups have gone outside the field of economics into the realm of so-called "sociological and psychological factors."

Among the most common arguments put forth by employers are the following:

1. "*Women workers are only transients in industry and, therefore, they do not merit the same wage scales as the permanent, i.e. male, portion of the labour force.*" This argument is, of course, a companion piece to the highly publicised maxim that the American woman's "place" is in the home, performing the duties of mother and housewife, and that women only occasionally seek employment in industry. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Far from being a recent addition to the labour force, women workers have worked during all stages in the growth of the American economy. As early as 1830, a substantial number of women were employed on the railroads and, when the system of factory production



developed, women from the outset were called upon to carry the load in such industries as textiles. Industries which developed on a large scale in the 20th century, such as electrical manufacturing, from the very beginning used women as a substantial part of the labour force. Thus, we find that in 1870, 13% of the female population were gainfully employed. To-day, over 34% of the female population is so employed, and they make up approximately one-third of the labour force. The permanence of women as part of the labour force is indicated in the fact that one out of every two working women is 35 or more years of age, and that at least one-half of all working women are married.

2. "*Women work only for* pin money *or extra spending money and, therefore, whatever pay they get is more than adequate even if it is below men's scales.*" Logical extension of this argument of the employers would be, of course, that all wage rates should be established on the basis of the workers' needs. Since industry has at no time recognised the principle of a guaranteed minimum living wage, the argument as it applies to women obviously rings false. The fact is that women work because of pressing economic need. Frieda S. Miller, head of the U.S. Womens' Bureau, attached to the U.S. Department of Labor, a Government agency, knocked this argument on the head with the statement that "*Surveys reveal women must work to support themselves and often other persons as well. . . . Economic responsibilities fall on the shoulders of women of all ages and of all marital status groups. . . . Women workers far from being scot free, are often tied down by financial obligations for elders or children who, but for women's earnings, would be without adequate support. Some women are the sole supporting wage earners in their families.*"

Under the war mobilisation programme, with its ever-increasing attacks on living standards, the necessity for women to work in order to supplement the family income is becoming even greater. A top business and financial newspaper, the *Wall Street Journal*, acknowledged that the "*cost of living is driving women from the kitchen*" (May 15, 1951). In the electrical and machine industry, 82% of the married women have to work to support themselves and others, according to a joint survey made by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (U.E.) and the New York State Department of Labour.

Female labour in a fur dyeing shop.

Finishers in a fur manufacturing shop.

When these employers' arguments are analysed, one fact becomes evident: that women in America are a permanent part of the labour force and will remain so. This is not only for the reason that women must have the right to work to fulfil their own ability and potential in every field of endeavour, but because industry requires their skills and because economic pressures on working class families require women to become wage earners. The "sociological factors" are not the real source for discrimination in industry, the truth being that the entire fabric of legal, economic and social discrimination against women exists precisely for the reason that employers need a defence to continue to exploit women workers as a source of cheap labour.

Unions Fight for Equal Pay

FROM the period of World War I onward, and particularly during the period of World War II, when the influx of women into industry and into the labour movement reached new heights, sections of the labour movement fought determinedly to eliminate this most flagrant form of rate discrimination against women. It was recognised that the payment of lower rates to women for the same jobs as men threatens the displacement of the higher paid workers or the acceptance by them of a lower rate of pay and would tend to depress all wage levels. A number of unions fought to win equal pay clauses in their collective bargaining agree-

ments. In basic industry U.E. was a pace-setter in this field. A substantial number of U.E. contracts now contain clauses guaranteeing equal pay for men and women whose work is equivalent and comparable.

This principle was also recognised during World War II by the War Labour Board, a Government agency established to regulate wage movements and settle industrial disputes. The fight for equal pay took on legislative aspects with all main sections of the labour movement supporting passage of Federal and State laws prohibiting discrimination in payment of wages between the sexes for work of the same or comparable character. However, in spite of the long history of this fight, there are only twelve State equal pay laws. These are rarely, if ever, enforced, since they contain many loopholes and there is no national law.

Furthermore, companies continue to violate contractual equal pay provisions by making minor changes in jobs which do not in any way affect their job content or the nature of the operation, but are used as a pretext to substitute women workers for men workers and accordingly to lower the rates. An example of this subterfuge in the equal pay principle occurred in the largest General Electric plant, where the company imposed a 41c. hourly differential between coil winding operations performed by men and by women, where the only difference in the job was a difference of fifty mills. in the size of the wire used by women operators! These are the situations which the U.E. is attempting to fight vigorously on a day to day, plant by plant basis in all sections of the industry.

The Fight to Raise Rates on Jobs Performed by Women

EXPERIENCE taught U.E. that the fight to eliminate rate discrimination against women cannot be confined to waging campaigns for equal pay for the *same* work only. It means coming to grips with the entire biased wage structure prevailing in industry under which jobs on which women are predominantly employed are consciously underrated and underpaid.

In the electrical and machine industry, as in industry generally, there exists, in effect, a dual wage structure. Under this structure, women are assigned exclusively to certain jobs, such as assembling, bench jobs and light machine operations primarily repetitive in nature. Such jobs are paid rates below the lowest rated man's job in the plant, usually common labour. This situation sometimes expresses itself in the form of two separate wage schedules, one for so-called " women's jobs " and one for so-called " men's jobs." Such a practice prevails in most of the General Electric and Westinghouse plants, the two most powerful and dominant corporations in the industry, which in large measure set the standards for wage levels in the industry in many communities where the G.E. or Westinghouse plant is the dominant industrial plant. In some plants, while there may be only one wage curve, all the jobs performed by women are concentrated at the very bottom of the wage curve, still *below unskilled rates for male labour.*

This form of rate discrimination reflects itself in the comparison of women's and men's average earnings in the electrical manufacturing industry:

Average Hourly Earnings—July, 1948

All women	$1.229
All men	$1.576
Unskilled men	$1.305
Semi-skilled and skilled men	$1.615

Not only were women's average hourly earnings considerably below that of the average for men, but women's earnings were even 7½c. an hour below the average for *unskilled* men.

In 1945, the U.E., in collective bargaining negotiations with General Electric and Westinghouse chains, charged that the existing differentials between " women's " and " men's " jobs could not be justified on the basis of comparative job content, but were based only on the sex of the workers performing the jobs. This case was eventually submitted as a dispute case to the National War Labor Board.

The companies at first maintained that the " women's jobs " were simple, repetitive jobs and worth less than even the unskilled male jobs, but they were exposed by their own systems of job grading and analysis. It was proved that, according to the job grading systems of both companies, the evaluation and characteristics of the jobs performed by women resulted in the designation of point values which were equivalent to, and in most instances higher than, the point values assigned to unskilled male jobs and certainly to the male job of common labour. The method by which women's jobs

WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION

Soviet woman plays an important role in socialist society, making a tremendous contribution to the great progress being made in the building of Communism. She is given every opportunity to take an active part in the leadership of the country. There are 280 women deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 2,209 deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and Autonomous Republics. Among the members of local soviets there are *more than half a million women*!

There are a great many women cadres in the Soviet Union. At present, there are more than 800,000 women specialists who have completed higher education (three times as many as pre-war in 1940). There are 400,000 women engineers and technicians. More than a million women are studying at institutes of higher and secondary education. A great many women have received titles of honour such as Heroine of the Soviet Union, Heroine of Socialist Labour or are Stalin Prize winners, and 730,000 women have been decorated with orders and various medals.

In the Soviet Union there is a constant concern for raising the material and cultural level of the women workers, collective farmers, and office employees.

Large sums of money are devoted every year to maternity and child welfare, to help mothers of large families, to mothers who must support themselves, and for the health protection of families. The care of mother and child in the Soviet Union is the concern of the entire people.

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To this woman, subjected to savage police brutality in a Michigan demonstration, the question of whether women need to work to earn a living is a purely academic one.

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requiring more skill than male jobs were nonetheless paid at lower rates was bluntly revealed in the following quotation from the Job Evaluation Manual used by General Electric in 1937: *"For female operations, the values shall be two-thirds of the values for adult male workers."* Thus General Electric's own system made it clear that, while the job content of work customarily performed by women on the basis of job evaluation is equal to or superior to that of many occupations performed by men, a mark-down technique is used to

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A double line of men and women pickets form round the Schenectady (New York) plant of the General Electric Company as part of a nation-wide demonstration against General Electric, General Motors and the Westinghouse Electric Company.

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establish a differential in wages. The same practice was uncovered in Westinghouse. Since it was impossible to justify existing differentials on the basis of job content, these companies resorted to the old arguments about the nature of women's rôle in industry, sociological factors and others referred to above.

After a comprehensive survey of the facts, including investigation of the jobs in the plants themselves, the Board ruled that the differential between men and women rates *"cannot be justified on the basis of comparative job content. . . . There appears to be a conscious under-valuation of women's jobs by both companies."* The Board went further in answering the industrialists' argument that low wages for women were needed to offset disadvantages to the company resulting from the provision of special conditions for women by making this basic point: *"If men were to be substituted for women on so-called women's jobs, there would probably be a real loss in effort and production, since it is recognised that men are not as well adapted as women for light repetitive work requiring finger dexterity."*

While this Government agency completely upheld the union's point of view, its recommendation was issued when its wartime powers had expired and it had no authority to implement its orders. The fight for the elimination of the differential became one of the issues in U.E.'s 1946 strikes against General Electric and Westinghouse and resulted in a special increase for women workers several cents above and beyond the general wage increase won for all workers.

The fight must still be won, both in the major chain and in the other companies where the identical policy exists of classifying jobs predominantly performed by women below the male common labour rate.

To-day, as a result of the war situation, companies seek to break down wage rates by breaking down jobs not held by women previously, placing women on these jobs, cutting the rates as much as 30 to 40 cents an hour and then speeding up the job.

The U.E. throughout the Union, and especially as part of contract negotiations in the National General Electric and Westinghouse chains, is fighting for the following programme on women's rates: "That there be a re-evaluation and re-slotting of jobs done by women as compared to jobs done by men in order to eliminate discrimination; that the lowest minimum wage rate should be the common labour rate; that women receive equal pay for equal work; that there be a single rate structure."

Stake of Labour

THE pay-off to industry of the discrimination in rates of pay to women workers is super-profits. For example, in the motors and generators industry, with only 28 per cent. women, the employers' value take was $1,540 per employee. But in the electric lamp industry, with 77 per cent. of the employees women, value left to the employer (this corresponds roughly to profits) amounted to as much as $2,619 per employee. (Based on U.S. Census of Manufacturers for 1947.)

The job facing U.E. and the entire American labour movement is a tremendously significant one: To the extent that women are shackled with unjust low wages, to that extent will the entire wage level for all workers be depressed. What is more, only by carrying the fight to achieve full economic and social equality for women will the trade union movement strengthen the entire fight against monopoly exploitation. A movement for economic equality for women will add strength to labour's historic fight for democracy, economic progress and peace.

Preparations for the International Conference on Social Security and Social Insurance

LESSONS OF FRENCH MINERS' VICTORY

By HENRI TURREL

General Secretary of the Miners' Trade Unions International.

SINCE July, 1951, the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. has considered holding an International Conference on Social Security and Social Insurance. The idea for holding such a conference was endorsed by the General Council of the W.F.T.U., which met in Berlin last November. The preparations for this conference are now in full swing.

The initiative taken by the W.F.T.U. on this question is completely in line with the needs of the situation. In fact, severe attacks are at present being made on the gains that the working class has made in social security, attacks which have as their aim a further reduction in the living standards of the workers, already seriously undermined by the policy of war preparation.

An example of these attacks, and also of the possibility of checking such reactionary attempts, was the struggle of the French miners last November.

What was at stake?

After long struggles, the French miners had won the right to free medical supplies. Then, on October 3, 1951, the French government decreed a system of tickets which would force the miners to pay in future 15 per cent of the cost of pharmaceutical supplies. This was a serious attack on the gains already won and on the living standards of the miners. The workers' speedily organised united action. First, in Lens, the mining centre in which the right to free medical supplies was first won, worker-administrators of all trade union affiliations (C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and F.O.) responsible for the workers' mutual benefit societies refused to apply the government decree. A delegation of these worker-administrators went to the Ministry of Labour to demand the abrogation of the decree. When the Minister refused, the delegation reported the interview to the miners and called upon them to set up united action committees against the Ministerial decree. The miners, both those affiliated to the various trade union centres and the unorganised, set up their committees based on the pits, localities and mining services to reply to the attack by strike action. It was necessary, in order properly to prepare the strike, to overcome the manoeuvres of the rightwing trade union leaders, who feared the launching of the movement and, above all, the united action of the miners achieved in their elected rank and file committees.

United Action Committees Lead the Strike

DESPITE these manoeuvres, the united action committees made their own decision to strike, and on November 12, 30,000 miners from 30 pits stopped work. The next day, the strike had involved 40,000 miners in 45 pits. The C.G.T. Regional Miners' organisation then decided to call on the miners for a complete strike for Wednesday the 14th. A very important fact is that this C.G.T. committee placed the leadership of the movement in the hands of the united action committees, which included members of the C.G.T., C.F.T.C., the F.O. and unorganised workers. This appeal met with a ready response, and on that very day 100,000 miners took part in the action, which continued to spread during the following days. *More than* 80 *united action committees met and directed the strike.*

Faced with this development, the French government appealed to the C.F.T.C. and F.O. Federations. Its aim was to conclude a separate agreement with these two organisations, to exclude the C.G.T. Federation, which is by far the most powerful, to create trouble among the miners and to break their unity. But the miners were not taken in by the manœuvre. The united strength of the movement forced the government to retract and, without giving complete satisfaction, to make important concessions. The only payment is a tax of 60 francs on certain prescriptions in a limited category, regardless of the cost of these services. The gains previously won by the miners were re-established almost in their entirety by a modified government decree. The state also made an advance payment of 5,000 million francs for social security benefits. This means that the miners' action saved them from this additional charge which the government had tried to impose. Further, the miners demanded a larger sum of money, and the exigencies of the situation led the president of the Miners' National Insurance Fund, a State Councillor, to ask the government for a further 2,000 million francs and for supplementary resources of 300 million francs to avoid the necessity of the cashiers having to close their doors.

" A Broadside Against Sectarianism "

TO understand the immense progress achieved by the French miners in unity of action it is necessary to call to mind their heroic two-month strike of October-November, 1948. After that experience, it was not easy to reconcile the miners who had maintained the strike to the end with those who had returned to the pits before the call was given to begin work. This provided fertile ground for sectarianism.* In spite of the perseverance of militants and of the trade unions in calling for " a broadside against sectarianism," the movement for unity made very slow progress. But, faced with attacks on their gains, unity was re-established among the miners, and a great movement for the regrouping of forces arose for the defence of their rights, particularly for the safeguarding and the improvement of social security.

The victory resulting from this unity would have been more complete but for the manoeuvres of the disruptive leaders of those national organisations which took part in separate negotiations with the government in the absence of the most representative Federation, the C.G.T. The national leaders of the F.O. and the C.F.T.C. showed once more that they are not defending the interests of the miners, but those of the employers and the government, since they went to the government's rescue by betraying the interests of the miners at a time when the government was ready to capitulate.

A Shabby Pretext

THE pretext used by the government for its attack on one of the miners' established rights was the deficit in the miners' social security fund. However, it is clearly established that this deficit results from the increased cost of pharmaceutical supplies and hospital expenses, from the continual occurrence of accidents and industrial illnesses, from the inadequate wage paid to the miners and from the reduction in the number of miners employed. It is thus understandable that the miners should refuse to make up the deficit, which arises solely from the government policy of low wages, high prices and super-exploitation. The miners have shown by their strike their determination to force the government to make up the deficit and to finance miners' social security.

Together with the financial question, the miners are concerned with the problem of the administration of social security. The government's purpose is , in fact, to remove members of the C.G.T. from positions of leadership and administration of this service, although the C.G.T. candidates in the elections which were held in July 1951 obtained 202,666 votes, or 60 per cent of the total votes cast, while the F.O. candidates received 79,301 votes, and the C.F.T.C. candidates 67,407. The immoral coalition of representatives of the government, the employers and the rightwing trade union leaders has allowed the latter to grab the positions of leadership in the miners' social security, against the will of the miners. This flagrant violation of democracy for the purpose of facilitating attacks on the social gains of underground workers is completely foreign to the desire for unity and for action which expresses itself among the miners.

International Significance of the Victory

THE victory won by the miners goes beyond the scope of their own industry. It is a victory for all the workers of France in their fight for the defence of social security. It is an example of effective action for the working class of all those countries in which attacks are being made on the social gains of the workers.

Further, on the international scale the fight and the victory of the French miners has a special significance for the countries involved in the Schuman Plan. This

* Henri Martel, **Sectarianism Must Go!** in WTUM No. 3, 1951.

★

Hard work and inadequate social security are leading to increased illness and accidents among miners in the capitalist countries. Here is a French underground worker cutting coal.

★

plan foresees the levelling of wages and social rights to the basis of that country in which the working class is, in this respect, in the least advantageous position. It is thus understandable why the French government, a signatory to the Schuman Plan, has tried to apply the clauses of the plan to the French miners, and why the miners' victory becomes an obstacle and an embarrassment to the proponents of "levelling," in that the miners of other countries are likely to be inspired by the example of their French comrades.

The dangers in which social security systems are exposed in the Schuman Plan countries are clearly revealed by Article 69 of the Plan, which states:

> *"The Member-States will seek to establish among themselves all arrangements necessary so that provisions concerning social security do not create obstacles to the movement of labour."*

There it is, quite clearly. With the deportation of labour envisaged, it is a question of making certain that, for example, miners transplanted from France to the Ruhr do not find themselves at a "disadvantage" in the social security system which they find there. From this comes the idea of the French government for removing one of the obstacles created by social security by a levelling down process.

Article 68 of the Schuman Plan states:

> *"When modifications take place in a State regarding provisions for the financing of social security or means of combating unemployment, where a variation of wages brings about the situation envisaged in Article 67"* (that is to say, disequilibrium in the competition between the enterprises of Member-States) *"the High Authority is empowered to apply the provisions of the said Article."* (That is, to make recommendations to that State to establish similar competitive conditions).

The French government thus wished to set an example by attacking miners' social security. And it is not alone in this. In other countries, also, attacks of this kind are taking place, and a counter-attack is being organised. In Great Britain, for example, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced, on January 29, budget economies of more than £500 million on health, education and housing. The miners took up the struggle against these attacks on social security which propose to abolish free dental service, orthopaedic apparatus and hearing-aids, by refusing to work the Saturday shift beginning on February 3. On February 27, about 40,000 miners employed in 65 pits took part in this form of struggle in order to defeat this "austerity" policy which is the result of the policy of war preparations.

The Lessons

WHAT lessons can be learned from this French miners' strike?

The first is that the French miners have won a victory on an international scale by defeating one of the Schuman Plan provisions. They have shown the possibility of making a breach in this monstrous alliance directed against the workers and against peace. Their victory will allow the miners, by organising themselves firmly on an international basis, and with the help of all sections of the working population, to inflict further defeats on the warmongers and the workers' enemies.

The second lesson is that the way of unity is the way to victory. This victory was, in fact, possible only because of organised unity and because the widest democracy in the united action committees was respected. These committees, elected by the miners and bringing together all points of view, by their leadership of the strike enabled the miners to cement their unity and enabled all those who had become separated to meet together fraternally, to gain new experience and to forge together the weapons for future victories. Thanks to this rank and file unity of action, the splitting manoeuvres of the government and its accomplices, the national leaders of the C.F.T.C. and the F.O., were clearly exposed.

The strength of the movement surprised the miners' enemies, for whom the attack on social security did not appear to contain the basis of mobilisation and struggle, and who hoped to succeed easily in their objectives. On the contrary, it was plainly revealed that this is a vital problem for the workers, and that the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. is right in approving the organisation of an International Conference on Social Security and Social Insurance. There is no doubt that mineworkers are very much interested in this Conference and that they will send a large and broadly-based delegation. It is more important than ever to apply the recommendations of the 5th Session of the General Council of the W.F.T.U.:

> *"to organise a united workers' front on the basis of the broadest possible united action to: develop and give general support to movements for demands relating to social security, while seeking to obtain the funds from government and employer sources."*

In this way a most important contribution will be made to the reduction of armaments expenditure and to the utilisation of the sums thus released for the benefit of the working people.

Central Africans Refuse Yoke of Federation

BY A RHODESIAN CORRESPONDENT

COLONIAL exploitation, the breeding ground of latent fascism, the birth-place of racial discrimination with its practice of terrorism, degradation and segregation, has ever been the 'way of life' for exploiting the African people. On both sides of the Atlantic, in Africa and America, the 'white man's burden' and 'western civilisation' have cloaked the practice of 'white supremacy.' It has justified terror, murder, humiliation, torture, repression and inhuman exploitation in order to force the coloured peoples to an acceptance of the role of the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' without any human rights. It is in the light of this background of oppression that the proposed federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland must be examined.

This plan of federation is an imperialist plan. It has nothing in common with the interests of the people. It is a plan to increase their exploitation and intensify the robbery of their country's natural resources. It is a plan to enrich the big monopolies who every year drain millions of pounds in profits from those territories; and to impoverish the people whose standard of living is already deplorably low. It is a plan to facilitate the development of central Africa as a war base against the Soviet Union and against the national liberation movements of South East Asia and the Middle East. It is a plan whose roots lie deep in the growing United States economic, political and military penetration of the African continent.

For many months now the imperialists have been pressing ahead with their aim of tightening their hold on Central Africa. In November, 1951, the British Tory Government declared its conviction that there was an urgent need to secure the closer association of the three African territories—Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—and that this would be best achieved by federation. This declaration followed the abortive conference at Victoria Falls in Sep-

tember, 1951, when the African representatives vigorously opposed the scheme for federation put forward by a conference of officials of the territories which had been held in London the previous March. A conference of officials of the territories is scheduled in London for April, 1952, which is to formulate a final scheme for federation which could then be discussed both in Africa and London.

This 'urgent need' was, in fact, conditioned by the deepening imperialist crisis, by the weakening and disintegration of British imperialism in Asia, where the Government continues to extract superprofits from Malayan tin and rubber at the cost of heavy military commitments and the slaughter of former allies in the anti-fascist war. A considerable reduction of imperial tribute from Asia with its people in revolt, and the need to secure a huge raw materials base focussed increasing attention on African 'development.'

AN IMPERIALIST PLAN

MR. STANLEY EVANS, one of the Labour Members of Parliament who officially toured Central Africa to convince Africans of the 'advantage' of closer association with Southern Rhodesia, stated in November that "*British standards of living, even Britain's independent existence still rests on the 'imperial heritage'. . . . within the Anglo-American partnership we must be prepared to fight for our 'rights' like a dog fights for a bone.*"

The rightwing labour leaders of Britain eulogised colonialism under the guise of 'development' as a means of reducing 'dollar dependency,' but the scale of capital investment required can only be undertaken with the aid of enormous grants from the rulers of the United States. Thus, the very process of colonial exploitation on imperialist lines must bring about the gradual transfer of the British colonial empire to the U.S.A.

With specious formulae and high-sounding phrases of partnership, the British Labour Government hoped to inveigle the African people in to a voluntary acceptance of the yoke of federation and its 'paper safeguards' against imperialist domination.

The London *Times* on November 22, 1951, referred to the project of federation as "*an imperial issue*" and stated that "*the new (Tory) Government have lost no time in making clear that they intend to steer much the same course as their predecessors (the Labour Government) on the main issues of Colonial policy. . . . the (Tory) Colonial Secretary spoke. . . . of the need for 'a British bloc in Central Africa; it was a great issue of Imperial policy.*"

THE MEANING OF COLONIAL "PARTNERSHIP"

THE Native policy of Southern Rhodesia and the aim of the group led by Mr. Welensky in Northern Rhodesia shows the nature of the 'partnership' intended for the African people. Even the 300 or so Africans who had voting rights in Southern Rhodesia have now had those rights withdrawn by the new law which bases voting rights on a prohibitive property qualification. Thus only the whites have voting and citizenship rights.

The 1950 report of the Central African Statistical Office shows that 48,000 Europeans earned £29,900,000 in 1950, (an average of £43 per head). 'Partnership,' therefore, is an arrangement whereby the European takes £14.10s. for every £1 taken by the African!

Tobacco yielded profits of over £19 million to 9,000 European farmers in 1950, while native housing on the farms was reported by the Chief Economist of the Southern Rhodesian Department of Agriculture to be '*usually poor huts, mainly pole and dagga, about* 10 *feet in diameter, improperly ventilated, windowless, rarely weatherproof and generally verminous.*' Many farmers pay less than the low minimum wage recommended by the Labour Committee of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Council.

The net industrial output for 1950 was also more than doubled in the secondary industries and the overall amounted to over £22 million. Yet the Bulawayo *Chronicle* on September 14, 1951, deplored the fact that "*hundreds of native families are squatting in scattered and unauthorised slum compounds . . . . pathetic attempts of homeless people to house themselves. Often the landowner charges a not inconsiderable rent to the squatters. The surrounding veldt reeks with the stench of latrines.*"

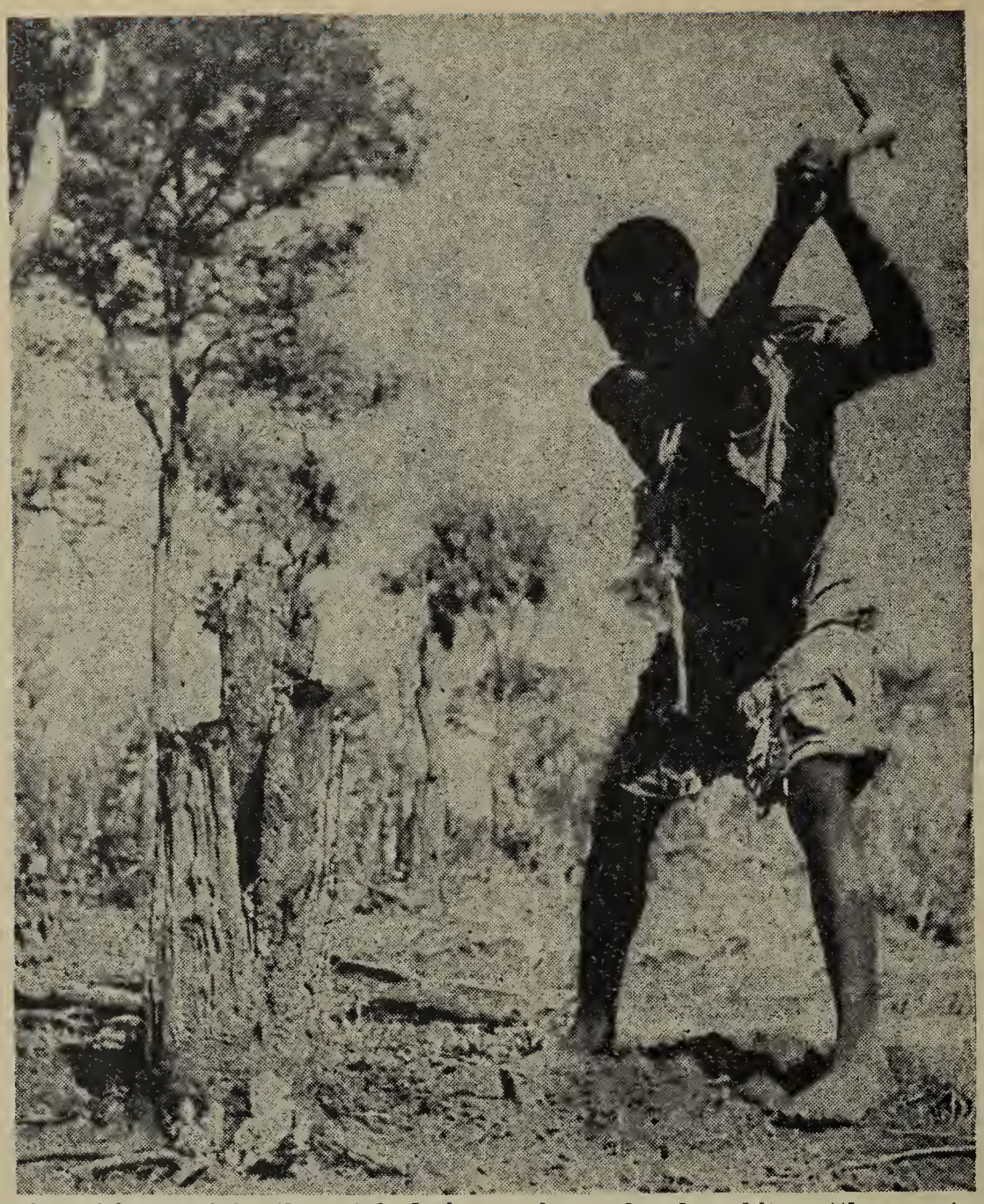
Hundreds of African families have been given notice to quit land occupied and farmed in some cases for 25 years under the Land Apportionment Act. They have to move long distances from land 'Scheduled for Europeans' to land 'Scheduled for Africans,' which was known in some cases to be without water, and to be malarial and poisonous for cattle. Hundreds of Africans have been prosecuted under this act and it is proposed to move nearly ten thousand of them in this way. The latest figures show that Europeans hold 48½ million acres and Africans 21¼ million acres in reserves plus native Purchase Areas of nearly 8 million acres. The ratio of population, however, is 136,000 Europeans to 1,960,000 Africans.

The Industrial Conciliation Act of Southern Rhodesia prevents Africans from entering skilled employment and they have no right to form or register trade unions. The Africans in Northern Rhodesia have this right. Mr. P. E. Fletcher, Minister for Native Affairs, has expressed complete opposition to the formation of trade unions 'of the political type' and does not like the unofficial African trade unions. He favours the eventual formation, under a strict Government supervision, of "Workers' Councils," which could speak for the people. In the present stage of development, he considers it better to rely on the traditional methods of direct dealings with native chiefs, and to this end announced in July the setting up of Councils of Chiefs in the Colony "*in order to give the African people an opportunity to speak with one voice.*"

Under the Subversive Activities Bill, it is "*practically impossible to hold any meeting of Africans without a member of the Criminal Investigation Department being present to report to the authorities.*" Thus a police state is complete for the African people. The Africans of Southern Rhodesia know that federation could only worsen the overall position of Africans in the other territories and would far outweigh any temporary respites or improvement they may be given for the purpose of 'window-dressing' federation proposals.

INTENSIVE COLONIAL EXPLOITATION REQUIRES "STABILITY"

THE real purpose of the drive for federation was clearly indicated by Mr. Roy Welensky, a leading Unofficial Member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly, a European who would like to see the same 'white demo-



The Africans of Southern Rhodesia are forced by the white settlers on to the poorest lands, where primitive tools and backward methods keep them in poverty.

cracy' set up in Northern Rhodesia as exists in Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Welensky considers the African *unfit to govern for many generations.*

The initial 'pressure' for federation came mainly from Southern Rhodesia and the Northern Rhodesian group around Mr. Welensky. Because past promises to Africans concerning their economic and political development would be broken by this proposed federation, it was politic for the British Government to allow the approach to come from the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

When in Britain, Mr. Welensky wrote in *Everybody's Weekly* that *"closer association can no longer remain an idle dream if we are to have a British state powerful enough to resist pressure, economic and political. You would have a population of 6 millions, an annual income of over £40 million, 474,000 square miles with some of the best food producing lands in Africa, the Zambesi and Kafue rivers offering unrivalled opportunities for production of hydro-electric power and a reserve of mineral wealth only exceeded perhaps by North America . . . copper, cobalt, chrome, lead, zinc, vanadium of tremendous importance if the Western world is to survive an onslaught from the Communist east."*

Again interviewed by the Bulawayo *Chronicle* on September 6, 1951, he said concerning his European trip that he had been *" tremendously impressed by the interest of bankers and industrialists . . . in the political future of Central Africa.* They had told him: *" If you get federation it means stability and if you get political stability we are interested in 'your' country."*

One month after the publication of the report proposing federation, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation issued a statement that *"within the next five years Britain will double her investments in African colonies."*

AMERICA STAKES A CLAIM

THE African riches have naturally whetted the appetite of Wall Street's millionaires. During 1951 they have been most active in extending their economic and political links with Central Africa. When the Southern Rhodesian Government sent their economic adviser, Sir Gordon Munro, to America immediately after the federation proposals and with an assurance of " stability," the response from Wall Stret was immediate.

On July 6, Mr. W. L. Batt of the E.C.A. Mission to the United Kingdom, (Marshall Plan), announced that £5,000,000 would be directed to financing the Rhodesian Railways' programme of increased rolling stock, track improvements, and other facilities.

On the following day, the London *Financial Times* commented: *" There may be some surprise that funds which traditionally would have come from the London market should be coming from other sources. It is not difficult to see the connection between the new United States' financing for the Railways and Copper Industry itself."* Quite easy, in fact, for Mr. Batt had gone on to say that *"the loan will be repaid to the fullest extent possible in raw materials in which the United States is deficient, such as cobalt, copper, tungsten and chrome. To facilitate mining operations, Southern Rhodesia will guarantee monthly deliveries of coal to the copper regions* (of Northern Rhodesia) *from its Wankie Collieries."*

American interest in the Railways had been shown in 1949 when experts took part in an extensive survey, and in August 1951, a team of American railway consultants arrived in Bulawayo to investigate prospects for increasing rail facilities between Southern Rhodesia and the East Coast ports. Earlier in the year, another American, Dr. Charles Converse, irrigation expert, took charge of the Sabi Valley Ex-

perimental Scheme and the American, Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk, later advised on food production.

On August 23, 1951, the Minister of Finance stated that a large increase in dollar allocations to bring petrol, piece goods and paper from the U.S.A. had been made, $560,000 for piece goods, $820,000 increase in paper allocation and $300,000 supplementary allocation for petrol with *"no limit to the dollars we can have."* Also on August 14, 1951, the Economic Co-operation Administration of the U.S. Government loaned £3 million to the Chibuluma Mines for the development of new sources of copper and cobalt in Northern Rhodesia.

The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation announced last September that $8,000 million would be allocated for economic development in Africa, south of the Sahara, *'to develop the most profitable new sources of production and new forms of wealth.'* Simultaneously, the International Bank announced the sending of a mission to Southern Rhodesia. The U.S. Government, through E.C.A., has also undertaken to finance the development and exploitation programme of three Rhodesian asbestos mines.

This is home—for a husband, wife and their four children in Bulawayo, one of the chief towns in Southern Rhodesia.

RAW MATERIALS AND U.S. WAR PREPARATIONS

THE Rhodesias' part in American war preparations had become clear at the Commonwealth Defence Conference in London in June, 1951. *"We see in this Conference,"* wrote the Bulawayo *Chronicle* on June 20, *"Rhodesia's introduction as a cog in the vast machinery of defence preparations linked with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation."*

At Nairobi in August, 1951, the African Defence Conference discussed ways and means of facilitating communications and the movement of troops and supplies in the eastern and central parts of Africa. The presence of American "observers" gave emphasis to American interest in Rhodesian railways.

Mr. Gordon Walker, ex-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the Labour Government, is quoted by the Bulawayo *Chronicle* on September 12, 1951, as stating that, *"it seems to me that copper, which is important for war purposes and a big dollar earner, should be produced* (in the Rhodesias) *in even greater quantities."*

The extent of the exploitation of the copperbelt can be seen from the latest financial reports of the Roan Antelope Copper Mines and Mufulira Copper Mines. Roan's gross profits for the first six months of 1951/2 have amounted to £4,232,000 compared with £2,695,000 in the first half of 1950/51; Mufulira's figure is £4,300,000 against £3,796,000. The copper mining companies are dominated by two great American trusts, the American Metal Company and the Newmont Mining Corporation, the former of the two owning most of the shares of the Anglo-American Rhodesian Corporation, which is linked in an international cartel with De Beers Diamond Syndicate and I. G. Farben.

AFRICAN OPPOSITION

AFRICAN reaction to the Federation proposals was immediate and decisive. Uppermost in the minds of the African people was the fear that the Federated State would be largely dominated by Southern Rhodesia whose government practises a form of racism as vicious as that of the Malan Government of the Union of South Africa.

On July 22, 1951, the president of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, said they would oppose Federation unless nationalisation of the copper mines, universal suffrage and other political and economic reforms were granted. The Northern Rhodesia African Congress passed the following resolution in February 1952, following a meeting in January, 1952, in London of the officials of the territories, which de-

cided to press ahead with the federation scheme:

"Realising that the Tory Government is about to attempt to force through federation against the unanimous wish of the African people, in the absence of normal power to prevent such a move, congress adopts in principle mass protest action, and resolves to begin immediately a campaign to organise the people for such action. Further, congress appoints a supreme action council of nine, including five seats filled by the Trade Union Congress, to plan mass action; this council to be empowered to issue orders for action in the name of congress up to and including the serious step of calling for a national stoppage of work. The council shall have power to call for mass action at any moment during the time of the federation crisis that they shall think tactically wise."

Whilst the African Railway Workers' Union with all other African unions opposed federation, the exclusively European Rhodesian Railway Workers' Union alone accepted the principle of federation. It maintains a position of colour privilege, which, according to railway statistics, enable European employees to average 60 pounds a month to the African employees' £2.10s. a month.

On August 10, 1951, the Anti-Federation Committee of Northern Rhodesia made it very clear that *"should federation be forced against the wishes of the African people, it will be taken as a final betrayal of Africans and treaty obligations. We will not submit to federation. We will take our case to the courts of the world, to the Hague and to U.N. We will resist it at home. Closer association is not so essential, or so urgent, or so desirable as to be acceptable on a basis which gives the settlers all political power and the Africans ineffective token power. The African people are not to be given their fair share of political power. They will therefore be unable to protect themselves from the domination of the settler minority. Federation will be considered only after universal suffrage has been granted in all three territories. Until that has been done there will be no bargaining."*

This well shows the determined opposition of the people of Northern Rhodesia.

Meanwhile, in Southern Rhodesia, African unity against the federation plan has been equally impressive.

The Southern Rhodesia African National Congress met at Gwelo on August 18, 1951, to consider the Federation Report. The African Association, the Federation of African Workers' Unions, the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union, the African Farmers' Union and the African Waiters' Association were all represented and united in their opposition to the plan.

In Nyasaland, the same opposition to the federation plan was expressed, the Nyasaland African Congress President, Mr. J. R. N. Chinyama, issuing a statement declaring: "We do not want Federation or any other form of closer political union with Southern Rhodesia."

Everywhere the Africans said firmly: "No! We do not want Federation! We do not want the hateful racialist policies of the Southern Rhodesian white settlers to be extended to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We do not want these policies intensified in Southern Rhodesia. We want the removal of all colour bar legislation. We want native paramountcy, and the introduction of adult suffrage. We want higher education, and the right to skilled labour. Give us our rights first and then, as free Africans, we can discuss the question of Federation."

It was this united mood of the African people which confronted the imperialists at the Victoria Falls Conference, September, 1951. Failure was inevitable. The African people of the three territories, completely united in their opposition to federation had won a major political victory, emerging from the struggle stronger and more united than ever before.

A tea plantation in Southern Rhodesia.

RHODESIAN WORKERS ORGANISE

THE leading element in the African people's struggle against federation has been the determined stand of the trade unions. Trade unionism, despite enormous difficulties, is making its mark in Central Africa. Outstanding has been the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Trade Union. Formed in 1948, it has achieved a fully paid-up membership of 25,000 out of a total of 40,000 African mine workers in the copper belt. The strength and unity of this trade union has enabled it, in the four years of its existence, to secure wage increases amounting to a total of 75 per cent.

The conduct of the affairs of the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Trade Union, its organisation and activities, have given the lie to the imperialist contention—more vehemently expresed in Central Africa than elsewhere—that Africans will not be fit to manage their own affairs for a considerable number of years. Lawrence Katilungu, the president of the African Mineworkers' Trade Union, and Simon Kaluwa, the general secretary, helped to establish the Northern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress, in which there are affiliated, besides the Mineworkers' Union,

A section of a public meeting in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, called by the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union to announce election results for the Native Advisory Board. The union won all eight seats.

seven other trade unions—the General Workers, Shop Assistants, Drivers, Teachers, Railway Workers, Municipal and Management Board Workers, and the Hotel and Catering Trade Workers. The total membership of the T.U.C. is 43,000.

Most of the trade union leaders play leading roles in the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, which heads the campaign against any form of "closer association" with Southern Rhodesia. The mineworkers union has threatened to go on strike if federation is imposed.

As we have seen, the Africans of Northern Rhodesia are pushing ahead fast in building their trade unions. But despite harsh restrictions and lack of recognition, the Africans of Southern Rhodesia also have trade unions. In Salisbury, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union is slowly making headway. There are also the Railway Workers' Union and the African Workers' Federation, both at Bulawayo.

These unions are constantly struggling to secure better housing facilities for the African workers from the unyielding hands of an unconcerned government and municipal authorities.

Nyasaland is the least developed economically of the three territories. It is entirely agricultural and a large proportion of its able-bodied adult male African population migrate every year to the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa for work.

UNITY OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IS KEY TO FUTURE

THE first attempt to establish the federation at the Victoria Falls Conference in September, 1951, was doomed to failure in the face of the unity and determination of the African people. The decision to postpone and adjourn the Conference until 1952 shows, however, that the attempt to apply federation will be continued and it behoves the African people in these territories to be ever vigilant. The Government of Southern Rhodesia and the Welensky group in Northern Rhodesia know where the Tory Government in Britain stands.

Refusing to be intimidated, the Nothern Rhodesian Anti-Federation Council and the Copper-Belt Anti - Federation Co - ordinating Council have declared that they will call a general strike should federation and its consequences, amalgamation under the fascist-like rule of Southern Rhodesia, be enforced on the African people.

The new sense of unity forged between Africans of the three territories won the first round of the struggle for human rights and independence. Acting for the first time as an indivisible, coherent force, the African people, on the basis of this experience, can go forward with confidence in their ability to liberate themselves and so win their rightful place in the sun. In doing so, they not only serve the cause of the African peoples, but also the cause of world peace and the struggle for human emancipation everywhere.

A meeting of the women's section of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union.

A Soviet Metalworker Speaks to You . . .

● *At the European Conference of Men and Women Workers of the Metal and Engineering Industries, one of the Soviet delegates, I. I. Gura, Chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Agricultural Machinery (Rostselmach) Factory, in Rostov, gave a speech which was welcomed with great enthusiasm by those present, and from which we take the following passage.*

LIKE the whole Soviet people, workers in the metal and engineering industries are engaged in creative, peaceful work. Steel and castings poured by Soviet steelworkers are destined for the production of entirely new technical material which will lighten the work of mankind, for the construction of powerful hydro-electric generating stations, for irrigation and navigation canals, for the strengthening of peace.

The continuous upward development of the metal and engineering industries of the U.S.S.R. is founded on Socialist methods of increasing productivity of labour, on the utilisation of new technique and technology, on the increasing use of automatic processes and the mechanisation of production, on the raising of the workers' skill and their creative development. The growth in the productivity of labour in the U.S.S.R. is constantly accompanied by increases in wages.

The workers in the metal industry and the greater part of the engineering industry receive, in addition to their wages, supplementary payments for length of service : after one year's work they receive an increment of 10% of their annual wage, after 15 years' work, 30%. The old age pension for metal workers who have reached 50 years of age and have worked for 20 years in the industry is 50% of their wage.

Social security, administered by the trade unions, subsidises the workers of Soviet enterprises in case of sickness, pregnancy, confinement, and is used for the feeding of children and for special diets. Further, workers, office employees and their families are given admission tickets to sanatoria, rest homes, children's sanatoria, creches and kindergartens at reduced rates or free of charge. New sanatoria, palaces of culture, rest homes, stadiums, pioneer camps and other cultural and social services are being built, repaired and further equipped.

The trade union organisations have at their disposal a vast system of clubs, palaces of culture, red corners, reading rooms, and libraries where a great work of raising the cultural and technical level of the workers and employees is being carried out.

The necessary conditions for productive work and for leisure activities for the workers is being established in all the factories of the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union work is a matter of honour and glory, valour and heroism.

During the last few years, by government decision, many workers and engineer-technicians in the metal and engineering industries have been awarded Stalin prizes for outstanding work. Tens of thousands of people have received Orders or have been decorated.

I would like to tell this Conference how the workers of the Rostselmach factory for agricultural machinery in Rostov live and work. I am chairman of the factory's trade union committee.

As a result of the perfidious aggression against the Soviet Union by the German invaders, the city of Rostov was subjected to terrible destruction and the giant of the first Stalin Five Year Plan, the Rostselmach factory, was completely destroyed by the interventionists.

After expelling the Hitler invaders, the workers of Rostov, in an unbelievably short time, completely restored the factory, which from the first days of reconstruction began to produce agricultural machinery. For the brilliant restoration of the factory and for carrying out the production of new machines, the workers of the Rostselmach factory have twice been congratulated by the great Stalin.

From 1948, the factory began to produce great quantities of combines, tractor ploughs and other agricultural machinery. The output of agricultural machinery produced by our factory is constantly increasing. Taking 100 as the total production for 1948, production was 255 in 1951. Three times as many combines were manufactured in 1951 as compared with 1940, the last pre-war year. This progress has been obtained by constantly improving the organisation of production, by using modern tools and equipment, and by the conscientious approach of each worker to his job.

As a result of the work eagerly undertaken by our designers, technicians and stakhanovites, we have been able to improve the output of our machines since the war and to produce at a lower cost.

Each year the Rostselmach plant produces its own new types of machines for work on the land and for the harvesting of cereals and feeding stuffs.

Each machine designer and each metal worker in

An assembly line in the Rostselmach plant.

our factory is aware of the relation of his work to the common cause of the fight for peace and for the increased well-being of the workers. For this reason each worker does his utmost to produce as much as possible.

Our worker, using improved technical methods to the maximum, is increasing the productivity of labour. This increase provides a guarantee for the improvement of his standard of living and the strengthening of the economy of our country. Our workers receive a wage for their work which enables them to live in ease with their families.

As an example, I will take an ordinary worker on a milling machine in our plant, Comrade Kashintsev. With the money he received in 1950 and 1951, he has had a house with an orchard built for his family of five. Here is another example : Comrade Dmitrichenko, a young moulder, was able in 1951 to buy two costumes for his wife and two suits for himself as well as a radio set; in addition, he has also furnished his apartment comfortably and built up his library. One could give dozens of examples of this nature.

Many workers from our factory have had houses built for themselves. During the course of three years, nearly 200 workers have built their own houses and at present there are as many more who are doing the same. The Soviet government grants them the land free of charge in perpetuity and gives them long-term building loans.

The factory delivers the materials to those who wish to build individual houses, helps them with the details, and takes full responsibility for all transport. Further, the factory has built apartment houses of several storeys for its workers and office employees. In the last four years more than six hundred families have received comfortable new apartments.

The factory trade union organisation is on the alert every day to improve the working and living

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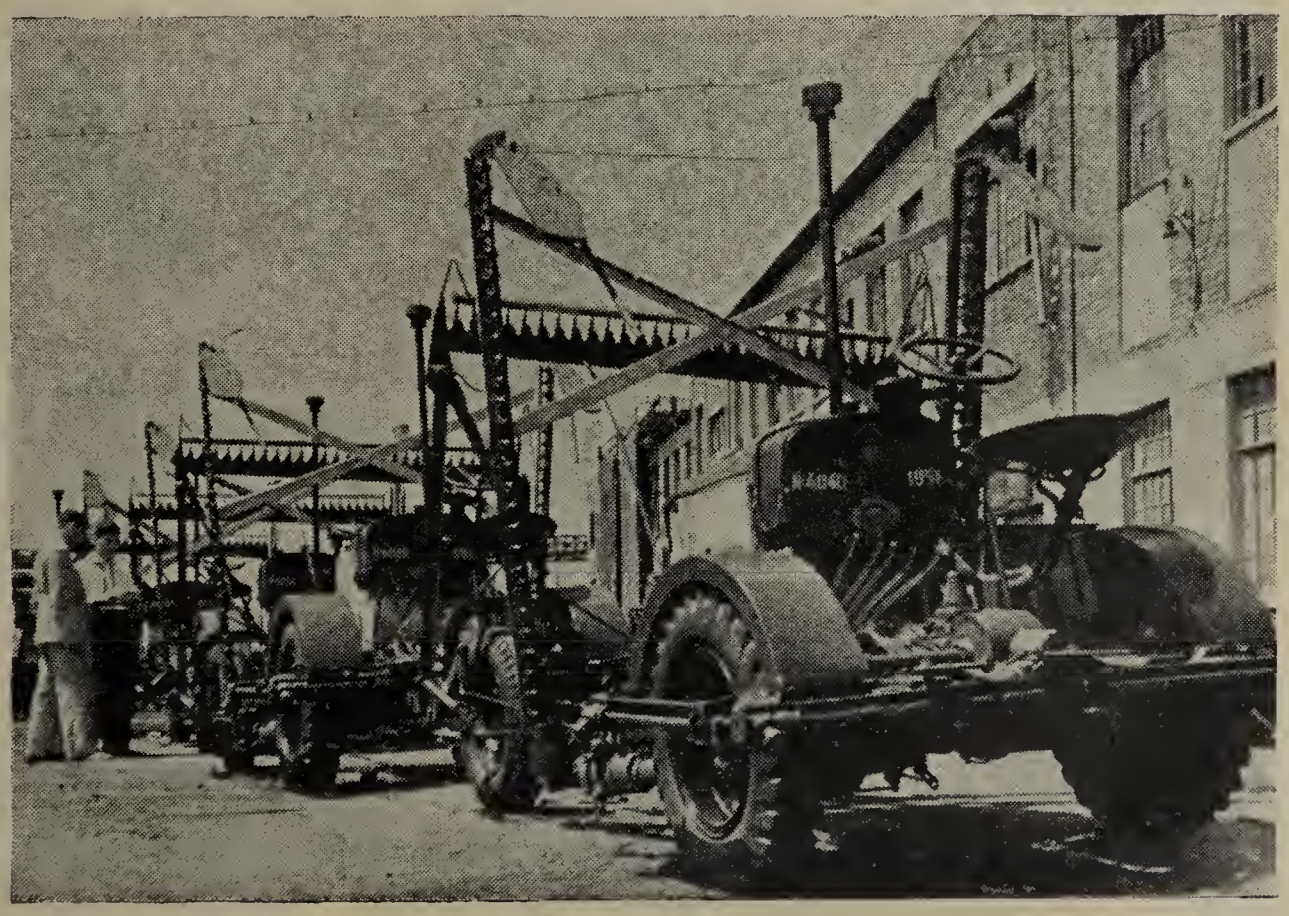
A line of harvesting machines ready to leave the Rostselmach plant.



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A typical worker's house.

conditions of the workers and the medical service. It looks after the general health of the workers and carries on systematic work to raise their cultural and technical level. The factory committee is able to accomplish this work with the help of trade union groups comprising thousands of people. Social insurance is managed by trade union commissions and social insurance delegates. They supervise the work of the medical services, visit those who are ill at home, giving them any help they need, and they send workers away to the sanatoria and rest homes. Inspectors chosen from among the workers supervise safety measures at work.

Those responsible for cultural activity organise conferences, rambles, excursions, as well as amateur artistic activity and evening concerts, etc.

The workers of Rostselmach have their own swimming pool on the banks of the Don River.

On the shores of the Black Sea our factory owns rest homes which can accommodate 150 people at one time. The trade union committee, through social insurance schemes, also buy tickets for the workers and employees to go to rest homes at Sochi, Kislovodsk, the Crimea and elsewhere. In 1951 alone, more than 1,000 workers from our factory were sent to sanatoria and rest homes.

Twenty per cent. of the holiday places are given free of charge, and in all other cases, the workers pay only 30% of the cost.

The factory also possesses children's sanatoria, creches, pioneer camps and kindergartens, to which each year from 1,700 to 1,800 children of our workers go to recuperate.

The workers and office employees of our factory have at their disposal a wide network of medical establishments which give free medical care to those needing it. The factory's polyclinic has at its disposal all medical services, laboratories and all the doctors and specialists it requires. There are 35 specialists. There are also 8 medical stations, and a number of special facilities including some for the care of women.

For the cultural needs of our workers, we have, based on the factory, a Higher Technical Institute, a middle Technical School for Agricultural Machinery, an evening school, a technical study room, libraries, a park of culture, a stadium, a place for water sports and red corners (books, periodicals, etc., to raise the political and cultural level of the workers).

Nearly a thousand young workers take part in amateur artistic circles, and several thousand take part in sports activities.

Over three million roubles were allocated in 1951 to the trade union budget for social insurance alone, to improving the social conditions and the cutural needs of the workers at the plant.

The constant solicitude of the Soviet government, and particularly of Comrade Stalin, for the raising

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Right: Complex agricultural machinery permits the exploitation of vast stretches of land.

Below: To supply the grandiose workshop for peace—this is the ambition of Soviet metalworkers.

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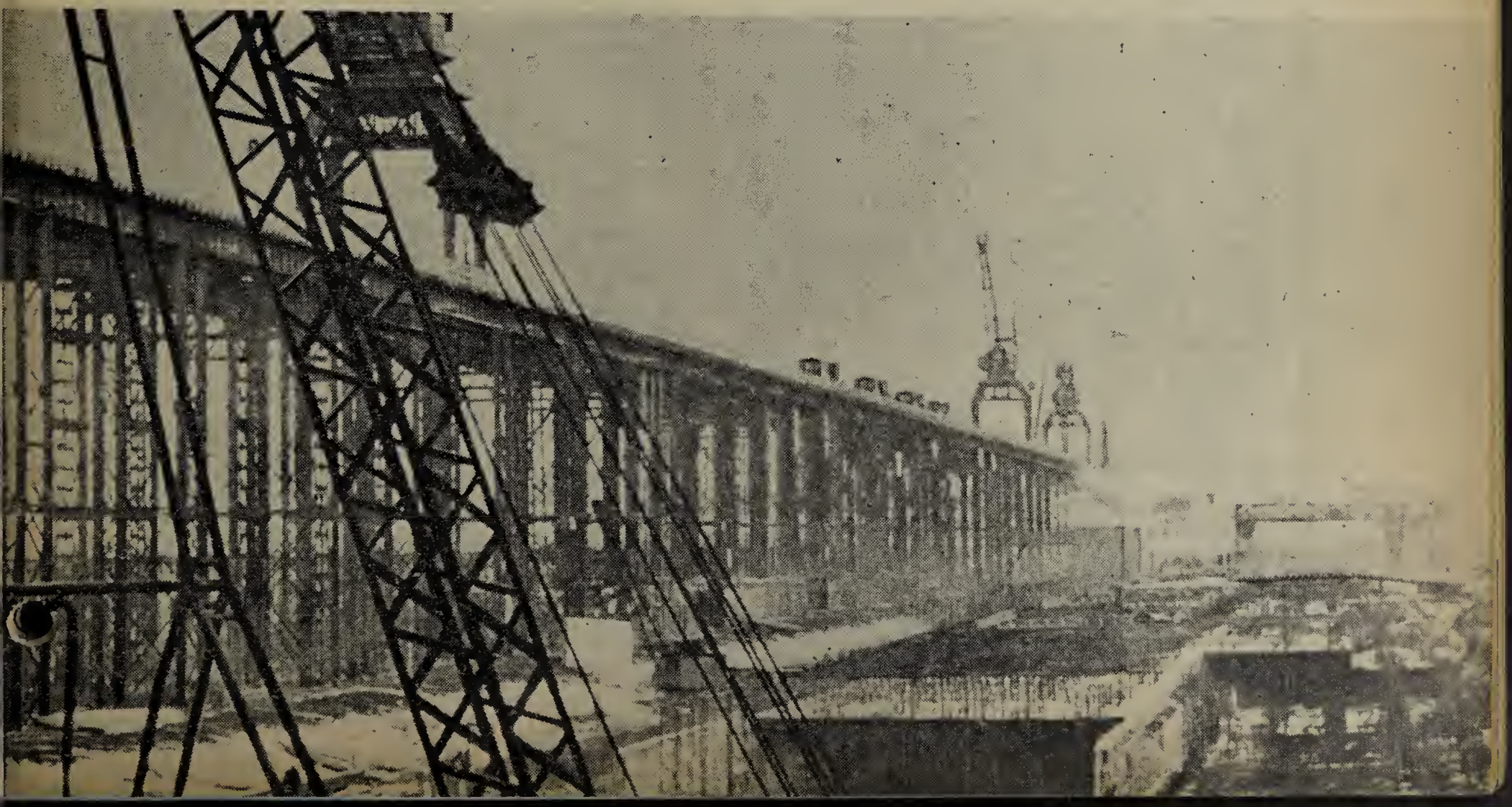

of the technical and general cultural level of the workers results in innumerable qualified specialists, engineers and scientists coming from the ranks of the workers. We can take, for example, Comrade Nizov, formerly a smith in our factory. He completed his studies at the Institute while still employed at the plant, and now he is in charge of an important factory. The former turner, Anatole Safonov, is now a celebrated Soviet writer, winner of the Stalin Prize and Deputy of the Supreme Soviet. Comrade Krasnichenko, an ordinary worker who earned the diploma of the Technical School, is now head of construction in the factory and a Stalin Prize winner.

We could give many examples of this kind, but these are sufficient to show clearly that in the Soviet Union all the conditions have been created to enable every worker to become manager of an enterprise or a scientist.

Guided by the Stalin Constitution, the engineers and metalworkers of our factory are building with faith a peaceful life—their future—Communism.

The workers of the Soviet Union do not want war, and they are contributing actively to strengthening peace throughout the world. This is proved by the 117 million signatures of the workers of the Soviet Union to the appeal of the World Peace Council.

ECONOMIC NOTES

THE FRUITS OF WAR ECONOMY

Unemployment Grows in the Capitalist Countries

Increases of unemployment in certain countries are as follows:

	Official No. of unemployed (last known month)	Real figures (most recent estimate)
Italy ... (November)	1,971,000	2,700,000 plus 3 million partially unemployed in industry and 2,700,000 in agriculture.
Western Germany (February)	1,894,000	over 3 million
Great Britain ... (January)	378,000	600,000 (February)
France ...	132,000	395,000 plus 2,500,000 partially unemployed.
Holland ... (February)	128,000	250,000
Belgium ... (February)	302,000	425,000
Denmark ... (January)	133,000	150,000
Austria ... (February)	215,000	—
Japan ... (October)	470,000	Nearly 18 million wholly or partially unemployed.
United States (February)	2,086,000	Over 3,000,000; 9,382,000 partially unemployed in January.

In comparison with the corresponding month last year, unemployment has increased by 3 per cent in Great Britain, 8 per cent in Austria, 14 per cent in Western Germany, 15 per cent in Japan, 18 per cent in Italy, 24 per cent in Holland, 34 per cent in Denmark and 48 per cent in Belgium.

In the industrially under-developed countries such as India, Pakistan, Egypt, Brazil, Venezuela, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Turkey, etc., it is impossible to calculate the number of men and women unemployed—it is a matter of tens of millions of people.

In India and Egypt, the average time worked in agriculture is four months per year.

In Cuba, 500,000 workers are employed for four months per year.

In Iran there are over a million unemployed.

In Turkey, one person out of every four has no regular employment.

War Economy Breeds Unemployment

The immediate causes of unemployment vary according to industries, but the general and fundamental cause is the policy of rearmament. In fact, unemployment is increasing:

— because purchasing power is declining, bringing a reduction in purchases and of production (textiles, clothing, footwear);

— because factories are closed for conversion to war production (automobiles, tractors, electrical appliances);

— because essential raw materials, such as steel, copper, manganese and sulphur are hoarded for strategic stockpiles or reserved for war plants (metal and chemical industries);

— because normal trade is restricted, particularly between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies;

— because peaceful work such as the building of schools, hospitals and homes is held up (building, sanitary equipment);

— because transport is diverted to strategic uses (railways);

— because civilian expenditure in budgets is reduced in favour of military expenditure (public services, civil servants).

An Industry Particularly Hard Hit— Textiles and Clothing

Great Britain: 59,000 new unemployed between July and December 1951.

United States: 117,000 dismissals in textiles and 39,000 in the clothing industry between January and December 1951.

France: The working week is reduced to an average of 30.5 hours in the Northern woollen industry, and still lower in other regions.

Belgium: The cotton weavers decided to close for two days per week in February.

Sweden: The important Goteborg textile factories are working a 4-day week.

Western Germany: 96,000 unemployed in the industry in September 1951.

Italy: In the Milan textile industry, 52,900 work less than 36 hours per week; over 4 million work-hours and 402 million lire are lost every month because of short-time working.

In Conclusion

It is false to say that rearmament does away with unemployment. On the contrary, the increased unemployment in the world is directly caused by rearmament.

Unemployment is already causing poverty to tens of millions of workers and their families, and worse threatens.

Thus, the struggle of the workers against war economy, for the development of productive resources for the purpose of raising living standards, for the establishment of peaceful and normal relations with all countries, is more important than ever.

Declaration by the W.F.T.U. on The Events in Egypt

THE events of January 26, 1952, and the political changes which they have brought about prove once more that imperialism is prepared to resort to any provocation to maintain its faltering domination over the subjected peoples.

The provocative incidents and arson in Cairo have served as a pretext for the repression of the national liberation movement, to which the effective participation of the working class and other sections of the Egyptian population had given unprecedented scope.

Hundreds of patriots, including heroic workers of the Canal Zone and many trade union militants, have been arrested and thrown into prisons or concentration camps. Military tribunals have been instituted following the proclamation of martial law, and they will provide the "legal bases" of these arbitrary arrests.

In truth, the only "crime" with which the arrested patriots can be reproached is that they have demanded the evacuation of their country by the imperialist troops and freedom for the Egyptian nation to manage its own affairs, and also, a thing which is unpardonable in the eyes of the Anglo-American imperialists, to have opposed active resisted aggressive acts, murders, assassinations and violence committed against Egyptians by the British occupation troops.

The murder of hundreds of Egyptian workers and patriots by the British occupation troops, the systematic destruction of entire villages in the Canal Zone have been passed over in silence while, on the other hand, those who have resisted these acts of vandalism are persecuted.

The history of all peoples shows that repression, no matter how savage and brutal, is incapable of suppressing the liberation movement of a people which is fighting for its freedom and independence.

The repressive measures taken against Egyptian patriots and the institution of martial law have not done away with the imperative need to solve the particularly acute political and social problems with which the Egyptian people are faced. The poverty of the people and their exploitation by imperialism remain. As long as these remain there is no force and no political diversion, no matter how brutal or subtle, which will be able to check the will to struggle of the masses of the Egyptian people.

Future events will show that such problems can only find their solution with the help of the people.

During the past six months the Egyptian working class has had occasion to distinguish clearly —as is proved by the withdrawal of the Cairo taxi-drivers' union from the I.C.F.T.U.—who are the real defenders of the rights of the workers, and the position of those who, in the interests of imperialism, preach division and sow discord.

There is no doubt that the experience of the past will not fail to consolidate the unity of the Egyptian working class movement, a necessary condition for the success of the people's struggle for freedom and independence.

In the name of 80 million organised workers throughout the world, the World Federation of Trade Unions protests vigorously against these arbitrary arrests and this parody of justice, which, in repressing the fighting will of the Egyptian workers and patriots, is destined to serve the cause of imperialism and to hold back the independence of the Egyptian people.

The W.F.T.U. calls on all workers and all trade union organisations, whatever their political viewpoints, to act against these arbitrary measures and to support the Egyptian people and the heroic workers of that country who are fighting for the independence of their nation.

Workers belonging to trade unions which are affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., and especially the British workers organised in the T.U.C., will be able by their action to make their leaders from now on take up a clear position in defence of the interests of the Egyptian people.

All workers throughout the world, whether or not they are affiliated to the W.F.T.U., are following with enthusiasm the efforts of the Egyptian workers along the road to their independence. The workers will not fail to let these workers know and feel their active solidarity. Protests, delegations and demonstrations can save the Egyptian patriots.

The solidarity of the workers of the world can ensure the triumph of the national liberation movement in Egypt.

UNITED STATES: Workers Struggle Against Burden of War Preparations

In January, 1951, representatives of the ten unions which had been expelled from the C.I.O. met in Washington, D.C., with representatives from local C.I.O., A.F.L. and other independent unions, representing about one million workers. The purpose of the conference was to discover ways and means "to combat the wage freeze, fight against high prices and rent."

The conference also resolved to set up UNITED LABOUR ACTION COMMITTEE in the major industrial areas of the country to ensure the carrying out of its programme.

The months following the conference saw sporadic actions in scattered areas of the country, which included demonstrations against high prices, high rents, taxes and the wage freeze. Work stoppages took place against the speed-up, which is a part of the overall plan to depress the workers' living standards, in shops and factories by spontaneous rank and file action. However, during the six months following the Washington conference, there was no officially organised action by the unions to carry out the programme adopted at Washington.

On June 20, 1951, the United Labour Action Committee of New York organised a demonstration of 5,000 workers before the New York offices of the Wage Stabilisation Board. But even in this officially organised demonstration, it proved impossible to get as many as a dozen local unions to participate! The action was confined to two locals of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (U.E.), Fur and Leather Workers, District 65 of the Distributive Workers' Union, and individual representation from a few scattered locals of the A.F.L. and the C.I.O.

The forces of reaction had made their weight felt, and had forced the workers to remain silent. Or so reaction thought. It may be noted that from June 29 to July 1, the American Peace Crusade held its peace congress in Chicago, Illinois. There were over 5,000 delegates in attendance from all over the U.S. of whom more than 60% were from the trade unions, A.F.L., C.I.O., and Independent.

These men and women, workers and intellectuals, church people and members of the professions, came to Chicago to fight for peace in defiance of the Truman Administration. For days and weeks preceding the congress, a mighty campaign of slander developed to prevent the holding of the congress.

Every means of public information were employed. Even Secretary of State Dean Acheson took to the radio to denounce the American Peace Crusade as a Communist front, saying that no loyal American would participate. But the representatives of hundreds of thousands of men and women went to Chicago. They were loyal to peace and human progress!

In addition to a highly successful peace congress, the trade union struggle on the economic level was also developing against the consequences of the war economy. The wool began to fall from before the eyes of the workers. On August 27, 1951, 58,000 members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers went on strike to enforce their demands against four copper producing companies. They were joined by 42,000 members of A.F.L. and Railroad Brotherhood unions. They went on strike in defiance of Harry Truman's threats.

Forty-two thousand Dodge and Chrysler automobile workers took strike action against the speed-up in defiance of Walter Reuther and his Right-wing Executive Board. Sixty thousand Ford Automobile workers demanded a conference of U.A.W.-C.I.O. local presidents in order to break the five-year escalator contract with the automobile companies, and to halt further speed-up and runaway shops.

On September 17, 1951, the 16th annual Convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America met in New York City. The 500 delegates attending adopted a programme to smash the wage freeze, and voted for a voluntary assessment of $5.00 from each member to raise a fund of not less than $1,000,000 to finance the fight and to build U.E.

Following the U.E. Convention, the unions which had met in Washington during January met again, and mapped out a plan of action to break the wage freeze. In addition to the U.E., these unions are the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, Distributive, Processing and Office Workers, United Public Workers, American Communications Association, and the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards.

In this atmosphere of struggle, the National Negro Labour Council's programme for united action in the struggle of the Negro people and organised labour began to receive more acceptance, not only from the rank and file, but from the leaders of the progressive unions. The growing importance of the National Negro-Labour

Council has forced the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. to set up a rival outfit known as the Negro Labour Committee, in a splitting attempt to destroy the influence of the N.N.L.C.

The A.F.L. and the C.I.O. attached so much importance to the setting up of this rival body that they sent James Carey, C.I.O. Secretary-Treasurer and a personal aide of A.F.L. President William Green, to the conference to form this new committee which recently met in New York City.

The year 1952 opened with the steel industry in the limelight. Prior to the opening of negotiations between the United Steel Workers' Union and the United States Steel Company, there were many work stoppages against speed-up, and against the company's failure to settle outstanding grievances. But as a consequence of deliberate delays in the negotiations, these stoppages began to take on a more definite form: " A satisfactory contract or we will strike " seemed to be the order of the day among the rank and file and some of the local officers subjected to rank and file pressure.

Orval Kinchid, sub-district organiser of the Cary, Indiana, area, in a recent statement said that 35,000 steel workers in that area had wired Murray that they would definitely strike if there was no contract at the end of the 45-day extension period which had been agreed to by the union's leaders. From Pittsburgh and Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, from Youngstown, Ohio and Baltimore, Maryland came similar expressions of restlessness.

Phil Murray cannot sell the Truman war programme as a substitute for increased wages and better working conditions. The workers won't have it!

How account for the fact that whereas only eight months ago not a dozen local unions could be induced to give official endorsement to a united struggle against such a vital economic issue as the wage freeze, while to-day more than 250 local union officers of A.F.L., C.I.O. and independent unions are now officially designated by their memberships to become endorsers and sponsors of the Trade Union Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act, primarily a political issue but one having economic implications which are becoming increasingly clear to the American workers? [1]

The explanation lies in the new and growing fighting spirit of the rank and file which has been aroused by the assault on their living standards. This rank and file spirit is putting pressure on local leaders, who are, of course, closer to the workers than the national leaders, and forcing them to participate in such united action as the Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act.

The 250 local union officers represent C.I.O. unions in the textile, automobile, ship, oil, shoe, meat packing, and other industries and A.F.L. typographical workers, granite cutters, carpenters, longshoremen, plasterers, cigar makers, bartenders, moulders, painters, machinists, and many others. There are also locals of such independent unions as the United Mine Workers and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

These local officers represent unions from Maine to California, and from Florida to Sault Ste Marie, Michigan. They express every known economic and political shade of opinion. Such is the developing trend in the thought and action among American workers as the Truman-Big Business bipartisans push ever harder for the acceptance of their war programme by the American people.

Thus in the United States, as in all capitalist countries, the workers are mobilising more and more against the consequences of war economy, and this struggle makes also an important contribution to the struggle for peace.

Ferdinand Smith.

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1 See **W.T.U.M.** No. 4, February 16-29, 1952, **Spotlight on World Labour,** article on the Smith Act.

FRANCE: For Bread and Freedom

At the Beautor Steel and Sheet Metal Works, in the Aisne Department of France, penalties and fines succeeded one another on the slightest pretexts—such as when a worker came late because of a bicycle breakdown, or his machine broke down. Against these methods, which the management had been carrying out at its will, the 1,200 workers in the plant, members of the C.G.T., the Christian Trade union, and Force Ouvrière, stopped work last month as one man, led by a broad strike committee elected at a general meeting.

What was the reaction of the employer and his ally the Government when faced with these just demands of the staff? The management refused their demands outright, and the Government flew to its aid by inundating the district with a large concentration of police. But workers do not react kindly to the presence of these birds of misfortune. The news of the Government attack spread through the department like wildfire. In the surrounding working-class districts, bugles sounded and drums were beaten according to the custom in the country when warning and mobilising the population. A 24-hour solidarity strike was planned for the following day. In a twinkling of the eye, walls were covered with slogans and a powerful protest meeting took place only a few hours after the invasion of the area by the Security Guards.

The following day more than 3,000 workers from all parts stopped work, gathering around the Beautor factory to demonstrate their solidarity with the 1,200 strikers and their determination to put a stop to the fascist methods which violated the right to strike.

As a result of this firm and speedy reaction:

(1) the prefect of police was obliged to withdraw his C.R.S. (Security Guards);

(2) the management was forced to

lift the penalties, to grant wage increases and bonuses as well as indemnities and advances to the strikers.

Once more united action and the active solidarity of the workers and the population had forced officials and employers to retreat.

* * *

This is not an isolated example.

Violating the right to strike, the management of the Renault factories at Boulogne-Billancourt dismissed 265 workers following the anti-fascist strike of February 12. It is even said that 1,200 dismissals had been planned by the management, which was forced to renounce its intentions under popular pressure. Among those penalised was a man who had been given a medal for thirty years' work with the firm and a father of eight children. But workers of all viewpoints, united as one, stood together in fraternal unity against these scandalous dismissals. Magnificent solidarity action of unprecedented scope was conducted both inside and outside the plant, as well as in the whole Paris region, aimed at forcing reinstatement of those dismissed.

The dismissed workers came to the factory every day protected by their workmates.

They marched in procession through the immense workshops of the factory with placards and slogans, warmly welcomed by all the personnel. Many meetings were held every day in different departments of the enterprise. A very large Solidarity Committee was formed, composed of leading persons in the trade union and political movement, writers, artists, barristers, and churchmen such as the parish priest of Boulogne-Billancourt and the Dominican Reverend Father Chenu. They are speaking at factory meetings. Millions of francs are being collected in the factories and among the inhabitants for the dismissed workers.

Popular pressure has already succeeded in getting nine workers reinstated and protest and solidarity actions are continuing.

At Beautor and at the Renault works, as in many other enterprises and industries at the present time, what is at stake in the struggle is—bread and freedom, including the constitutional right to strike, one of the most sacred rights of the workers. A Government subservient to a foreign Power is violating these rights in order to impose by fascist methods a policy of war and poverty which the workers do not want.

To put a stop to this in France, as elsewhere, facts show that the only effective way, the way to victory, is that of united action by all the workers, regardless of their opinions, for precise and common aims.

R. L.

A protest demonstration against arbitrary dismissals at the Renault plant. Some of the placards read: "No cops at Renault," "Down with repression," "For Bread and Work," "Fascism will not pass."

LEBANON: United Lebanese Workers Prepare Regional Peace Conference

The people of Lebanon are taking an active part in preparing the Regional Peace Conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East and North Africa.

A rank and file Workers' Committee, comprising the representatives of ten Lebanese trade unions belonging to the various national trade union centres has been set up to organise working-class participation in this Conference. This Committee has launched an appeal to the workers of the Lebanon asking them to support the Regional Conference and to take part in it. The Appeal says:

"The Conference will be an integral part of the fight against the danger of a new war, against the proposed Middle East Command and other war plans which are the chief causes of unemployment and the rise in prices."

The Appeal also asks the workers to support the fight which the Egyptian, Tunisian and Iranian

peoples are waging for national independence, peace and against Anglo-American imperialism.

It should be emphasised that this work is closely linked with the fight for the unity of the working-class and for its demands. In January, two great regional workers' conferences took place in Beirut and Tripoli under the slogan of unity. The resolutions passed by these conferences insist on wider and wider unity of the workers to win the urgent demands of the Lebanese working class, which are wage increases, the eight-hour working day and real social security, which is at present almost non-existent.

I. Eskandary.

SOUTH AFRICA: Paul Robeson Appeals for Support of Civil Disobedience Campaign

In the current issue of *News Letter* of the Council on African Affairs, the organisation's chairman, Paul Robeson, addresses a stirring message to the Negro people of the United States and their progressive white allies, urging maximum support for the national campaign of civil disobedience to be launched in South Africa on April 6 by a united front of African, Indian and Coloured people's organisations to " restore human dignity, equality and freedom to every South African."

Robeson calls the attention of the American people to the fact that " the victims of an even more savage racist oppression than we know in America—eight and a half million African victims, a million Cape Coloured, and a third of a million Indians—have solemnly determined that only by establishing a common front of united and resolute resistance can they escape absolute enslavement by the fascist Malan régime."

" Most certainly," he continues, " we in America must speak out in support of this heroic action. For a decade the Council on African Affairs has been active in exposing and campaigning against the vicious system of racial exploitation and oppression practised in the Union of South Africa. Our organisation now calls upon all sections of the Negro people and all friends of human freedom to rally to the support of this last-ditch resistance to fascism in South Africa.

"The South African Government is aiding in ' preserving democracy ' in Korea by sending its Jim-Crow air force to help kill Koreans. South Africa is a part of President Truman's ' free world.' Yes, dozens of America's biggest auto, oil, mining and other trusts have highly profitable holdings in that country. And U.S. loans have been made available to Prime Minister Malan in order to accelerate the expropriation of South Africa's rich resources.

" Hence it is clear that in raising our voices against the Malan régime we simultaneously strike a blow at the reactionary forces in our own land who seek to preserve here in America, in South Africa, and everywhere else the superprofits they harvest from racial and national oppression. United support for our brothers' struggle in Africa is an integral part of our task in achieving freedom for all Americans and peace for the world. I urge you to act."

The Council on African Affairs has urged the sending of messages of support to Dr. J. S. Moroka, President - General, African National Congress, Box 9207, Johannesburg, South Africa, and to Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Chairman, South African Indian Congress, 18, Barkly Arcade, 38, Market Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. The Council has also urged the sending of letters and resolutions to South African officials in the United States and other countries, endorsing the demands for repeal of the South African Government's discriminatory laws and regulations. It is also urged that letters be sent to President Truman protesting against any further loans, military assistance or aid in any form to the South African Government so long as its " apartheid " policy continues.

Council on African Affairs,
New York City.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

What is Hindering Friendship Between American and Soviet Trade Unions?

I read in the papers recently that the American labour delegation which visited the U.S.S.R. last May is being persecuted in the United States. The McCarran Senate Internal Security Sub-committee, it appears, is raising the question of having the members of this delegation brought before the courts.

Of course, every country has its own laws and customs, and it is not my intention to discuss these here, let alone criticize them. But I fail to see just what crimes these American trade unionists have committed, and why they are being persecuted for having spoken to Soviet workers.

The delegates visited our Stalin Automobile Plant, made the rounds of various shops, interviewed the trade union committee, spoke with workers and studied working and living conditions. Their observations and interviews were given wide publicity in the press. . . .

Experience has shown that just as our countries can live in peace, so can our trade unions maintain friendly contact. During the last year, even such outspoken opponents of the Soviet political and social system as C.I.O. leaders Philip Murray and James B. Carey favoured co-operation with the Soviet trade unions. I recall that in 1945 Mr. Carey headed an American labour delegation to the U.S.S.R., and this is what he wrote in his report of the trip: "As trade unionists, we have, of course, paid particular attention to the activities of the Soviet trade unions. We have been impressed by their promoting of the interests of the workers, as well as by their magnificent and wholehearted participation in winning the war and in the tasks of reconstruction. . . . Our observations have increased our pride in being associated with such a great trade union movement through the World Federation of Trade Unions."

Mr. Murray said in a foreword to the report: "I consider this a document of first-rate importance, not only for American labour, but for all who are interested in knowing the truth about the Soviet trade union movement and in promoting friendship and understanding between the peoples of our two countries."

One year later, in September 1946, C.I.O. leaders met with representatives of the Soviet trade unions at the first session of the American-Soviet Trade Union Committee in Washington, and signed a joint statement which declared: "The bonds of friendship between the organized workers of the United States and the Soviet Union were forged in the recent war and in the resulting victory over the fascist forces. *We are determined to maintain and strengthen this friendship.*"

The C.I.O. leaders have evidently forgotten this statement and the intentions expressed in it; they are now coming out with declarations of a totally different kind. Not so long ago, I was amazed to learn that Murray and Carey were actually buying up and destroying copies of the 1945 *C.I.O. delegation report. Why? What is the reason? How are we to explain the fact that these labour leaders, who six years ago favoured closer unity and friendship between the American and Soviet trade union movement, are now trying to prevent this unity?*

This is an important question, but it is after all one that concerns the American unions and it is for the organized workers of the United States to judge for themselves. All I want to emphasize is that the promotion of friendly relations between the American and Soviet trade unions is just as important and necessary today as it was in September 1946 when the joint American-Soviet trade union declaration was signed. . . .

In the war years our co-operation was based on joint efforts to win victory over the common foe. Today co-operation can well be based on the common interests of the working class of the two countries in maintaining lasting and durable peace and in preventing the outbreak of another world war. That is our common goal, and it can be attained by joint effort.

I may be asked whether these are my own personal views. The answer is that they are shared by all our workers. I am chairman of the trade union committee of Moscow's largest industrial enterprise. My committee represents many thousands of trade unionists—workers, engineers and technicians, men and women of varying educational levels. But all of them are of the same opinion that the present relations between the American and Soviet trade unions are far from normal. . . .

So the attitude of the Soviet citizen towards America, and of the Soviet worker towards the American worker, is clear enough. What then is hindering friendship between the American and Soviet trade unions?

My friends and I are convinced that the present state of affairs is abnormal and unjustified—it just doesn't make sense. The gap created by certain individuals in an attempt to keep our trade unions apart can be spanned by joint efforts on behalf of our common interests. But the job must be tackled resolutely and vigorously.

NIKOLAI GRUZINTSEV, Chairman of the Trade Union Committee, Stalin Automobile Plant, Moscow, in *News* (Moscow), 15.2.52.

AUSTRALIA

World Interest in International Economic Conference

The International Economic Conference to be held in Moscow in April has caused a stir among the public and trade and industrial circles throughout the world.

Press notices stress the important role the conference is capable of playing at the present time when most of the capitalist countries are being economically stifled by America's discriminatory policies.

The main purpose of the Conference is to improve living standards through peaceful co-operation of different countries and systems and through the development of economic contacts between the nations.

The conservative paper, *Paris-Presse-l'Intransigeant* is of the opinion that expansion of international trade would make it possible to abandon the policy of rearmament for a policy of peaceful economic development, and this view is shared by many other publications.

The Swedish paper, *Arbeter Tidningen,* has strongly criticised U.S.

policy which forbids nations to trade with the Soviet and Eastern Europe. It points out that this upsets the natural trade relations between the countries and is a blow to Sweden's economy.

Arbeter Tidningen points out that even the Swedish government has been forced to admit that extensive trade relations with countries which have abolished crisis, particularly the Soviet Union, would help Sweden to improve its economic position.

Sweden is sending a delegation to the Conference. It will be led by Professor Eric Lundberg, head of the Swedish Institute for Market Fluctuations, and will include businessmen, economists and trade unionists.

The National Council of French Employers has protested to the government against limitation of trade with the Soviet.

Michael Hoffman, the *New York Times* Geneva correspondent, says that many non-Communist economists and businessmen have indicated that they will be at the Conference.

He says that there is no great fear in Europe, as there is in the United States, of being branded as a Communist sympathiser for accepting an invitation.

Cité, the Belgian Catholic trade union paper, suggested on January 4 that Soviet orders could save the Belgian rayon industry "as it did several years ago."

From the Middle East and South America come reports of support for the Conference.

The Initiating Committee for the Conference includes Joan Robinson, reader in economics at Cambridge University, Professor Wadia, professor of economics at Bombay University and Iftikhar-ud-Din, owner of the *Pakistan Times* and a Member of Parliament.

There is ample justification for the unrest at U.S. restrictions on trade by satellite countries with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and People's China.

The Belgian press has reported that sanctions were being imposed on a Belgian firm for having shipped aluminium to Hungary SEVERAL YEARS AGO.

The U.S. Department of Commerce has suspended another Belgian firm's right to export to the U.S. for twelve months. It appears that it shipped one bulldozer and one tractor to Czechoslovakia.

The U.S. pressure is brought to bear under the so-called Mutual Security Act which forbids export of items of "strategic necessity." There are more than 300 items on the list and export of any means an immediate termination of U.S. "assistance."

With a £197 million trade deficit in the five months of July-November last year, Australia's future is vitally bound up with the opening of trade with the Soviet, Eastern Europe and People's China.

The International Economic Conference provides a golden opportunity for discussion on this trade, and it provides the key to unlock the Wall Street shackles being imposed on us by the Menzies government.

Tribune (Australia), 6.2.52.

IRAN

Are You Old or Sick? Then Starve!

The regulations for the Mutual Aid Fund (which corresponds in Iran to the Social Insurance Fund) constitute a typical example of the conditions which the Iranian capitalists impose upon the workers through the medium of politicians who are in the way of the imperialists.

The following are a few extracts from these regulations:

"ARTICLE 18—*In case of old age or loss of capacity to work, a lump sum will be paid as follows:*

1. *Workers who have been employed from* 5 *to* 10 *years will receive a sum equal to* 35 *days pay at the rate last earned;*
2. *workers who have worked from* 10 *to* 15 *years, the equivalent of* 65 *days on the basis of the last wage rate;*
3. *workers who have worked from* 15 *to* 20 *years, the equivalent of* 80 *days on the basis of the last wage rate."*

Thus, if a worker is old, or has lost his capacity to work after 5 years' service, he is paid 35 days pay, that is, 1,225 rials, and he is told: "Go and pray for the Mutual Aid Fund of His Majesty's Government."

This sum is equal to 3 per cent. of the monthly salary of the Prime Minister, to 5 per cent. of a Minister's salary, to less than one per cent. of the price of a car which the offspring of the rich buy for their pleasure.

The old worker or the worker who has lost his capacity to work must live for the rest of his days on 1,225 rials, the equivalent of about £7 sterling.

The worker who has worked for 20 years receives 2,800 rials.

Shame upon a system which makes such regulations and which expects the workers to consider this system as their protector. These are the same gentlemen who address the workers in their articles and on the radio as "Dear Workers."

"ARTICLE 13—*In cases of accident or illness not arising from work, the doctor's fees and expenses for medicine and for medical care that may be considered necessary by a doctor approved by the Fund administration, will be paid for by the Fund after approval by the factory joint council.*

"A worker who is ill from a cause not arising from work will be paid wages as from the fourth day of illness up to a maximum of six months on the following bases:

if the worker goes to hospital at the expense of the Fund, and if he has dependents and his daily wage does not exceed 50 *rials,* 35 *per cent. of this wage will be paid by the Fund; if his wage is between* 50 *and* 100 *rials, he will be paid only* 15 *per cent. of the amount in excess of* 50 *rials, and if he receives over* 100 *rials, he will be paid nothing at all for the amount in excess of* 100 *rials."*

Suppose that a worker has a wife and two children, and that his wage is 40 rials a day. If he falls ill, it will surely take several weeks to establish whether or not his illness arises from his work. Then, if the Fund decides to pay for him to go to hospital, his family will receive only 14 rials per day for six months.

"ARTICLE 14—*If the worker is not cured at the end of six months, he will then come under the care of the Ministry of Public Health. No further fees for treatment and no further payments of wages will be paid by the Fund."*

According to this regulation:

1) for six months his family will have to live on 14 rials a day,
2) if he is not cured after six months he is sent to the Ministry,
3) from the first day of the seventh month his family does not even receive the 14 rials a day.

(All that is left is to die of starvation!—Editorial note.)

Navide-Azadi, Iranian trade union journal, 1.2.52.

FRANCE

Money from Abroad

"It should be so simple to unite, to understand one another, to fight jointly against the employers and the government for our wages, our liberties, for the protection of social legislation and against increasing unemployment. Why is there so much opposition to this?" This is what many workers think. . . .

Of course, all this would be very simple if the capitalists were not aware of the fact that working-class unity would sound the death-knell for their system of exploitation, the end of easy and enormous profits, that unity would make it impossible to carry on the cynical policy of war which they are pursuing in an attempt to ensure the domination of further countries at the cost of the blood of millions of workers.

But they *do* know this, and they act accordingly. The policy of division is their work. They do not carry it out openly with their own means. They consider it more opportune and more profitable to exploit the political and religious differences of the workers, and to hire certain people who do this work for them.

When we say this, some workers are incredulous. They cannot believe in such baseness and duplicity.

We shall let the Secretary of Labour of the United States speak for them.

The Secretary has just published his report for 1951. In this, he speaks at great length of the services rendered to the U.S. government by the reactionary leaders of the American trade unions. He speaks of these trade unions not as workers' organisations, but as a branch of the international activity of the government.

I quote from page 179 of this report:

"*The American trade union movement is one of America's most powerful weapons in the present ideological conflict*" (retranslation).

We know what the American millionaires call an ideological conflict.

On page 189 of the report, he speaks of the material aid given to the European trade unions to bring them into line with the American point of view, help given through the medium of the U.S. trade unions. I quote:

"*The help of American trade unionism in the form of office equipment, loud-speaker vans and MONEY for trade union papers has been essential to enable the anti-Communist workers in France to leave the trade unions dominated by the Communists and to organise independent federations*" (retranslation).

I want to emphasise that it is not I who said that, but the Secretary of Labour of a foreign government which finances division and boasts of the fact in its official report.

You know very well that this high official has no reason to lie about this matter, thus revealing some of the means employed by the American government in order to exercise its rule over us.

His report is not meant for you. Its purpose is to justify his activity and that of his roving ambassadors, Irving Brown, Victor Reuther and others, before the American Congress, and to show the good use to which he has put the funds which are entrusted to him.

We have no reason to be as discreet as he is, and we have placed some of his statements before you. They will interest you, for you want to see clearly and you have the right to be informed. . . .

When leaders of trade union centres reply by insults, by red herrings and by wretched lies to the C.G.T. proposals for joint action for wage increases, it is not out of pride but because they do not want to commit themselves with the leaders of the C.G.T.

There are other unavowed reasons which many workers do not understand.

If the statements of the American Secretary of Labour make them understand, then we can thank him for this involuntary aid, which was not envisaged in his programme.

Only, it is necessary to draw some practical conclusions from these cynical statements.

The first is that if a foreign government pays for the working-class split in our country, it is because it thinks that the only way of imposing its will is by weakening the working class, only the working class "has been faithful as a whole to its insulted country" as it proved during the Hitler occupation.

The second is that if the present government and the employers support this intervention in the internal affairs of France, it is because this is fully in line with their anti-working class policy.

The third is that if the split is so much in the interests of all these enemies of the working class, we must fight these enemies together by redoubling our efforts to win the battle for unity.

BENOIT FRACHON,
General Secretary of the French C.G.T., in *L'Humanité*, 7.3.52.

U.S.A.

The Economics of Prejudice

Some think that prejudice is a feeling, an emotion.

Some even think it's natural—that people are born that way.

But babies have no prejudice. So people aren't born that way. They get that way because somebody teaches them prejudice.

Spreading prejudice has an economic motive—just like advertising. It's a way to make a super-profit. . . .

A particular prejudice is strongest where the most money is made out of it.

Discrimination in employment is good business. That's the way an employer makes more money.

Discrimination against Negro women is particularly good business. That way the employer gets cheap labor in his factory while his wife gets cheap domestic labor.

Segregation in housing is good business. That's the way for a landlord to get rich. Negroes are forced to pay higher interest rates on mortgages and loans. That's the way for a bank to make more money.

The whole business community has an economic stake in prejudice. That's why prejudice continues—despite all the fine talk that it's indecent, immoral, unfair, irreligious, etc.

There's nothing complicated about the economics of prejudice. A few examples will illustrate the sordid story.

Sawmill workers in the South, mostly Negroes, get 87 cents. an hour. There is little union organization. Whites and Negroes are kept apart. Jim Crow prevails.

Sawmill workers on the West Coast, mostly white, get $1.93 an hour. They're highly organized. . . .

Sawmills are not the only example.

The average production worker in manufacturing industry in Michigan gets $1.71 an hour; in Georgia—$1.08.

It is not just in the South that lower wages are paid the Negroes. Employers pay them less all over the country. 1950 Census figures show the average median earnings of non-farm white families and single individuals in the South at $2,638, of non-white $1,156; in the rest of the country, white $3,050, non-white $1,760.

This is the economics of prejudice. It is an economics that benefit business interests. It is an economics of wage-cutting, of divide-and-rule, of hatred.

Labor's is and must be an economics of brotherhood between all men—an economics of job equality which leads to strong unions and higher wages for all.

March of Labor (U.S.A.), February 1952.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC- REPUBLIC.—The session of the European Workers' Committee Against the militarisation of Germany, which began in Berlin on February 28, ends. The committee sends an appeal to all workers, concluding with the statement that "the foundations of a unified, democratic and peaceful Germany depends, in the final analysis, on the efforts of all the workers."

March 2

RUMANIA.—The Central Committee of the General Confederation of Labour, the Permanent Committee for Peace, the Union of Young Workers, and the Women's Union send a telegram to the United Nations protesting against the use of bacteriological weapons by the American aggressors in Korea, and demanding the intervention of the United Nations to end these criminal acts.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Minister of Labour in the last Government, Mr. Alfred Robens, states in the House of Commons that the alarming upward trend in unemployment in Britain would reach the million mark by the end of the year.

March 4

WESTERN GERMANY.—Eight hundred Hamburg port workers decide to refuse henceforth to handle war material, in spite of the 20% bonus granted by the employers in full agreement with the Right-wing leadership of the trade union. Trade union officials in Schleswig province oppose the law passed by the Bonn Government on worker representation in the factories, a law which nullifies the rôle of the Works Councils.

March 5

ITALY.—The workers of the four Marelli engineering factories in Milan go on strike to prevent the dismissal of 600 workers. C.G.I.L. and Christian trade unionists decide to fight the dismissals by every legal method at their disposal.

AUSTRIA.—In the important Donaivtz nationalised engineering factory, in spite of the monstrous campaign of lies led by the right-wing trade union leaders, the unity list presented by the progressive trade unions wins a majority in the factory committee elections.

March 6

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC- REPUBLIC.—The Miners' Federation of the G.D.R. appeals to the Miners' Federation of Western Germany, asking them to give their support openly in the just demand of the German people for the speedy conclusion of a Peace Treaty.

WESTERN GERMANY.—According to "United Press," members of the Bonn Government have received more than 50,000 letters of protest against the war policy of the Adenauer Government. Ninety representatives of all sections of the population of Western Germany, including active trade unionists, have called on all men and women to organise the election of delegates to the Congress for the Fight against Remilitarisation, which is to be held at the end of March.

March 6

UNITED STATES. — The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union calls off its 24-hour strike when the shipowners agree to negotiate on the union's new pension plan, one of the best in the nation. It proposes to retire longshoremen with 25 years' service at age 65 with a minimum pension of $100 per month, plus social security which, in most cases, will total $180 per month.

— Members of Farm Equipment Local 236 end a week's strike against the International Harvester Company plant in Louisville, Kentucky, when the company agreed to meet with the union, an affiliate of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, on the firing of six union leaders and the suspension of 170 other union members. The Union demands the reinstatement of all fired or suspended men and the settlement of wage grievances.

ALGERIA.—Oran dockers refuse to unload ten tons of munitions from the steamship "Berkone."

March 7

ITALY. — Forty-five thousand workers from the Montecatini chemical trust, with the miners of the whole of Italy, strike for 24 hours to demand negotiations on wage increases.

ALGERIA.—Algerian dockers go on a four-hour strike for higher wages and bonuses.

HUNGARY.—The World Federation of Democratic Youth makes a strong protest against the use by the Americans of bacteriological warfare in Korea.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC- REPUBLIC.—The Women's International Democratic Federation sends a protest to the General Secretary of the United Nations against the use by the Americans of microbe bombs and demands United Nations' intervention to put a stop to these criminal acts.

March 8

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY is celebrated by women throughout the world. (See article in this issue.)

WESTERN GERMANY. — At the annual meeting of chemical industry workers, the representatives of 75 factories in Dortmund go on record against the remilitarisation of Germany. Esser, of the Federal Bureau of the Chemical Workers, declares he is convinced that the U.S.S.R. has no aggressive intentions.

DENMARK. — The session of the second National Peace Conference is held.

POLAND.—A Conference of Representatives of the country's economic life opens in Warsaw to prepare for the Moscow International Economic Conference.

ITALY.—In all the centres of Sicily, workers from factories and workshops go on a 48-hour strike to demonstrate their solidarity with the 10,000 miners who have been on strike for 45 days for a 20% wage increase and for the employment of 1,400 unemployed. The whole population—artisans, tradesmen, members of the liberal professions—take part in the solidarity demonstrations.

March 8

U.S.S.R.—The Supreme Soviet finishes its Third Session, after unanimously adopting the State Budget for 1952, which provides for an income of 509.9 thousand million roubles (an increase of 41.9 thousand million over last year) and 476.9 thousand million roubles expenditure (an increase of 35.6 thousand million).

It is a budget for peaceful construction, with more than 180 thousand million roubles devoted to the development of the national economy. A large part of these resources is allocated for the great Communist constructions on the Volga, Dnieper, Don and Amu-Daria rivers. There are large sums for the construction of houses and the town planning of workers' estates and villages.

Social and cultural activities account for 124.8 thousand million roubles (education, 60 thousand million; public health and physical culture, 22.8 thousand million; Social security and social insurance, 37.5 thousand million; allowances to mothers with many children, and to single women, 4.5 thousand million).

Defence expenditure is fixed at 23.9% of the total expenditure of the State Budget.

The largest part of the budget resources will therefore this year, as in preceding years, serve to finance the economy of the country and to raise the material and cultural well-being of the workers.

March 10

WESTERN GERMANY. — In the name of 17,000 miners, the miners' trade union leadership in the Welzow Coal Valley protests forcefully to the central leadership of the Western German Miners' Federation against the expulsion of Heinz Dehmel, president of the German Miners' Committee for Unity and Peace.

ITALY.—Two thousand two hundred and two delegates, representing 120 Women's Associations and 102 Communes in Sardinia, take part in the first Congress of Sardinian Women.

UNITED STATES.—Five thousand engineers, firemen and conductors, members of three railroad brotherhoods, go on strike in the Middle West. The first target of the strike is the New York Central Railroad. The strike is a development of the railway workers' three-year fight for wage increases, a forty-hour week, and retention of present work rules. The Army has been in technical possession of the railroads since August, 1950.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Over 3,000 Clydeside apprentices in 28 shipyards strike in support of their claim for £1 per week increase in wages. They demonstrate and march through the streets of Glasgow and decide to hold meetings and demonstrations outside the employers' offices in support of their demand.

U.S.S.R.—The Press publishes Notes addressed by the Soviet Government to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France on the Peace Treaty with Germany, as well as a draft of the basic principles of the treaty.

PRAGUE.—The International Union of Students protests to the United Nations against the crime of bacteriological warfare in Korea.

March 12

GREAT BRITAIN. — Widespread protest meetings and demonstrations are held in factories and works in Britain against the Budget cuts of the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler. The National Executive of the 700,000-strong National Union of Miners condemns the Budget as anti-working class. The main effect of the budget is to increase prices by cutting food subsidies and food imports.

UNITED STATES.—In another of a long list of actions breaking railroad strikes, the Government secures an injunction ordering the locomotive engineers, conductors, and firemen and enginemen to call off their strike for wage and hour demands. The Right-wing leaders of the three unions, obeying the order, call on their members to return to work. Nearly 3,000 railwaymen in Chicago, Toledo, and other rail centres defy the injunction and revolt against their leaders for giving in to the Government. They announce their intention of seceding from the three unions and forming a single independent union.

ALGERIA.—In Oran, a day of action for demands is proclaimed by public works and building workers. More than 5,000 respond to the appeal of the C.G.T. to strike for 24 hours. Demonstrations take place in many centres. At the same time Oran dockers stop work during the morning to support their wage demands.

March 13

HUNGARY.—The Preparatory Committee for the Moscow International Economic Conference organises a Conference of economists, factory managers, front-rank workers, managers of co-operative organisations, etc.

WESTERN GERMANY.—To put the railways more completely in the service of war transport, the Adenauer Government sets up an Administrative Council of the Federal Railways, in which many financiers and business men of the Nazi period and Right-wing trade union leaders like von Hoff and Jahn, president of the Railwaymen's Federation, are included.

U.S.S.R. — The wave of protests against the bacteriological warfare in Korea grows. A mass meeting takes place in Moscow with the participation of representatives of every section of the population. Meetings have also taken place in enterprises throughout the country.

AUSTRIA. — A youth conference takes place in Salsburg against the remilitarisation of Austria. Representatives of the progressive youth of Western Germany are present at this conference.

March 14

FRANCE.—After an eighteen-day strike, in which trade unionists from the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. (Christians), and unorganised were united, the workers of chemical factories and laboratories decide to resume work on the 17th, after winning their demands for increased wages.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The British Government refuses entry to foreign scientists wishing to attend the Executive Council of the World Federation of Scientific Workers. Among them is the President, Professor F. Joliot-Curie, of France.

ITALY.—Demanding the reinstatement of the 1,400 workers laid off by the management of the Ansaldo factory in Genoa, the whole personnel of the factory stops work.

— Rank and file united action is constantly growing. The C.G.I.L. proposes a joint meeting with the C.I.S.I. (Christian Centre) and the Social Democratic Centre, in order to co-ordinate the demands of the different centres and in this way to strengthen the united fight of the workers.

March 15

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.—The National Peace Committee sends to the United Nations a telegram of protest against bacteriological warfare in Korea and demands that it put a stop to this crime being perpetrated by the Americans.

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MAY DAY 1952

MAY 1952

THE DAY OF UNITY

World Trade Union Movement

APRIL 16-30, 1952 ★ No. 8

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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MAY DAY APPEAL

from the

World Federation of Trade Unions

to the

Men and Women Workers of the World

THE World Federation of Trade Unions sends you its fraternal greetings on the occasion of May Day 1952.

It calls upon you to make this May Day a mighty international day of unity among the workers and of union among the peoples of the whole world.

Make your May Day demonstrations a powerful expression of the will of the working masses in every country

Meet together in unity to proclaim this will.

All the workers of the world have common aspirations. They want :

— continual improvement of their living standards economically, socially and culturally,

— a just and lasting peace,

— an immediate end to the use of bacteriological weapons by the American armies in Korea and China,

— the immediate condemnation of the war criminals responsible for this abominable crime.

They strongly condemn colonialism and all the deeds of oppression upon which the colonial system is founded.

They desire understanding and mutual help among all workers, and the unity of all the trade unions of the world.

They want to contribute to peaceful coexistence between nations with different political, economic and social régimes.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE working men and women of the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries are strengthening their common fight.

They are fighting : —

— for their urgent economic demands and for the satisfaction of their immediate basic needs,

— against the consequences of the war economy imposed upon their countries by the American imperialists and monopolists,

— for the defence of their democratic and trade union rights.

They are fighting for national independence and for the end of colonialism.

Throughout these countries, working men and women expect consistent help

from their trade unions in their fight against the poverty and social evils to which they are subject.

☆ ☆ ☆

THROUGHOUT the U.S.S.R., the Chinese Peoples' Republic, the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, the workers are contributing by their zealous work to the economic and social advance of their countries.

The tremendous successes achieved by these peoples, who are masters of their own fate, are a major contribution to the strengthening of the peace forces in the world. These continual successes in social and cultural progress are stimulating the enthusiasm and the struggles of the workers of all lands.

☆ ☆ ☆

WORKING men and women of the world!

Unite, and widen and consolidate your unity in order to win victory for your economic and social demands and in the defence of your trade union rights.

Expose and isolate the splitters everywhere!

Throw yourselves boldly into the fight for peace!

Demand the condemnation of the war criminals!

Strengthen international working class solidarity, and the national and international unity of the working class!

Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions!

Long live May Day!

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
Vienna, April 10 1952.

May Days of Yesterday —

EVENTS of incalculable significance form the background to May Day, 1952. They affect the fate of all humanity to a degree unknown since the second world war.

In Korea and China, the American aggressors have resorted to bacteriological warfare. This is an attempt to provoke general war.

Though the vigilance of the peoples has prevented the outbreak of the imperialist world war, the economic consequences of *war preparations* are present. In all western capitalist countries, in the colonies and dependent countries, the cost of war preparation is being taken from the living standards of the workers.

Between July 1950 and December 1951, government cost of living indices rose by 47 per cent in Austria, 28 per cent in France, 24 per cent in Japan, 13 per cent in Great Britain and 10 per cent in the United States.

In many Japanese factories workers work 12 hours a day and 28 or even 29 days a month. In Western Germany, Holland and Sweden, a 55 to 60 hour working week is common. In Lorraine (France), some iron miners work on two shifts, making a total of 80 hours exhausting work weekly.

There were eleven work accidents every minute in the French metal industry in 1951, a serious accident every five minutes, and a fatal accident every 45 minutes.

Unemployment is rife and growing. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, tens of millions of workers have no regular means of support. In Turkey it is estimated that a quarter of the working population has no regular employment.

France is short of 5 million homes (only 37,000 a year are being built), and 6 million homes are needed in Western Germany. This is without taking into account the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in which hundreds of millions of people (no one knows the exact number) are crowded into slums unfit to be called houses.

Never before will the workers of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries have celebrated May Day at a time of a greater and more decisive struggle. Never has the fight for their immediate demands been of more vital significance. But never before have they been so powerfully and unitedly organised as on this May Day 1952.

In the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, the workers of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries have faithful allies, unwaveringly devoted to the cause of peace, progress and international solidarity. Here one-third of humanity is making a great and enthusiastic effort, building giant factories for peaceful production, dams and canals on an unprecedented scale so that deserts may flourish, and dreaming of subduing one power only—the power of nature.

May Day 1952 will be a day of unity and struggle, of confident struggle, for strength in addition to justice is on the side of the workers.

* * *

FROM the very beginning, reaction has tried to blunt the fighting significance of May Day. It has not succeeded. Born of working class struggle, May Day remains, in the capitalist countries, a day of working class struggle.

Let the American imperialists dwell on this warning from history; it was the American working class which first conceived and celebrated this day of struggle.

May Day 1886! On this day, the Federation of Organised Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada decided to launch a simultaneous strike wherever the 8-hour working day had been refused. More than five thousand strikes! In Milwaukee, not far from Chicago, the police charged the strikers and nine were killed. A tremendous mourning demonstration was held on May 4 in the Hay Market. And then the drama began! The police used a tactic which has long since been per-

fected. A bomb, thrown by a provocateur, killed a score of policemen.

The trade union movement of the United States was violently repressed. Four leaders—Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fisher—were hanged, and others were thrown into prison. But the militants were not discouraged, and at their 1888 Congress they adopted May Day as a permanent day of struggle for their demands. It was the French workers who took the initiative in making May Day a day of *international* struggle. Paul Lafargue, son-in-law of Karl Marx, and Raymond Lavigne of Bordeaux made this proposal to the International Socialist Congress which opened in Paris on July 14, 1889, the centenary of the fall of the Bastille.

The first international demonstration was held in 1890. Friedrich Engels commented upon it: "*Today, as I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and of America is reviewing its fighting forces mobilised for the first time, mobilised as one army, under one flag, for one immediate aim: an eight hour working day to be established by legal enactment. . . and the spectacle we are witnessing today will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all lands to the fact that today the working men of all countries are indeed united . . .*"

* * *

The capitalists, the landlords and their agents understood, of course, the meaning of this event. They not only reacted violently, but, above all, they attempted to rob May Day of its significance as a day of struggle.

As far back as 1891, the Second International adopted the following resolution at its Brussels Congress: "This celebration must be accompanied by a stoppage of work to the extent to which the situation in the given country does not render this impossible." What was the "situation" in the minds of the authors of this text, unless it was the sacred interests of the capitalists and the landlords?

In 1904, the Amsterdam Congress decided that the stoppage of work should no longer be obligatory. In England, May Day was put off to the Sunday following May 1st and May Day itself reduced to a day of popular rejoicing after work. During the 1914 war, in order not to impede the imperialists' bloody quarrel, the Second International abolished the celebration of May Day, renouncing the principle of international unity embodied in the 1889 resolution.

The workers, however, even during the war, remained faithful to the tradition of May Day as a day of international solidarity and struggle. On May Day 1916, Karl Liebknecht addressed a crowd of several thousand people in Berlin protesting against the imperialist war.

During the twenty years leading up to the second world war, May Day celebrations reflected the struggles of the workers in the various countries.

The Revolution was victorious, and the workers fought on to build up socialism. The successive May Day slogans summarise the story of their successes: voluntary Saturday work, the fight against the White and interventionist armies, the rehabilitation of industry, the worker-peasant alliance, socialist agriculture, Stakhanovism, increase of national income and thus individual income as a result of increased socialist production and investment.

In the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, May Day was celebrated with slogans for economic demands, the fight against fascism and for national independence, and the fight for unity.

During the second world war, May Day became, in the occupied countries, both a demonstration for workers' demands and an anti-fascist mobilisation point. After victory, it became more than ever part of the struggle of the world of labour against the deteriorating living conditions forced upon it by the imperialists. The workers demonstrate for their demands, against the resurrection of fascism under new forms, against colonial wars and preparations for a third world war, and for solidarity with the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. Finally, and above all, they are demonstrating for the unity of all workers, regardless of political, ideological and religious opinions, in the common fight against a common enemy.

* * *

THUS, the workers have come a long way since that year of 1890, when May Day was limited to a demonstration for the eight-hour working day. Today, in fighting for their immediate demands, the workers are opposing the whole policy of the camp of the imperialists and warmongers.

May Day 1952 will express the fighting strength of the workers at this crucial moment of history. It will show unity forged not only among the workers, but also between them and other sections of the population. It will show the international solidarity of the peoples, a prime necessity at this point of history when imperialism is already making war upon the peoples of the Far East with the manifest intention of extending it to the whole world.

Let the events of this day of struggle and unity bring those who are still hesitant in to the common fight.

May Day will show the imperialists that the workers, united nationally and internationally, are invincible when defending their legitimate interests and peace.

J. Wetzler.

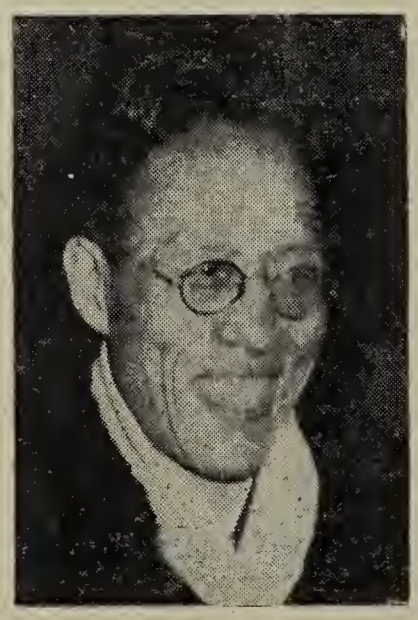
— to May Day Today

Bacteriological Weapons Used

STOP THE CRIMINALS!

By LIU NING-I

Deputy Vice-President of the W.F.T.U.



HAVING suffered serious defeats on the Korean battle-front, the American aggressors recently, in their fury, have ruthlessly resorted to unprincipled large-scale bacteriological warfare. Since January 28, military airplanes of the United States aggressive forces have continuously dropped large quantities of insects laden with plague, cholera, typhoid and other infectious diseases and also other poisonous material over Korea and in North-east China. They have also fired shells and dropped bombs filled with germ-laden insects on the positions of the Korean Peoples' Army and Chinese Peoples' Volunteers near Maryangsan. The bloodthirsty American madmen are widely using bacteriological weapons to indiscriminately and savagely slaughter the Korean and Chinese people. Such appalling crimes against humanity and in violation of all international conventions constitute a severe menace to the peace and security of all peoples and civilisation.

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AUTHENTIC evidence proves that the American aggressors have long planned the manufacture and use of bacteriological weapons. As early as 1943, the American Government invested a large amount of money in this criminal undertaking. It established laboratories and pilot plants at Camp Detrick, Maryland. Later it established outdoor testing centres of bacteriological weapons in Mississippi, Utah, and Indiana.

Since the second world war, the manufacture of bacteriological weapons has been expanding continuously in America. At the end of 1946, a military observer revealed in the *New York Times* that, under the overall leadership of the Military Chemistry Section of the Defence Department, experiments in manufacturing deadly poisonous material were continuing. The former chief of

Continued on page 8

by the Americans in China and Korea

MEN AND FACTS ACCUSE

SOME FACTS AMONG OTHERS

January 28, 1952

AMERICAN planes flew over the region south-east of Ichon. They spread three types of small insects which the inhabitants had never seen before. The first type was like a black fly, the second was like a flea and the third was like a cross between a louse and a small spider.

February 11

A LARGE number of small packets and tubes filled with fleas, spiders, ants, flies, etc., were dropped by planes on the Tie-Yuen front and in the regions of Che-Pien-Li, Cho-Ling and Pyongyang.

February 19

AMERICAN planes dropped insects of the fly type at Poong-Moong-Ni, Pak-Chung-Ni and Yong-Pong-Ni, near Sukchon, Paripyong and Sangspriyong. At each of these places, the area affected was from 1,000 to 3,000 square yards and the number of insects varied from 7 to 100 per square yard.

February 28

PLANES dropped infected rats west of Kujang. Infected leaves were found in sectors to the west of Manghaesan and south-west of Kuhwari.

March 4

LARGE quantities of infected cotton were spread by 17 artillery bombardments on Korean-Chinese positions south-west of Maryangsan. On the same day, an American plane dropped a large number of infected leaves on Hwakok, to the north-east of Kaesong. Between February 29 and March 5, 68 bacteriological attacks were made over Manchuria.

March 8

CHOU EN LAI, Foreign Minister of the Chinese People's Republic, made the following declaration :

" After having launched large scale bacteriological warfare in Korea on January 28, 1952, the American forces of aggression sent, between February 29 and March 5, 68 squadrons which made 448 sorties over North-East China and spread large quantities of germ-carrying insects at Fushun, Simmin , Antung, Kwantien, Linkiang and in other places, and bombarded and machine-gunned the regions of Linkiang and Changtienhokow."

March 21

THE imperialists are now using 16 different types of bacteriological missiles. These include contaminated foodstuffs and pieces of plague-infected meat which they drop on destroyed villages, and disease-carrying birds specially intended to destroy the crops.

The raids continue.

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Americans' Self-Denunciation

ADMIRAL LEAHY, Chief of the American General Staff during the second world war, reveals in his book, " I Was There," that American experts had already developed a bacteriological weapon in 1944.

In July, 1949, the American Army Command requested an additional credit of $3,300,000 to speed up production of aggressive bacteriological weapons. More than $12 million were subsequently spent every year, if one is to believe General A. C. Macauliffe, Chief of the Chemical Corps of the U.S. Army, for the development and production of these monstrous missiles.

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this section boasted in 1949 that in the field of bacteriological warfare research, the U.S.A. was far ahead of any other country. In March 1951, Richard Haas, director of the American Institute of Health, said that bacteria laden shells and bombs could be manufactured very soon. Recently, the American magazine *Life* shamelessly boasted that the U.S. Army Chemical Corps Biological Warfare Section had invented 16 bacteriological weapons which could be used for mass annihilation. The former Secretary of Defence, Johnson, in a whole series of open warmongering utterances, called for the use of any and every weapon, including atomic and bacteriological weapons. These are the shameless confessions of the criminals themselves.

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THESE criminal atrocities are being carried out by the American savages in collaboration with Shiro Ishii, Jiro Wakamatsu, Masajo Kitano and other Japanese bacteriological warfare criminals who are deadly foes of the Korean and Chinese people. The Soviet Government, in a note dated February 1, 1950, proposed to set up an international military tribunal to try these criminals, but now these enemies of all mankind are continuing their crimes under the protection of the American criminals. The infamous General MacArthur set up a bacteriological warfare research institute headed by Shiro Ishii. Not long ago, these three notorious Japanese bacteriological warfare criminals were sent by Ridgway's headquarters to Korea to carry on bacteriological warfare experiments and they were charged with the task of presenting a plan for bacteriological warfare in the winter. The American aggressors have long massacred Korean and Chinese prisoners of war by using them as guinea pigs in bacteriological experiments.

In March, 1951, the United States' landing craft No. 1901, under C.F. Sams, Chief of the " Public Health and Welfare Section " of the general headquarters of the American aggressive army, sailed secretly to Wonsan in North Korea, tried out bacteriological weapons on captured Chinese volunteers and then sailed to Koje Island where many Korean prisoners of war were imprisoned. There they carried out experiments on the P.O.W.s As early as the winter of 1950, when the American aggressive forces retreated from North Korea, they disseminated smallpox virus in the areas they had occupied with the result that thousands of peaceful inhabitants of these areas, where smallpox had been eliminated for several years, fell victims to the disease.

The unspeakable crimes of the American aggressors in Korea are too numerous to recount, but now these inhuman beasts are descending to even lower depths than before with their open adoption of large scale destructive bacteriological warfare to annihilate all the peaceful inhabitants of Korea. No decent person who loves peace and has any human sympathy can fail to be carried away with hatred and indignation at these acts.

In face of the indignant protests and condemnation of the people of the whole world, the American aggressors have resorted to their usual tricks and have tried to deny the fact that they are carrying on bacteriological warfare, in order to evade their responsibility for these crimes. A so-called responsible 8th Army officer, as well as Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, in typical lying statements, declared that the United Nations forces have not used bacteriological weapons. But they omitted to say a single word about the whole

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The American General Staff's "Prison-Laboratories"

LARGE centres have been secretly established in several regions of the United States for the centralisation of all work on bacteriological weapons. The most important and best-known is "Camp Detrick" in the State of Maryland. This description of the camp was given by two American experts, H. Kogain and H. E. Hart, in an article which appeared in the French newspaper *France-Soir* of July 4, 1950:

"While "A" and "H" bomb specialists are vigorously pursuing their research, men in white, isolated in the immense enclosure of Camp Detrick (Maryland) continue the mysterious work ordered by their government in the greatest secrecy. These are the B.W. men (Biological Warfare), whose essential job is to carry out successful bacteriological research and to foresee all the aspects under which bacteriological warfare could be employed in the near future."

In an article which appeared in the political and financial review *Semaine Economique* of December 11, 1949, the French journalist Pierre Devaux refers to this sinister death factory.

"Microbes are no longer hunted as in the time of Pasteur. They are reared, they are carefully "exalted" in the biological centre of Camp Detrick, where 4,000 *men and women operators,* proclaimed as "Heroes of America," are working under the orders of the famous Doctor Rosebury . . .

"In Camp Detrick, Mark I type tube bombs, capable of spraying microbe cultures over considerable areas, are prepared. The deadly poison botuliumm kills men, beasts and roots in the ground. Two ounces can kill a thousand million persons, half of humanity."

Doctor Rosebury's "Death Catalogue"

THIS famous Doctor Rosebury, Director-in-Chief of the Camp Detrick "Prison-Laboratories," has recently published a "catalogue" of the various diseases which his services are placing at the disposal of the American General Staff. The catalogue includes 23 diseases: smallpox, cholera of a particularly tenacious kind, typhus, typhoid, various kinds of pneumonia, the black plague and many other diseases. It also supplies interesting details on the effectiveness and the method of using each of these diseases.

The catalogue shows us, for example, that pneumonic plague at its best gives "a very good return" and guarantees 95 deaths for every 100 people affected. Black plague, unknown since the Middle Ages, has been revived in Camp Detrick thanks to the services of Doctor Rosebury, and is also recommended. It can be used alone or in combination with another exotic disease called meroris, which is so rare in its natural state that up to the present less than a hundred cases have been recorded.

Japanese War Criminals in the Service of the Americans

IN December 1949, twelve Japanese officers were tried in Khabarovsk for having prepared and used bacteriological weapons against the Chinese population. This trial revealed that shortly after the conquest of Manchuria in 1935-1936, the Japanese General Staff set up a bacteriological department consisting of a large laboratory and two secret detachments which, in 1941-42, after the Hitlerite aggression against the U.S.S.R., were known as "Detachment 731" and "Detachment 100." The first of these detachments had many branches in the various units of the Japanese army in Manchuria, whose task was to prepare the bacteriological weapons produced by these detachments for use in actual warfare.

Detachment 731 was made up of 3,000 scientific workers responsible for the manufacture of bacteriological shells—called "avia-bombs"—containing many thousands of insects, mainly infected with plague virus. Their set-up—a veritable "microbe factory"—enabled them to produce 660 lbs. (enough to kill tens of millions of people) of plague microbes monthly.[1]

General Ishii Shiro is the chief of this detachment. This great planner of bacteriological warfare, at present in Tokyo and a great friend of the Americans, is certainly one of the specialists directing the present bacteriological offensive against Korea and China.

In 1946, eighteen Japanese bacteriologists were sent to the United States with all relevant documents for the preparation and production of bacteriological weapons. They are at present working in the Bacteriological Warfare "prison-laboratories."

Collaboration of Former Nazis

THE *Physicians' Forum,* national organisation of American doctors, revealed several weeks ago that the American Government is using Professor Walter B. Schreiber, former General of the Wehrmacht medical corps and leading specialist in military bacteriology, in its microbe research centres.

This "professor," who carried out experiments on deportees in the Nazi concentration camps, was called as a witness in the Nuremburg trial. Replying to a question from the Soviet judge, he declared: "Tests in mass contamination were carried out in the Poznan Institute . . . . I only know that attempts were made to spread microbic emulsions by aeroplane and that experiments with harmful insects were carried out."[2]

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Bacteriological Experiments on Korean Prisoners on Koje Island

THE American *United Press* agency correspondent revealed in an article dated May 18, 1951, sent from Koje Island, that bacteriological service ship

[1]Minutes of the Khabaroysk trial.
[2]Report of the Nuremburg Trial, page 579, volume 21.

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series of damning facts which reveal the lengthy planning and preparation of bacteriological warfare by the American aggressors.

W. Burchett, Paris *Ce Soir* correspondent, has reported details of the bacteriological warfare carried out by Ridgway in Korea. Burchett interviewed a Chinese volunteer stationed at a place 15 kilometres north-west of Chorwon, who told him that at 1 p.m. on February 11 he saw three American planes circling over the district some 10 kilometres north of the division line and a black fog-like trail was found on the snowcovered hillsides. In a single square metre area, more than 1,000 fleas were found. Local inhabitants testified that flies do not come out before the end of March. And a patrol of the Chinese people's volunteers discovered that the American army stationed in this district suddenly withdrew from the front line on the night of February 10 with the obvious intention of getting out of the infected area.

Hundreds of thousands of people throughout Korea and North-east China can provide abundant and undeniable evidence about the large scale bacteriological warfare now being carried on by the American aggressors.

It will be remembered that, shortly after the beginning of the armistice talks in Korea, the Americans, in attempts to frustrate the negotiations, sent airplanes to invade the Kaesong neutral zone and bombed and strafed the vicinity of the living quarters of the delegation of the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers. The Americans time and again denied that these outrages were committed by them. However, in face of irrefutable facts, they were finally compelled to admit to their provocations. There are innumerable other similar examples.

The people of the world have long realised that it is a traditional weapon of the American aggressors and their government officials to ignore facts and use lies and slander.

The evidence of their outrageous crimes in carrying out large scale bacteriological warfare in a planned and premeditated way, regardless of all human principles and international conventions, is so convincing that their denials are of no avail.

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THESE horrible crimes of the American aggressors prove ever more clearly that they are the enemies of all peace-loving peoples, the opponents of human justice and security, and especially the deadly enemies of all nations in the East.

We, on behalf of the millions of Asian and Australasian workers, protest against the appalling crimes of the American forces which are now waging war in Korea in the name of the United Nations.

We call upon all workers and all righteous and decent people of Asia and Australasia to raise their voices in protest and to halt these appalling atrocities, to struggle for the upholding of justice and humanity, for the safeguarding of civilisation and the security of all mankind, and for the destruction of all the criminal war plans of the American aggressors by determined and effective action.

These unprincipled war criminals must be made to answer for their crimes before the judgement of the world's people.

Extract from the newspaper *Pravda* of March 18, 1952

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1091 arrived at the island from the port of Wonsan to undertake tests in bacteriological weapons on Korean prisoners. The correspondent related that since its arrival, the ship's laboratory had undertaken experiments in the prisoner of war camp on the island. The laboratory staff were equipped with bacilli to cultivate diseases of the mouth, the stomach and the intestines, and they carried out 3,000 experiments daily. The correspondent added that of over 125,000 North Korean prisoners in the six camps on the island, more than 1,400 contracted serious illnesses and 80 per cent some infection as a result of these experiments.

HERE ARE THE PROOFS

The Commission of Inquiry of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers

THE International Association of Democratic Lawyers has sent a commission of inquiry to Korea to check the veracity of Korean and Chinese accusations. The members of this commission were the well-known Austrian professor of law, Herr Brandweiner, an Italian lawyer, Signor Cavalieri, a Brazilian lawyer, Senhor de Britto, an Englishman, Mr. Gaster, a Frenchman, M. Jacquier, a Belgian, M. Moerens, and lawyers from China and Poland. This broad commission visited Korea a few weeks ago, where it was given the opportunity to carry out investigations freely in all the zones affected by epidemics. It agreed unanimously on a telegram which it sent to the President of the Association, Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., in which it said :

" We have obtained evidence, which in our opinion is corroborated, that flies and other insects of a character hitherto unknown in Korea have been found in the last weeks in Korea in many districts."

The commission explains that the circumstances under which these insects were discovered prove that they were dropped from planes in special containers. The insects were found immediately after American planes had flown over. Further, containers were found in the neighbourhood.

The declaration continues :

" Many of these insects have been found to be infected by cholera, typhus, plague and other diseases."

The members of this commission are men concerned with law. They have long experience in the sphere of international law, and their profession has accustomed them not to judge from appearances only, but to look for proofs, and their conclusions have nevertheless been unanimous. They have confirmed the fact that the Americans are using bacteriological weapons in Korea.

An Enormous Wave of Indignation Arouses the Whole World

THE news of the use of bacteriological warfare in Korea and North-East China has provoked a real tidal wave of indignant protests. The stirring appeals of many leading personalities and of the peoples of Korea and China, denouncing the spreading of bacteria carried out by American aviation under cover of the United Nation's flag, and in flagrant violation of all international agreements, have been heard by the workers and by all peaceful peoples throughout the world.

In a moving appeal, the President of the World Peace Council, the great French scientist Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, has asked all men and women of good faith in all countries to protest against this crime, which he qualifies as "this horrible deed, that could never have been contemplated by a sane mind."

All the international democratic organisations have reacted indignantly to the bacteriological bombardment of Korea and China. In the last issue of our Review, we published the W.F.T.U.'s telegram to the United Nations. The International Federation of Democratic Women, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Federation of Resistance Fighters have also appealed to their members to make known their indignation at this monstrous crime.

In the **Soviet Union,** at a large meeting held in Moscow, an impressive array of representatives from social, workers', scientists', writers' and artists' organisations gathered in response to the appeal of the Soviet Committee for the Defence of Peace. They protested vigorously against the American imperialists' crime. The Metropolitan Nikolai, speaking at this meeting, strongly denounced the American aggressors.

"Those who engage in bacteriological warfare have no right to quote the Bible, or to call themselves Christians or defenders of Christian civilisation," he declared. "They are not fit to be called human beings."

The resolution adopted at the end of the meeting states that the workers of Moscow, and the entire Soviet people, call upon the peoples of all lands to express their indignation and to protest against the crimes of the American aggressors and, in the interests of humanity, to reject the use of bacteriological weapons.

Italy has been swept by a mighty wave of protests. Large meetings organised by the trade unions and the various democratic organisations have been held in the main Italian towns, notably in Rome, Milan, Bologna, Modena and Leghorn. There have also been work stoppages in factories in Taranto, Empoli and Perugia. The Naples' trade unions unanimously agreed to send a

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Under the United Nations' banner, battallons of plague, cholera and typhus germs defend civilisation (cartoon by Boris Efimov).

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message to the United Nations demanding the cessation of this monstrous crime.

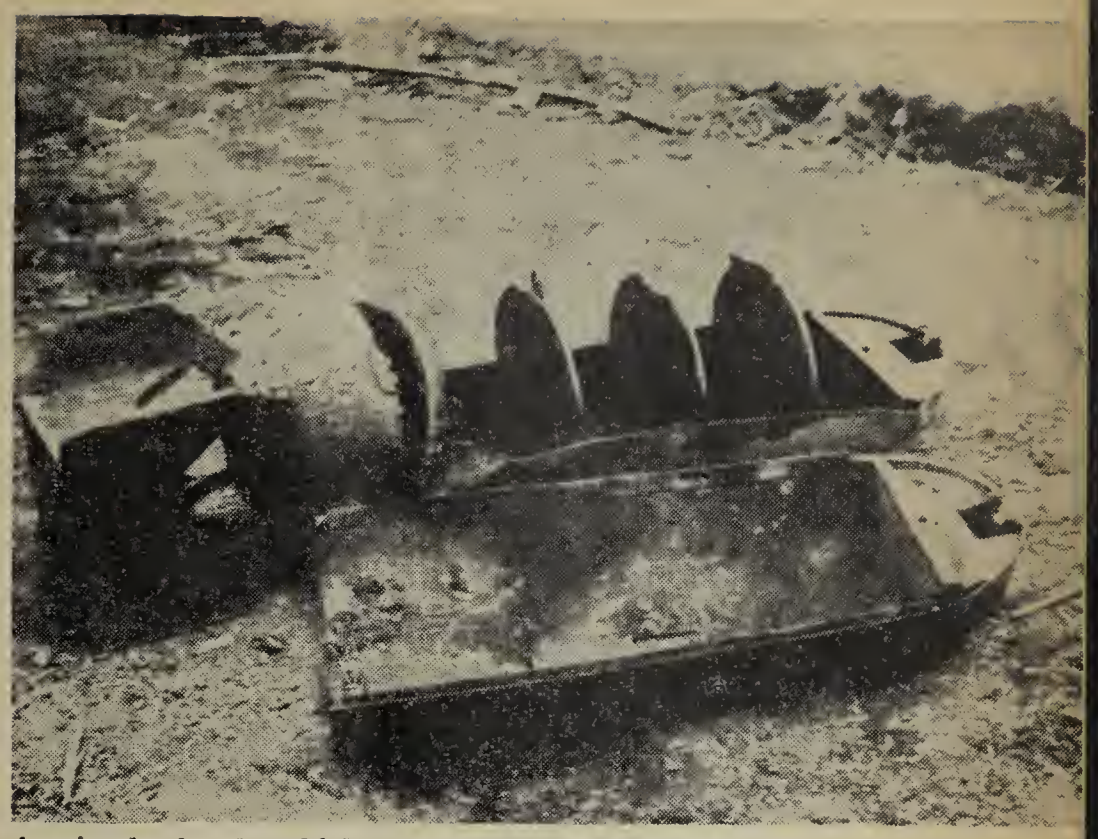
In **France,** the Executive Bureau of the C.G.T. expressed the indignation of the whole working class against this crime and called upon the workers to increase their pressure for an end to be brought to hostilities in Korea. The protest movement is developing throughout the country, especially among railway and postal workers, who handle infected parcels and letters from the Far East with resultant serious epidemics. The Bordeaux dockers and their wives carried a resolution during the course of a meeting demanding that the United Nations take immediate measures against those responsible for this ghastly crime.

In **Great Britain,** a large number of trade unions have protested against the barbarity of the imperialists in Korea. The Dartford Branch of the Electrical Trade Union unanimously passed a resolution to be sent to Mr. Churchill expressing their horror at the bestial bacteriological warfare carried on by the Americans in Korea and Manchuria, and demanding that the Prime Minister should do everything possible to bring it to an end.

In the **Netherlands,** many meetings have been held, particularly in the Hague, Utrecht, Eindhoven and Amsterdam. These meetings have been organised by the trade unions, and have demanded the withdrawal of Dutch troops from Korea. A hundred workers of the **Fokke** aircraft factory in Amsterdam sent a written protest to the United States Embassy against the use of bacteriological weapons in Korea and China, demanding severe punishment for those responsible.

The peoples and governments of the Peoples' Democracies are taking a very active part in the great world campaign to stop the American criminals. In **Poland** the trade unions are organising mass meetings bringing together tens of thousands of workers from factories, mines and so on. In **Bulgaria,** the miners of the town of Dimitrovgrad have launched a powerful campaign. An important meeting of scientific workers held in Sofia protested against the spreading of bacteria. In Budapest, **Hungary,** a meeting of doctors was held on March 20 to protest against the use of bacteriological weapons by the Americans. At the end of the meeting, a letter was sent to the American Medical Association asking American doctors to participate in the world wide campaign. In **Rumania** large meetings have also been held in the factories. Bucharest's C.I. Parhon University professors and students held a meeting denouncing the so-called scientists who assist in the transformation of the science of life into the science of death. Many meetings have been held in the **German Democratic Republic.** The leadership of the Christian Democratic Union has protested vigorously against "this form of war which is not only contrary to the Geneva Convention, but an essential contradiction to basic conceptions of humanity." In **Czechoslovakia,** the National Front, which unites all mass organisations and political parties, has demanded the immediate cessation of bacteriological warfare.

Feelings are running particularly high in the countries of **Asia and Australasia.** Many of the large Australian trade unions, notably the Building Workers' Industrial Union, the Australian Waterside Workers' (Dockers) Union, and the Sheet Metal Workers' Union



A microbe bomb, which has exploded on touching the ground and spread bacteria-infected insects.

have expressed their horror at this imperialist crime.

A great wave of protests has swept across **India.** The All-India Trades Union Congress has sent a message of solidarity to the Korean people and has issued an appeal to the Indian working class, asking it to protest against the American crimes. A large number of parties and organisations in Calcutta agreed upon a joint protest to be sent to the United Nations. Speaking in the name of the whole heroic people of **Viet-Nam,** their General Confederation of Labour has sent an indignant protest against the use of bacteriological weapons by the American aggressors in Korea.

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THUS, united by a common feeling of horror and indignation at these abominable crimes, workers throughout the world are mobilising. All members of the working class, led by the trade unions, are responding to the appeal of the World Federation of Trade Unions and to that of the World Peace Council issued during its recent meeting in Oslo.

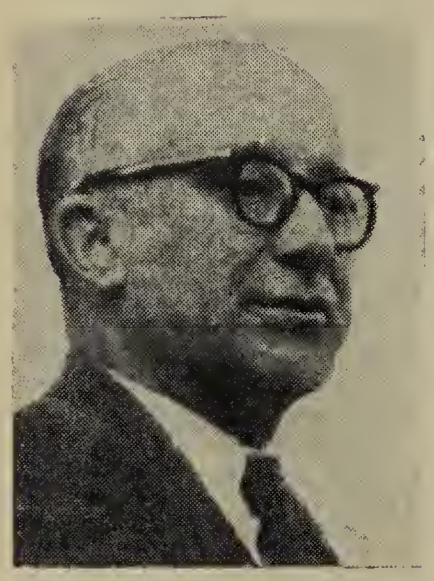
From the four corners of the earth comes news of action being organised to stay the criminals, to support the World Peace Council's proposal for the formation of a Commission of Enquiry, to stop bacteriological warfare, and to ban bacteriological weapons. Demands for the signing by all governments of the 1925 International Convention forbidding the use of bacteriological and chemical weapons are coming in. They are addressed particularly to the American government, which never ratified it. Those who use such weapons must be brought to trial as criminals.

Greater action must be taken in the factories! The terrible threat which is hanging over mankind must be averted!

WHAT THE DEMAND FOR THE SLIDING SCALE MEANS TO THE FRENCH WORKER

By HENRI RAYNAUD

Secretary of the French C.G.T.



IF a French worker were to learn that in the United States the American workers are against the sliding scale he would at first be very surprised.

This surprise, however, arising purely from his ignorance of the precise way in which the problem is presented in the United States and from the tendency to judge his American comrade's position from the standpoint of his own situation, would soon disappear when the facts were clarified.

We understand the position better as a result of the comments of three American trade unionists on the article by Henri Jourdain on the sliding scale which appeared in No. 19, 1951, of *World Trade Union Movement*.

We would like to thank our brothers for their explanations, which have contributed to clarifying this problem.

We now ask to be allowed to return to it on the basis of French experience.

The explanations given in the articles of Hugh Bryson, William Sentner, Russ Nixon, Jim Healy and Maurice Travis[1] bring out the fact that the term "sliding scale" has a different meaning according to whether it comes as a proposal from the employers or whether it serves as the basis for working class struggles.

Employers' proposals for a sliding scale have as their objective the freezing of wages and the prevention of any concrete action for wage increases. This is shown by the well-known and typical example of General Motors in the United States where the trade union is tied to a long-term contract which requires the union to renounce all struggle during the period, and which bases the calculation of variations in the cost of living on a method which robs the workers when each so-called readjustment is made.

It is thus an anti-working class arrangement.

We say clearly that this case is not a real automatic readjustment of wages arising from variations in the cost of living, but a caricature of readjustment and thus a caricature of a sliding scale, cleverly presented.

It is thus natural that such a swindle should be denounced and fought by the American workers. It is essential, however, that the denunciation of this caricature of a sliding scale should be based on the daily struggle which the workers must carry on in the factories in the United States, as in all capitalist countries. This struggle in the factories should be waged simultaneously on three main points: against the consequences of rising prices resulting from war economy, for the maintenance of the purchasing power of wages by their automatic readjustment, and for continual improvements in wages.

In France, as in the other capitalist countries of Western Europe, inflation arising from the continuous speeding up of the armaments race dictated by the American millionaires and from the continuance of the war in Indo-China, is forcing upon the workers a daily fight in defence of the purchasing power of their wages, which are constantly being devalued by successive rises in the cost of living.

Since 1947, that is, since the expulsion of the Communists from the government, the French workers have been carrying on a determined struggle against the policy of the wage-freeze which the

1 See W.T.U.M. Nos. 24, 1951, 2, 3, 4, 5, 1952.

employers and the government are trying to force on the working class. These struggles have included long and bitter strikes, which have often resulted in bloodshed because of repressive measures such as those taken against the miners' strike in 1947.

As a result of united action achieved on an increasingly wide scale in the factories and throughout a number of industries, the workers have, by their constant struggle, succeeded in defeating this policy of the wage-freeze, and they have successively won a number of important wage increases.

Though these struggles have upset the calculations of the employers and the government and have placed difficulties in the way of the policy of war preparation, nevertheless, the gains they have won have always been nullified afterwards by successive price increases.

In spite of the continued successes gained by the workers, their living conditions have become continuously more difficult, threatening to endanger the effectiveness of their action.

That is why the demand for the sliding scale, tending to provide an effective guarantee and to safeguard the results of victories gained in struggle, becomes essential to the French workers—not in order to stop or to hold back the struggle, but to continue it at a constantly higher level, in order once and for all to maintain what has been won and, having consolidated it, to go forward to new and substantial improvements.

In France, the demand for the sliding scale is a fighting demand of the working class. It is directed not only towards ensuring the maintenance of the purchasing power of wages in relation to a specified period, but to developing action much further, not only to win back the 1938 pre-war level of purchasing power, but also to improve the conditions of the working class in comparison with that period.

That is why this demand comes up against the fiercest opposition from the employers and the governmental majority.

Everyone knows that the demand for the sliding scale is at present in France one of the crucial points of the difficulties encountered by the American policy of our rulers.

For about three years now the French workers have been fighting to obtain, along with increases in nominal wages, the automatic readjustment of wages to the cost of living by means of the sliding scale.

On October 15th, 1948. Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the C.G.T., declared in his closing speech to the 27th Congress :

> "We must insistently demand the readjustment of wages and salaries on the basis of the basic minimum of 15,000 francs a month, which corresponds to the increase in the cost of living as on October 5th, 1948. *In order to maintain the purchasing power of wages, it is clear that automatic adjustment to the cost of living by means of the sliding scale is essential.*"

Two years later, at the 28th Congress of the C.G.T., in spite of an unceasing fight and of increases in wages and salaries obtained by united action, including a recent increase of from 12 to 15% (March 1951), Benoit Frachon still found it necessary to say, on May 27th. 1951. in his opening speech to that Congress :

> "The C.G.T. is fighting for the following immediate demands :
> —general increase in wages and salaries;
> —a basic minimum of 122 francs an hour at the present state of prices;
> —support for the immediate demands put forward by civil servants, public employees. miners and State employees, *for the extension to all wage-earners of the automatic sliding scale, to be applied whenever a 5% increase in the cost of living is noted.*"

He added :

> "This demand is particularly important now that the present rulers—who think that they will remain so—are getting ready to vote, once the elections are over, new taxes to cover a budget deficit of 800,000 million francs, while their war policy is dragging the country into inflation."

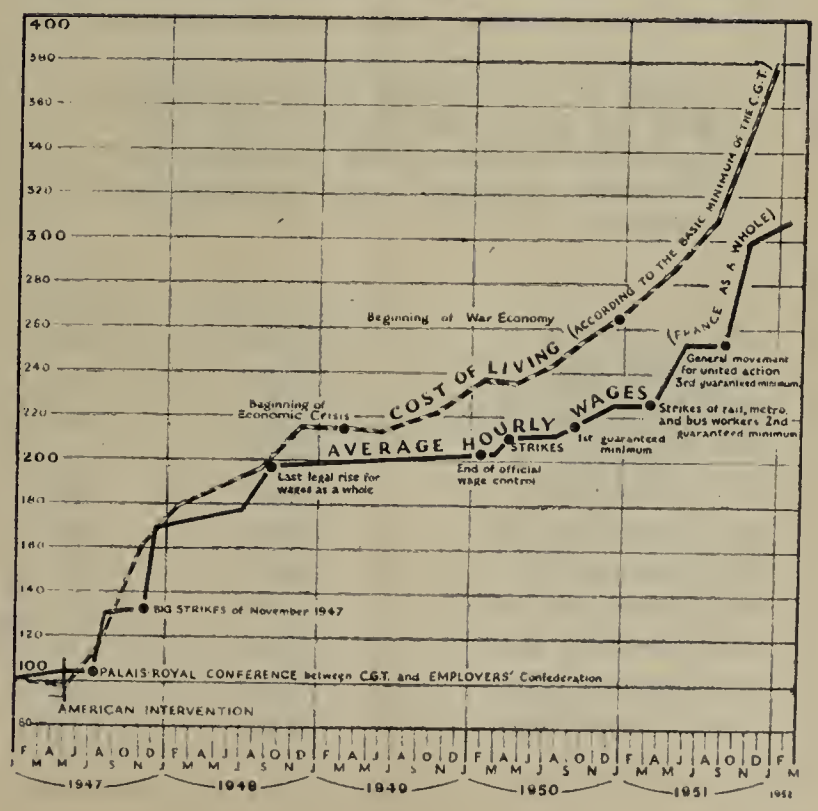
The sliding scale is today the principal and unanimous demand of all the workers of France.

The leaders of the C.F.T.C., the splitting leaders of "Force Ouvriere," and the leadership of the General Confederation of Cadres and Independent Trade Unions have had to adopt this demand as a result of the united pressure of their members.

Unity of action is being achieved everywhere for the sliding scale, among all sections of the workers, in the factories, workshops, and offices. It is being achieved through the concrete struggle for increases in nominal wages.

But the resistance of the employers and the government is certainly not diminishing.

From 1947 the gap between the rise in the cost of living and wage increases has been continually widening.



Up to the present, despite the fact that the National Assembly voted in favour of the Bill on the sliding scale at its first reading in September 1951, this has not yet been passed by Parliament. Working class pressure is, nevertheless, considerable, and is being further widened every day. Activity in support of demands, demonstrations and strike movements are growing. In hundreds of cases concrete results are obtained in the factories. Sometimes the gains won are of a character which brings them into line with the full demands of the C.G.T.

The problem of the sliding scale has not yet been solved. It will only be solved by the united action of the working class and by continuous efforts for unity in the fight for wage increases in every factory.

The Administrative Commission of the C.G.T., at its meeting of February 27th, 1952, in which it examined the situation, made clear its position in a resolution, the terms of which are worth quoting in order to contribute to clarifying the problem :

"Action carried on in hundreds of factories throughout the country and popular pressure exercised on the government and Parliament, in ever wider unity, has forced the National Assembly, against the wishes of the government, to pass a law on the sliding scale.

"The Administrative Committee of the C.G.T. denounces those Members of Parliament who, after voting for the Bill on the sliding scale on September 20th, 1951, with an eye simply to electoral chances, have refused to vote for this same Bill after the elections.

"Though not giving complete satisfaction to the demands formulated by the C.G.T. and supported by the whole of the working class, the Bill voted by the Chamber constitutes a first step imposed by mass pressure.

"Manœuvres are already taking place to emasculate this law and to make it ineffective, with the complicity of many politicians who are making use of the Senate's opposition.

"*The Administrative Commission asks all workers and all trade union organisations to unite and to exercise sufficient pressure to defeat these manœuvres and to force the immediate passing of the law.*

"It is also convinced that the strengthening of working class unity will make possible the achievement of a real automatic sliding scale for all wages, salaries and pensions.

"The Administrative Commission also wishes to remind working class organisations that they have the opportunity all the time to demand of their employers wage increases, regardless of government decisions.

"*Wage increases and the application of the sliding scale can be obtained by collective agreement. Everything depends on the action and the unity of the workers and their trade unions.*"

From this it is clear that the French working class is not content to demand of its rulers a law on the sliding scale, nor to discuss the sliding scale with the employers with a view to collective agreements on this point, but that it will strive more and more to concretise this action in the factories against their respective employers, in growing unity, to win in the course of their struggles immediate and more substantial wage increases.

Under these conditions it is evident that if the sliding scale is first of all forced upon certain employers (as has already been done, and as can be later achieved in respect of all employers by a Parliamentary enactment) that will in no way prejudice the continual fight of the workers and their trade unions for wage increases. On the contrary, since the sliding scale will be won as a result of those very actions, it will establish it as a point won, a point which will serve as a basis for new demands.

THE MOVEMENT OF PRICES AND WAGES IN FRANCE FROM 1946 TO 1952

Date	Index of retail prices (Based on 1938=100)	Index of wages (1938=100)	Observations
April 1946 ... (26th Congress of the C.G.T.)	698	583	Wages only 79% of 1938 purchasing power.
October 1948 (27th Congress of the C.G.T.)	1,950	950	Fall to 48% of 1938 purchasing power.
27th May 1951 (28th Congress of the C.G.T.)	2,215	1,100	49.5% of 1938 purchasing power.
January 1952	3,150	1,500	47.5% of 1938 purchasing power, 60% of August 1946 purchasing power.

Variations in the basic minimum calculated by the C.G.T. on the basis of a typical budget established in 1946 by the "Conseil Superieur de la Fonction Publique."

	Francs per month	Index
7th March 1949	17,054 ...	100
11th April 1950	18,916 ...	111
15th March 1951	22,326 ...	130
15th June 1951	24,950 ...	145
15th August 1951	26,346 ...	155
15th September 1951 ...	26,953 ...	158
15th October 1951	27,887 ...	162
15th November 1951 ...	28,552 ...	167
15th December 1951	29,118 ...	171
15th January 1952	29,706 ...	174
15th February 1952	30,461 ...	178

The question of knowing whether the escalator clause will establish a ceiling or a floor will thus be resolved.

The sliding scale can only be established as a floor when it results from the struggle of the workers, whereas it becomes a ceiling when it is initiated by the employer.

Though the question is clear in France and in certain capitalist countries of Western Europe such as Italy (both of these countries being particularly affected by the continuous rise in prices and more and more threatened by inflation, and where the defence of the purchasing power of wages is a daily issue) it will gradually become the same everywhere, even in the United States, where the war budget is becoming an increasing burden and where the increased taxation which arises from this budget will not fail to bring rising prices and the process of inflation.

Henri Jourdain was thus correct in opening up a discussion in the review *World Trade Union Movement* on this problem of the sliding scale for wages, which should be of interest to all workers in capitalist countries.

The American Government Commands and the I.C.F.T.U. Obeys — A Proof

Extracts from the 1951 report of the United States Secretary of Labor, "Mobilizing Labor for Defense."

"The problem of productivity looms large in peacetime but more so in a defense economy. Providing incentives for workers in order to get their cooperation in increasing output is a challenge to the Government as well as to management and unions."

(Page 110)

"Men and women who have retired or returned to the home because of family responsibilities may have to be asked to enter the labor market again."

(Page 13)

". . . temporary and limited lengthening of the workweek in particular industries and plants may be the quickest way to step up output. . . ."

(Page 16)

Extracts from the I.C.F.T.U. Review for February, 1952

"Progress in productivity should be encouraged, but the workers must be assured of receiving their proper share in the benefits resulting from greater productivity.

(Page 10)

"Women and aged persons who normally are not part of the labour market, might be given opportunities to enter or re-enter it."

(Page 8)

". . . working hours could be lengthened."

(Page 8)

The Indomitable Working-class of Greece

By COSTAS THEOS

Elected Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Greek T.U.C.

Costas Theos' article was in the press when we learned of the shameful murder of the heroic Beloyannis and three of his comrades.

The terrible news shocked and angered all those who had fought fervently and passionately for weeks, right up to the end, against the awful threat, in the hope of staying the hands of the executioners.

But the American master wanted blood.

The Hitler fascists, when they felt the rising wave of popular anger that finally brought their downfall, resorted to their last argument—murder. The Greek monarcho-fascists are doing the same. They are the cowardly executors of the wishes of Washington, who rely on terror to support and strengthen their policy of oppression and war, against which the peoples are taking an increasingly resolute stand.

This is the basic meaning of the crime which has just been committed in Athens. By striking at the Greek patriots, the men of Washington and their servile agents are attempting to deliver a major blow at peace and national independence.

But terror is a weapon of the frightened, of those who tremble before the people, a weapon which has never halted the onward march of history.

Already the announcement of the execution of the four Greek patriots has given rise in Greece and throughout the world to a mighty movement of indignation, and the campaign is being intensified to save Beloyannis' four other comrades, and all the other imprisoned Greek patriots.

Serious dissensions have been revealed within the Plastiras government as a consequence of popular pressure. Wherever the American imperialists strive to impose fascism, hunger and war, the mass fight is developing against the new occupier and his collaborators.

Nicos Beloyannis, murdered March 31, 1952.

There are many signs that the heroism of the Athens' martyrs will bring forth a new crop of fighters from among the Greek and all oppressed peoples to defeat the murderous barbarians and to ensure the triumph of a world of well-being, freedom and peace.

W.T.U.M.

ONCE more the peoples of the world have turned their eyes towards heroic Greece, towards martyred Greece, where patriots condemned to death—imperishable symbols of human grandeur—stand facing the executioners of Athens, proclaiming their love of liberty and peace.

Millions of men and women from all countries and sections of society, shocked by the threatened crime against Beloyannis and his comrades, have developed a mighty and stirring movement of solidarity to save these comrades and to put an end to the bloodstained terror of the monarcho-fascist foreign-dominated Greek government.

A continual flood of protest telegrams are being delivered to the United Nations and the Athens government from workers, members of the Peace movement, from many and varied democratic organisations, and leading artists, scientists, writers and barristers. The campaign is broadening and becoming more powerful both in the capitalist countries, the Peoples' Democracies and in the U.S.S.R. In the name of the Soviet people, the Soviet representative at the United Nations

demanded immediate intervention to save the lives of these Greek patriots. Echoing the protests of the Greek people, the response of the people everywhere grows to turn the executioners from their sinister designs.

* * *

"WE are fighting for the dawn of better times in Greece, against hunger and against war. For that we give our lives," Beloyannis told the Tribunal which condemned him to death.

What kind of a government is it that is prepared to kill men whose ideals are those of all justice and liberty-loving peoples? What account can it present to its country?

Carrying out the orders of the American imperialists, the monarcho-fascist government of Plastiras-Venizelos has brought the Greek people unspeakable misery, a reign of bloody terror and a policy leading straight to war.

Immediately prior to the September 1951 parliamentary elections, Plastiras, under pressure from the people of Greece and the world, promised an amnesty, and authorised the anti-fascists to present candidates. Ten of these were elected in spite of the fascist terror, thus proving the irresistible will of the Greek people for freedom, democracy and peace. The government was afraid, however. The people's deputies, most of whom were in prison and some of whom were under death sentence, were illegally deprived of their mandates. The few remaining progressive newspapers were banned, and now, in spite of promises of amnesty, the camps and prisons once again are filling up. More of the infamous trumped-up trials are being held, while the murders are carried on in an effort to exterminate the anti-fascist defenders of the working class.

Tens of thousands of patriots are being tortured in the Greek prisons, among whom are many militant trade unionists. Trade union rights are flouted. Anti-working class fascist measures are more pronounced than ever and traitors and strike-breakers are, counter to the wishes of the workers, being given the leadership of the trade union organisations.

Now that the Lisbon conference is over, the Greek rulers are anxious to show their Washington masters that they are particularly worthy of the place officially accorded them in the Atlantic coalition. The Americans now publicly dictate their orders to the Athens government. Did not their ambassador in Greece personally notify Washington's complete opposition to the electoral system founded on proportional representation? It was following his meeting with Eisenhower that the fascist Marshal Papagos launched a violent campaign for the execution of Beloyannis and his comrades, personifying as they do the resistance of the Greeks and of all those peoples whom the American multi-millionaires intend to colonise under their programme of foreign domination and war.

* * *

THE Greek working class is paying for this policy with indescribable poverty and suffering. In this small country of seven and a half million inhabitants there are at present about 400.000 totally unemployed. One-seventh of the population—that is, one million one hundred thousand persons—of various classes (skilled workers, small tradesmen, peasants) have, according to a government report, lost their means of livelihood.

From 50 to 70 per cent. of leather, food and tobacco workers, tailors and carpenters are unemployed. Most of them receive no relief as 150 days must have been worked during the year preceding the loss of work in order to qualify for a small allowance. This is a difficult condition to fulfil in Greece, even in times of great economic prosperity.

Hunger ravages the countryside. The Athens' government press relates that in the regions of Central Greece, for example, the inhabitants cannot afford even the meagre rations allocated by the government.

To provide funds for military expenditure, which officially amounts to half the budget, but in reality is nearer 75%, the people are weighed down with taxation, while it is notorious that huge sums belonging to the major capitalists go scotfree. The worker has to bear the expense of maintaining an army on a war-footing six times larger than any previous peacetime Greek army, and destined to strengthen the "Atlantic" foot-sloggers.

Is it therefore surprising that the American masters intervene quite openly against wage increases and against movements supporting working class demands? Washington expects to solve the famous "guns or butter" dilemma in Greece, as in other "Atlantic" countries, by allowing monstrous war budgets to cut down on the workers' food.

The purchasing power of wages in Greece has fallen by more than 50%. If the widespread unemployment is taken into account, the real income of the Greek working class is no more than a third of its already low pre-war level.

Social security has also been dealt a severe blow; the workers have been deprived of their few hard won rights despite continuing deductions from their wages.

The extreme poverty of the working class has not prevented the American Gauleiter in Athens, Peurifoy, from notifying the government that there must be no wage or salary increases. Measures giving the government the right to annul any increase negotiated between workers and employers, or as a result of an arbitration decision, are under consideration.

* * *

WHAT are the weapons that this hated government uses to impose its policy of poverty? First, there is the reign of terror, the executions, death camps, the Courts Martial, the persecutions, spying, and the liberty-stifling fascist laws. Then there are the traitors and strike-breakers whom the Americans, the monarcho-fascist government, and the big employers have put into the leadership of the trade unions, while the elected leading organs of the Greek T.U.C. have been banned and dissolved and thousands of trade unionists, faithful to the working class movement, have been thrown into prison and the death camps.

Trade union dues have just been doubled and are obligatory to all wage earners. This compulsory tax illustrates the degree of dependence of the trade union leadership on the monarcho-fascist government.

Trade unions electing loyal working class militants to the leadership are expelled from the official centre; leadership committees elected by union members are disbanded; rules have been modified so that even on paper there is no mention of the right of members to elect or control their union leadership. The government agents in the trade unions whose power comes from the fascist regime openly declare themselves against all democratic measures and for the continuation of the terror.

Every time the workers show the will to strike, the official union leaders intervene to prevent it, and if nevertheless the strike takes place, to smash it.

UNDER these terrible conditions, the Greek working class is showing admirable courage and fighting qualities. According to official figures, 600,000 manual and clerical workers and civil servants went on strike between March 1950 and September 1951, as a result of which more than three million working days were lost. In a few months in 1951, 500,000 people took part in strikes and peasant demonstrations. At Drama in the tobacco producing region of Northern Greece, the whole population—workers, peasants and artisans —struck in support of their demands last October.

As a result of their struggles, the workers forced the government to increase the minimum wage by 25 per cent. in 1950, and to grant further important wage increases to certain categories of wage earners in January, 1951. But it has been a non-stop battle to force the employers to implement these increases which, in the long run, are insufficient to cover the continually rising cost of living.

In September, 1951, there was a big strike of bank employees for salary increases. Fascist measures of exceptional severity were taken against this strike on the orders of the American Gauleiter Peurifoy—conscription of staff to work under the supervision of fascist officers, the threat of Courts Martial, dismissals, and the non-payment of salaries. Such measures show how greatly the government fears the united strength of the workers.

Another big strike, this time of civil servants, took place in July 1951, despite the open intervention of the American ambassador, who threatened to cut off subsidies to the government should the strike continue. The workers' contributions to the strike fund and the help of small tradesmen in extending credit, indicate the widespread support for this powerful movement for civil servants' salary increases.

In spite of the efforts of the strike-breaking union leaders, the strike lasted 15 days, subsequently breaking out again several times. Last December, civil servants launched a two-hour strike in protest against the provision in the new Constitution banning their right to strike. Supported by all the workers, they defied this ban, going on strike again at the beginning of February, and practically paralysing the whole administrative apparatus. The unity and strength of this great movement having encompassed 65,000 civil servants, forced the government to agree to increase the lowest paid workers' wages by 15%, that is to say, the wages of the majority.

Where the workers have been able to elect fighting democrats to the leadership of their unions, they have won victories, as for example among the footwear workers of Athens and Piræus in November 1951.

The great strength of the Greek working class movement for better conditions and freedom has ensured that in a whole series of trade unions, including the most important, where elections for leading positions had been organised by the fascists, the courageous workers were able to elect loyal representatives.

The strengthening of rank and file unity is essential to the development of the fight inside the fascist-controlled unions. Clearly the growing struggles of the workers make the strengthening of unity on the job between wage earners of all union and political affiliations in united action committees and strike committees of the utmost importance in Greece today. Elected by

Workers, this is how the I.C.F.T.U. defends your interests

This is the position taken up by the I.C.F.T.U. in the February issue of its review on a series of points of interest to the workers:

The I.C.F.T.U.:	It writes:
—supports the lengthening of the working day.	"Where all available manpower is fully employed, production can be increased only by lengthening working hours above their normal duration, by the intensification of work, or by progress in productivity and in the organization of the economy." (Page 8)
—recommends increased work loads and the introduction of methods of super-exploitation.	
—accepts forced organised migration for military ends.	"Wherever shifts of manpower are needed from consumers' production to industries working directly or indirectly for military defence, workers should be compensated for losses they occasion through such shifts." (Page 10)
—accepts that the weight of rearmament be borne by the workers.	"Free trade unions are agreed that a decreased production of consumers' goods is or may become unavoidable." (Page 10)
—and recommends the abandonment of the fight for the workers' demands.	"At the present world juncture, nobody knows better than trade unionists that fighting merely for a redistribution of national income 'at the expense of the rich' is an obsolete conception." (Page 17)

the rank and file, these committees must be responsible to the workers, acting only on their mandate and brooking no interference from the strikebreakers.

In constant and close touch with the rank and file, these committees are called upon by the whole working class to lead and organise strike defence, to fight against defeatist campaigns, and enemy manœuvres, and to expose and isolate the traitors.

The fascist measures taken against the striking bank clerks by the monarcho-fascists at American instigation, and the interference of the American ambassador in the civil servants' strike, prove clearly that the fight for better living conditions goes hand in hand with the fight for trade union and democratic liberties and against American domination in Greece.

The Americans would like to extort for the preparation of war against the people every drachma earned by the workers to buy their bread. "We fight against hunger and war," proclaimed Beloyannis to his torturers. Faithful to this ideal, the Greek workers have the support of workers throughout the world, support which was warmly expressed by the last General Council of the W.F.T.U. and more recently by the great international movement of solidarity for Beloyannis and his comrades.

Leading the Greek people by its sacrifices and heroism, the indomitable Greek working class is strengthening its glorious fight for bread and peace, for national independence, for a general amnesty and for freedom.

Progress of Unity in Burma

By T. F. McWHINNIE

IN a country where the Ministers of the Government live in a compound surrounded by barbed-wire, where imperialist pressure is constant and strong, and where one whole province is under the control of invading Kuomintang troops, one would normally not expect to find a healthy and lively trade union movement. When we add to this situation open and concealed forms of persecution of the progressive movement by the Government and the existence of a Government-sponsored trade union organisation, it is all the more creditable that one of WFTU's affiliated organisations, the Burma Trade Union Congress, is a lively and lusty movement of 30,000 members.

Despite the fact that the workers and office employees in the principal industries of the country work either directly or indirectly for the Government, and in consequence are open to victimisation and persecution if they associate with the B.T.U.C., there is no doubt that our organisation has succeeded in maintaining itself and carrying out trade union activity.

This has been achieved by a judicious combination of the application of a policy of united action based on a national programme of demands, 10,000 copies of which are being circulated throughout the trade unions, and a policy based on the realisation that if the working class is to stick by the trade unions, then these organisations must be something more than simply bodies which organise strikes.

The programme, which calls for united action on a number of common demands, is built around the seven following points, which are dealt with in detail:

(1) A living wage.

(2) Against the high cost of living.

(3) For a programme of social legislation.

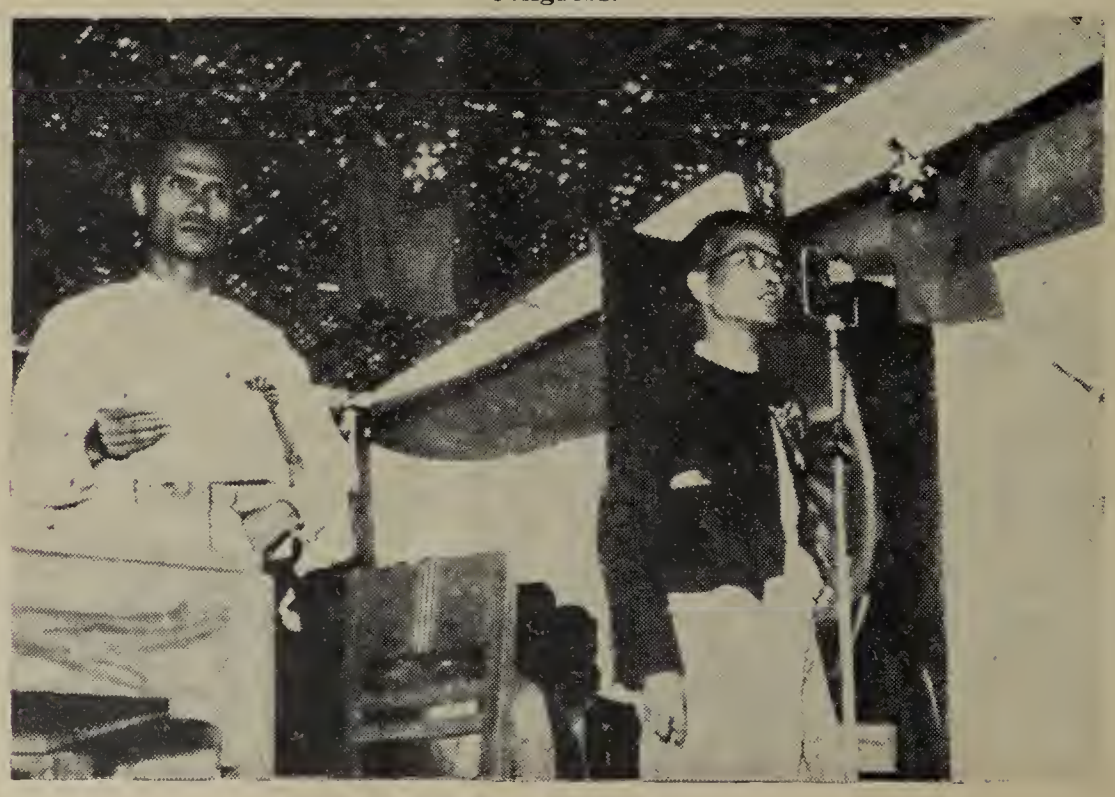
(4) The defence of democratic rights and the fight against repression.

(5) The abolition of casual labour, security of employment, and the abolition of unemployment.

(6) Full trade union liberties, freedom of expression and of the Press.

(7) The prevention of a new world war and the defence of world peace.

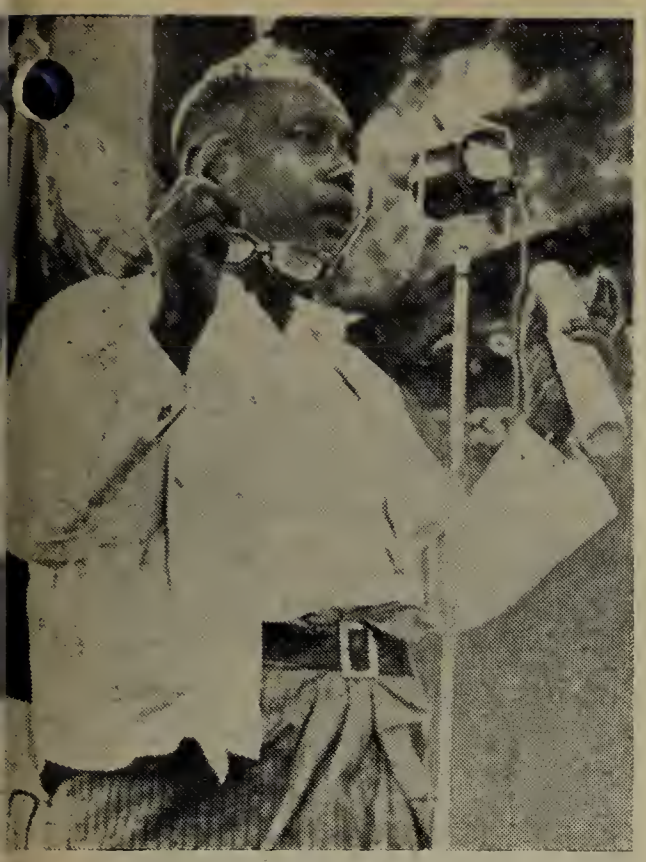
The February 9th mass meeting. Left: Thakin Kin Zaw, General Secretary of the Burma T.U.C. Right: Thakin Lwin, President of the Burma T.U.C. Congress.



An illustration of the excellent work done in enlarging the field of activity of the trade unions, giving the workers a real stake in their organisation and ensuring constant support for it, is given by the activities of the Dock Workers' Union in Rangoon.

A few years ago the Rangoon dockers and their families were literally living in the street. Even those few dockers who had homes lived under miserable slum conditions. Realising correctly that the Rangoon dockers could not be expected to show a militant spirit of working class solidarity when they were being crushed down by their very basic conditions of life, the Dock Workers' Union set out to solve the problem.

For 500 rupees per month, the union rented a large Indian school



The President of the All-Burma Ministerial Services Union, U Tun Aung Gyaw, who presided at the mass meeting on February 9 in Rangoon.

which was lying derelict as a result of war damage, repaired the roof, installed water, separated the large rooms into cubicles and installed the dock workers and their families. The result is that hundreds of people are now simply but comfortably lodged, that a day-school is being run for the education of the dockers' children and a night-school for adult education. In addition, a co-operative society was organised which bought looms and installed them on the ground floor of the former school where, during the day, the wives of the dock workers weave cloth which is sold for the benefit of the dockers and their families. In addition, the union now has a large meeting hall in the school which it uses not only for its own meetings, but rents out to other unions as well. At the present moment, the union is considering opening a book shop.

This example of concrete work in the interests of its members has resulted in a strong feeling of solidarity for the union and the understanding amongst the workers that the union plays an important part in improving their living conditions. For all these services, each family pays only a few rupees per month.

It would be wrong, however, to paint a picture which is all in bright colours. The standard of living of the Burmese working class is deplorably low, and with unemployment widespread in the country, tens of thousands of workers and their families are living on a starvation level. Many workers earn no more than 50 or 60 rupees per month.[1] With such an income, a working class family has to find at least another 25 rupees per month somewhere to live on a bare minimum subsistence level.

The consequence is that most workers and office employees have to put in long hours after their regular work in an attempt to supplement their wages, and children who should be at school are forced to serve as agricultural labourers in order to augment the family income.[2]

It is in this situation that the Burma T.U.C. is campaigning for united action not only with the large autonomous unions which exist, such as the All-Burma Ministerial Services Union and the Inland Water Transport Federation, but also with the rank and file of the Government-sponsored national trade union centre. Furthermore, apart from the national demands being put forward, activity is under way to fight for specific demands in particular industries.

The sympathy with which the W.F.T.U. is regarded in this struggle for unity to defend the interests of the Burmese workers was illustrated in a striking way on February 9 in Rangoon, where I had the privilege of speaking to a mass meeting of thousands of workers. At that meeting, despite past knowledge of Government repression and victimisation, the President of the All-Burma Ministerial Services Union, U Tun Aung Gyaw, who has spent two years in jail for his part in organising a strike of civil servants, took the chair, and Myint Hlaing, General Secretary of the Inland Water Transport Workers, was on the platform. The significance of such co-operation and the prospects which it holds out for future trade union action in Burma should not be under-estimated.

An important aspect of the trade union struggle is the fight against the emergency laws of the Government which permits arrests without trial. Broad-based Committees for the Protection of Democratic Rights is being set up in several provinces and have forced the release of, or a reduction in the sentences inflicted on, a number of progressive and trade union militants. In this campaign, new and original forms of activity have been developed, such as the holding of mass "People's Courts," at which the case against the Government is presented and a verdict is given by the meeting. In some cases, the persecuted person himself accuses the Government.

It is in this form, too, that the farce of last year's general elections,

1 £4 to £4 10s. sterling.
2 See **W.T.U.M.**, No. 5, 1952, Spotlight on World Labour, article on Burma, for further data on living standards.

A view of part of the mass meeting on February 9 in Rangoon.

Ordinance depot strikers in Rangoon are evicted from their homes.

which were marked by corruption, intimidation and terrorism, have been exposed in the eyes of the Burmese people.

For example, the Government placed its candidates on election lists and secured their election to Parliament, as representatives from areas which have for a long time been under the control of the Partisan Movement. There is now on record complete details of the practices carried out by the Government, and this campaign has been a source of profound education to the people of Burma.

Undoubtedly, the initiative belongs to the progressive forces at this moment. On the political field, a united front composed of the Left-Socialist Burmese Workers and Peasants' Party, the nationalist Greater Burma Party, and the People's Peace Front, led by Aung Than, brother of the assassinated Prime Minister Aung San, has been formed. As a result of the formation of this fighting united front, the whole political climate in Burma is much healthier. The united front is leading a mass anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang campaign with such effect that no one in the Government dare now openly say that they are not in favour of throwing out the Kuomintang General Li Mi and the fourteen or fifteen thousand troops of his 93rd Division which, with the support of the United States, have taken over the whole province of Kentung.

The efforts being made by the united front to ensure that Burma does not become a military base for aggression against People's China are shown by the decision taken at a mass meeting on February 24 to raise a Volunteer Corps to fight the Kuomintang troops. That this decision reflects the real feelings of the mass of the Burmese people was proven when, at a separate meeting, the All-Burma Students' Federation also took a decision to organise a students' volunteer corps.

So great is the pressure on this question that not only has the Burma Government been forced to take a strong stand at the United Nations, much to the embarrassment of the United States, but it has been made impossible for the Government to accept United States' economic aid without having the terms of the Mutual Security Act altered.

A land of rich potential wealth, of warm sunshine and bright colours, and of a friendly and peaceful people has now decided that if the future is to belong to them, imperialism and its supporters must be crushed. In this struggle, the Burma Trade Union Congress and its allies have an important part to play and are beginning to play it.

Education in the Service of the People

By FAN MIN

Vice-Chairman of the Educational Workers' Trade Union of China. Vice-President of the World Federation of Teachers Union (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.)

THE Chinese Communist Party, the trade unions, and the Central Peoples' Government of the Peoples' Republic of China under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have within the short space of two years effectively unified the financial and economic structure of our country and have ended the vicious monetary inflation which had continued for 12 years under the reactionary Kuomintang regime. We have also succeeded in the mighty task of restoring industrial and agricultural production and the re-establishment of communication and trade. We have accomplished the tremendous task of harnessing the mighty Huai River. The historic task of land reform was carried out over an area populated by 290 million people by the Autumn of 1951, and we expect to complete this reform throughout our country this Spring.

The aim of the new democratic principle of education in China is to raise the cultural level of the people, to develop cadres for our national reconstruction, to wipe out the feudalistic, compradore and fascist ideology, and to develop a correct outlook on life for better serving the people. The legacy which we inherited from the old China in the educational field is not only meagre in quantity, but its content is inadequate for the needs of the masses of the people.

Under the direct leadership and assistance of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, and strongly supported by the Chinese working class and its trade unions, our people's educational enterprise has grown considerably and obvious progress has been achieved during the past two years.

* * *

ACCORDING to 1951 statistics the number of workers and office employees attending spare-time schools had reached 2 million which is 250 per cent of the number in 1950. At this rate of progress, it is entirely possible to eliminate illiteracy among our industrial workers within a period of 3 to 5 years and we will make efforts to send the hundred thousand of our workers who have passed their primary education to secondary schools.

In the villages, 290,000 winter classes were organised in 1950 with an enrolment of 25 million students which meant an increase of more than 55 per cent over 1949. The number of rural students who passed from winter classes into regular peasant schools in 1951 amounted to 11 million.

In the field of primary education, we have more than 440,000 schools and 37 million students which is more than double the number of school children before the anti-Japanese war and is about 50 per cent of the total number of school-age children. In most sections of North and North-east China, the number of school children comprises 70 to 80 per cent of the total number of school-age children; included among them are more than 80 per cent of the children of workers and peasants. We are aiming to enrol 80 per cent of all our school-age children in educational institutions within five years.

As to our secondary education, we have 5,127 schools throughout the country with an enrolment of over 1,565,000 which is much higher than the number before the liberation. For colleges and institutions of higher education there were 195 schools and 128,000 students according to figures for the first semester in 1951.

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Proof of the strength and vigour of People's China is the keenness of old people to learn. Above: A young peasant teaching her mother-in-law to read. Below: In a winter school old people gather together for newspaper reading.

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ABOVE: After working for ten years in a factory, this worker is now a student in a secondary school.

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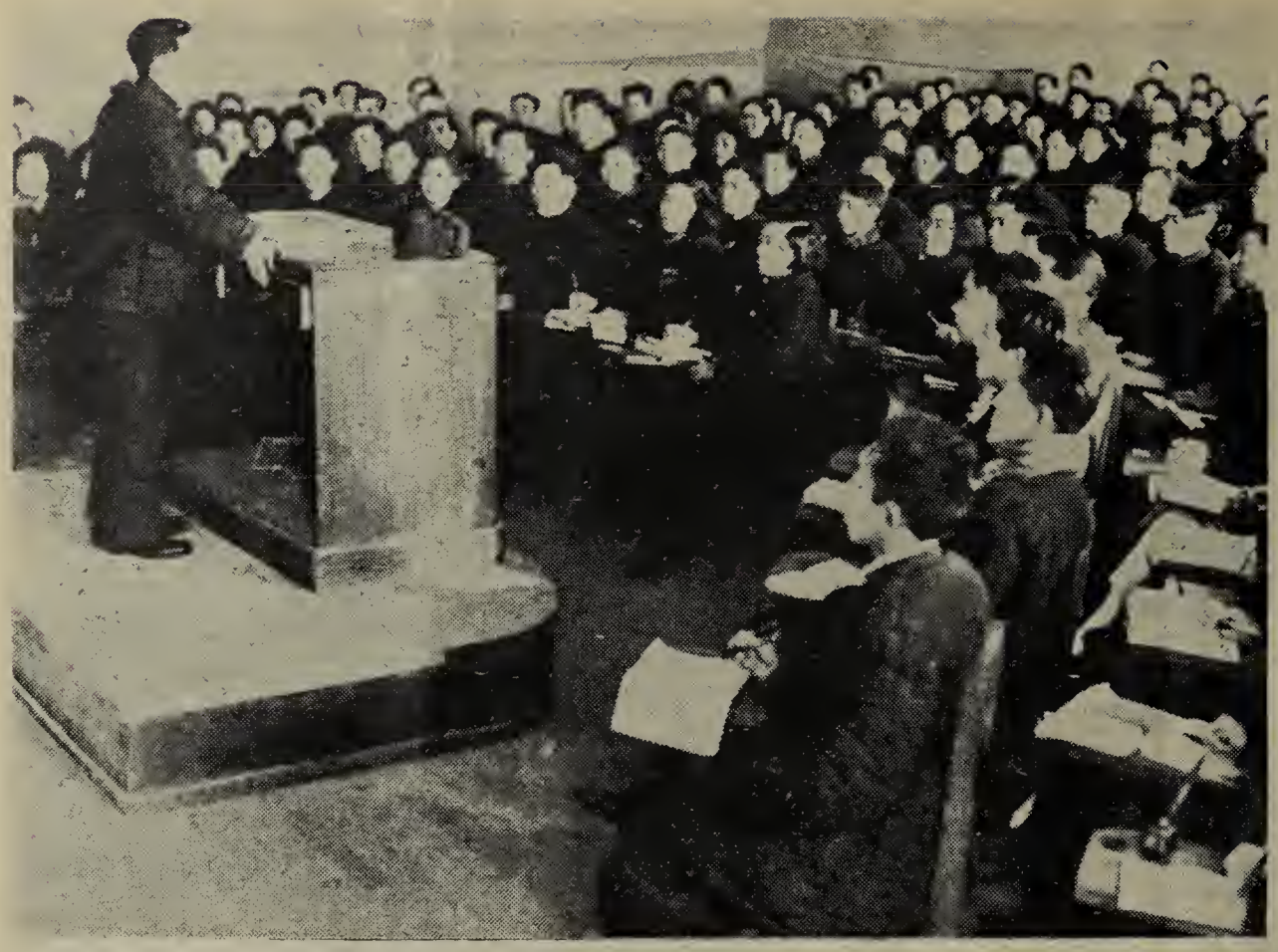
BELOW: In a secondary school for workers and peasants, Li Shieh, a village Labour Heroine of Hopei Province, opens a political discussion among her comrades.



A lecture in progress at the People's University of China.

It is true that our educational system has greatly progressed in comparison with pre-liberation days. but it is still insufficient to meet the needs of national reconstruction. In order to match the swift development of educational reconstruction. we have to train a tremendous number of teachers in the coming five or six years. According to a rough estimate by the Minister of Education of the Central People's Government, we need about 10,000 teachers for higher education, 100,000 teachers for secondary schools and 1,500,000 for primary schools.

To meet the demand of our national reconstruction the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government issued *Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational system.* Here are some of the features emphasised in the new system of education :

1. The prominent position given to working people and workers and peasant cadres in educational spheres at all levels.
2. An emphasis on vocational and technical education with different categories for the various technical courses and supplementary classes and schools for political training.
3. Revision of the old educational system of primary education to one which will enable the great majority of working people's children to receive complete primary education.

Preliminary measures have also been taken to coordinate higher education by establishing various types of university training and technical institutes so that secondary school graduates will have a wide choice in the type of higher education for the best development of their abilities, and to provide the high level of technical training needed to serve the people. This reform of the educational system will greatly raise the cultural level of our people and closely co-ordinate the role of our national education with the various aspects of our cause of reconstruction.

* * *

AS a result a high level of culture will be obtained and the industrialisation of an agricultural nation will be greatly speeded up. The educational workers of the whole country are reinforcing their organisation. They are promoting the new educational institutions with revolutionary spirit and methods so as to be able to fulfil the honourable task assigned them.

In doing this the teachers have resolutely supported the People's Regime, faithfully served the people with every means at their disposal and have also played an active part in the struggle for peace. There are tens of thousands of teachers cited as model educational workers. Teachers have never been so respected in China as they are now. Many of them have been elected to participate in the People's regime. In Shanghai, for example, 56 teachers are members of the Shanghai People's Consultative Conference.

We Chinese teachers are educating the children and youth, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of the fraternity of all peoples, patriotism and internationalism and loyalty to the cause of peace and democracy as exemplified by Comrades Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. We teach them to love our Motherland, to love the people, to love science, to love labour and to take care of public property, to defend world peace resolutely

and to oppose American aggression, the oppression of one people by another and racial discrimination.

The youth and children who live in the epoch of Mao Tse-tung are determined to serve the people. For instance in the Jing Wei Primary School of Harbin, Northeast, the 14-year-old Chao Chuen-dee said. "I want to be an engineer and to learn the advanced methods of the Soviet Union in order to construct my beloved Motherland even better." The 12-year-old girl Lin Ging-tzu intends to be a working heroine and to grow much more grain to improve the life of the people. The 14-year-old girl Tien Chieming wants to be a woman locomotive driver like the first Chinese woman driver Tien Kuai-ying and the 11-year-old boy Tung Pai-jia would match the deed of the fighting hero Tung Tsen-dai. In short, all the pupils as they are brought up and guided by their teachers. have the will and determination to prevent war. to defend peace and to build a more peaceful and a happier and better life for the future.

* * *

SINCE the American imperialists launched the aggressive war against Korea and invaded our territory, Taiwan, we Chinese educational workers both in town and country, together with the working people, are engaged in educating the whole people against American aggression and for aid to Korea. For example, the educational workers in Peking, in addition to their contacts with the parents of their pupils, have mobilised 40,000 teachers and students to carry out this work amongst a million people of Peking—40% of the population of the city, thus educating them in the spirit of patriotism. This work is carried out by meetings and visits to homes in which stories are told of the heroes of the New China—workers, peasants and intellectuals working to reconstruct our country..

Thus the teachers have not only contributed to increasing the spirit of patriotism and solidarity, but have also strengthened the movement for peace, and have raised the political level and patriotic spirit of the teachers themselves as a result of the enthusiasm they encountered among the workers, peasants and youth.

At the present time Chinese educators are undertaking a campaign of study to strengthen their ideological adaption to the needs of our national reconstruction. This is regarded as an essential task, for, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung said on October 23. 1951. "The ideological remoulding. first of all. of intellectuals in various fields, is one of the most important conditions for completing our democratic reforms in various fields and for the gradual industrialisation of our country."

This movement is a systematic campaign of theoretical study, including the theoretical teachings of Marxism-Leninism and their integration with the practice of the Chinese Revolution on the basis of the works of Mao Tse-tung. The purpose is to develop among our intellectuals a correct revolutionary world outlook to fit them for better service to the people and to determine the most effective means of serving the people. By means of study groups. discussion and helpful criticism and self-criticism our teachers and intellectuals are helped to rid themselves of misconceptions and unscientific ideas.

In this programme of replacing the out-moded conceptions of the past with the attitudes and scientific outlook required for the building of the new peaceful democratic China, the intellectuals have had the support and example of the Central People's Movement. For example Premier Chou En-lai and Mayor Peng Chen of Peking have addressed the teachers of the higher institutes in Peking and Tientsin.

This regular movement for ideological study on such a large scale has not only laid the political ground-work enabling the teachers to carry out their cultural and educational work, but has also further strengthened the People's Democratic regime, advanced the cause of our national reconstruction and widened the influence of the world peace movement. We teachers of China are very much interested in the educational theories and experiences of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Names such as Kalinin, Krupskaya and Makarenko. are very familiar to us.

The campaign is meeting with an enthusiastic response. As Professor Chao Tsi-shun, Director of the Theological College in Yenching University declared: "Even though I am an old man, I believe that with a determined will an old man is also able to improve his ideological outlook." We believe that after this course of study and discussions the ideological understanding of our teachers will be immeasurably increased and that they will be better able to fulfil the glorious tasks of raising the educational level of the people to ever greater heights.

The United Fruit Co. Attacks Guatemala's Sovereignty

By CARLOS DIAS

THE character and intensity of the attacks by the imperialist United Fruit Company against the workers and people of Guatemala are growing worse every day. During the last few months, the provocations of this monopoly have become accentuated against the present democratic government of President Arbenz and against the united working class organised in the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (C.G.T.G.).

The recent conflict provoked by this powerful imperialist trust is not simply a struggle between workers and employers, but one with deep roots capable of producing serious political repercussions. It is, basically, an underhanded manœuvre by this foreign company to pretend to be the "victim of workers' demands and government attacks" while exercising pressure on Congress and the American State Department either to overthrow the present democratic government of Guatemala or to force it to comply with the company's demands.

Brief History of an Empire

THE United Fruit Company is a powerful monopoly which, in Central America (Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Panama), controls enormous territories, railways, ports and the principal steamship line which carries the regular traffic in this region. Its far-reaching tentacles also have Colombia, Jamaica, Santo Domingo, Cuba and Puerto Rico in their grip.

The colonial empire of the United Fruit Company is supported by aggressive dollar diplomacy which manifests itself through veiled intervention in the internal affairs of a country by fomenting civil wars, by open military intervention as in Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Puerto Rico, etc., and by its support of dictatorships and so-called "leasehold contracts" —scandalous concessions for 100 years—these latter being granted in exchange for support received.

Besides the large banana plantations and sugar refineries it exploits in all these countries, the United Fruit Company controls the international railway, which is the only railway system linking the countries of Central America. The principal ports, Puerto Barrios in Guatemala, Puerto Limon in Costa Rica, Puerto Cortes in Honduras are under its domination. The "Flota Blanca" (White Fleet), its navigation subsidiary, monopolises almost the whole of the imports and exports of these countries.

The countries of this region—Guatemala being the sole democratic exception—are governed by feudal type dictators (Somoza in Nicaragua, Ulate in Costa Rica, Galves in Honduras) imposed, encouraged and supported by American imperialism and the United Fruit Company in particular.

The capital of this monopoly represents more than $500 million and its declared profits are $71,904,310 wrested from these countries at the price of the blood, sweat, poverty and unlimited exploitation of the workers and populations who inhabit its rich and vast colonial empire.

Unacceptable Demands

IN October 1951, the United Fruit Company addressed a letter directly to the government of Guatemala, stating its intentions and new demands in the form of a veritable "ultimatum." The monopolist magnates demanded that the government impose on the workers a general reduction of wages and a collective agreement for three years, on the employer's pattern, in which the trade unions would not have the right to make any demands.

To continue its work of developing new plantations, the United Fruit Company demanded exemption from taxes on imported materials and machines, and exorbitant privileges such as new concessions similar to those obtained in Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica,

where the governments are unconditionally in the service of the fruit company.

It demanded that its investments be guaranteed and treated in the same way as investments made within the framework of Point IV of the Truman Programme. The government of President Arbenz made a formal but strong reply. It refused to put pressure on the workers, categorically rejected the concession of new privileges and declared that the firm must, in the same way as other firms and employers did, respect the laws of the nation.

Provocations Against the Workers

FACED with the dignified attitude of the Guatemalan government, the company undertook new manœuvres and launched a general attack against the workers on the banana plantations, and against the dockers and railwaymen.

During the discussions on the demands presented by the stevedores of Puerto Barrios, the United Fruit Company refused from the beginning to consider any solution whatsoever, and even went so far as to threaten to suspend maritime traffic. This would have been equivalent to an economic blockade of Guatemala, the port being the only one through which almost all the imports and exports of the country pass.

The dockers demanded a rise in wages, a reduction of excessive tasks, stability of employment or a guaranteed weekly wage, plus other demands. This conflict was brought before the Labour Tribunal, which gave a favourable verdict on some of the demands formulated by the workers.

Taking reprisals, the United Fruit Company diverted ships which formerly had dropped anchor in Guatemala to other ports thus causing almost complete unemployment among the dockers.

The agricultural workers on the banana plantations had also asked for a new collective agreement. Some days later, in September 1951, a cyclone destroyed part of the Tiquisate plantations belonging to the Guatemalan Agricultural Company, subsidiary of the United Fruit Company.

On the initiative of the C.G.T.G., the Agricultural Workers Trade Union provisionally withdrew its demands. Nevertheless, using the cyclone as a pretext, the company, in a new act of provocation, sacked 3,746 agricultural workers from the Tiquisate plantations.

The workers thereupon organised to fight for the immediate reinstatement of those who had been dismissed. The Labour Inspector declared the mass dismissals illegal and ordered the reinstatement of the dismissed workers and the payment of their wages. The Guatemalan Agricultural Company appealed to the Supreme Court of Justice, which confirmed the order for the reinstatement of the workers and payment of their wages. At the request of the trade union and in face of the company's refusal to carry out the verdict of the Supreme Court, the Tribunal ordered the company's goods to be put under distraint and sold by auction to pay the 650,000 dollars wages owing to the workers.

The C.G.T.G., however, recommended the leaders of the trade union to lift the distraint. It took up the position of demanding the reinstatement of those dismissed and the payment of their wages, without, for the moment, demanding distraint or expropriation of the company's goods, in order to avoid having the workers embroiled in an interminable legal trial, the consequences of which it would not be easy to foresee.

At the same time, at the beginning of January, the management of the I.R.C.A. (International Railway Company of Central America), which is under the control of the United Fruit Company, declared to representatives of the Railwaymen's Trade Union that the company was on the "verge of bankruptcy" and that they would be forced to sack 400 workers because of the insufficiency of banana freights.

The aims of this new manœuvre were quite obvious: to strike a savage blow at the national economy, to dismiss the most militant workers and to attempt to put a stop to the demands of the railwaymen whose contracts would expire in March 1952.

C.G.T.G. Takes Action

THE C.G.T.G. has supported, directed and sustained the fight of the workers by seeking to strengthen their unity of action and by preventing any exaggerated demands of the trade union organisations from leading to acts of provocation on the part of the United Fruit Company.

It intervened directly among the workers of the banana plantations, the dockers and railwaymen to see that their demands were clear and correctly made and to co-ordinate their action so that they should not lend themselves to the employers' manœuvres.

On February 5 and 6, 1952, the Executive Committee of the C.G.T.G. called an extended meeting of representatives from different sections controlled by the United Fruit Company and its subsidiaries, the Guatemalan Agricultural Company and the I.R.C.A. This extended meeting, after a deep analysis of the conflict taking place, decided on the extension of solidarity action to the whole working class and to all democratic sections of the population.

It protested against the acts of vandalism by so-called "anti-communist" groups in the pay of the United Fruit Company who threw bombs and indulged in other terrorist activities. One of these bombs was destined for the General Secretary of the C.G.T.G.,

President Arbenz with members of the Executive Committee of the Guatemalan T.U.C.

En la foto aparece el Presidente Arbenz y los miembros del Comité Ejecutivo de la CGTG, que lo visitaron después del Congreso de Unidad.

V. M. Gutierrez, but the attempt failed, the terrorists having mistaken the number of his house.

The meeting sent a message of greeting to the President of the Republic supporting his strong stand, and others to the General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., and to the President of the C.T.A.L., asking for international solidarity with the workers and the people of Guatemala in their struggle for their interests and for national sovereignty.

United Fruit Forced to Retreat

THE fighting unity of the workers under the direction of the C.G.T.G. and the active solidarity of the population struck a very hard blow against the sharp practices of the company. The latter was forced to retreat and to sign an agreement with the Tiquisate agricultural workers trade union. It had to reinstate the 3,746 dismissed workers and to pay them the wages owing to them in three instalments.

The new contract is drawn up for three years. It maintains wages at the present level, but the company will pledge itself not to raise the prices of products in its stores where the workers do most of their shopping.

The fact that the workers obtained the reinstatement of the dismissed workers and the payment of wages for the period during which they were not working constitutes an unprecedented victory in a country over which, only a few years ago, the United Fruit Company imposed its will knowing no other law but its own.

In spite of this, the approved contract does not fully satisfy the workers' aspirations and some of the clauses have been criticised by the C.G.T.G. leadership which considers that they did not provide sufficient guarantees.

The haughty imperialist magnates who cannot tolerate the existence of a government which forces them to respect national laws, and annoyed by their defeat, are intensifying and strengthening their attacks both inside and outside the country in order to overthrow the only democratic government in Central America.

The Threats Increase

A SELF-STYLED "National Anti-Communist Convention," subsidised by the imperialist monopoly, was organised with much pomp last December, to apply pressure on the government and to threaten it. "Anti-Communism" serves as a pretext for the underhand practices of feudal reaction and the imperialists, who are preparing a *coup d'état* to overthrow the government of President Arbenz, to destroy the trade union movement and to crush democratic freedom.

The threat of a reactionary *coup* grows day by day. It is a real and certain danger. Spokesmen of the United Fruit Company in Washington have had the audacity to put the problem of the situation in Guatemala before O.E.A. (Organisation of the American States), presenting it as a "danger to the system of inter-American security."

Two members of the House of Representatives, MacCormack and Joseph W. Martin, when addressing Congress, stated quite shamelessly that "the strategic flanks of the United States were in danger owing to the communist infiltration in Guatemala," and demanded government intervention to maintain the concessions and privileges of the United Fruit Company at any price.

On February 25, 1952, high officials of the American State Department declared to the press that "the State Department was seriously worried by Red attacks against inter-American security in Guatemala."

This is the smoke screen the imperialists put up so that they can go ahead with their basic attack on the rights of the workers, against President Arbenz's government, against democratic institutions and against the sovereignty and independence of this little country which is defending its rights with such courage and resolution.

Solidarity With the Workers of Guatemala

ALL these facts demonstrate the gravity of the situation and the dangers threatening the working class and democratic movement. Solidarity with the workers and the people of this Central American nation in its fight against the powerful United Fruit Company is the bounden duty of the international working class movement and of all democratic forces.

The W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. have expressed their solidarity with the workers and the people of Guatemala in the battle they are waging for their rights. They have called on all trade union organisations to intensify and strengthen this solidarity, to denounce and combat the imperialist manœuvres against the democratic government of Guatemala, to give resolute support to the workers and people in defence of their independence and sovereignty at present threatened.

Present circumstances demand from the workers of all countries, and particularly of the countries which are under the control of the United Fruit Company, immediate and vigorous solidarity with the Guatemalan workers.

World Conscience Roused by Tunisian Events

THE French Government, which has for several weeks been inflicting an increasingly severe réign of terror on the people of Tunisia, has taken measures of the utmost gravity with incalculable consequences: the deportation of Tunisian Ministers, mass arrests, and the proclamation of a more rigorous state of siege. Finally, the Resident-General has imposed on the Bey, on orders from the French Government, a puppet Tunisian Prime Minister whose political past promises well for "collaboration" with the colonialist authorities.

The result has been a growth of the protest movement throughout the world.

The W.F.T.U. has sent solidarity messages to the two Tunisian trade union organisations: the Trade Union Federation of Tunisian Workers and the General Union of Tunisian Workers. It has also sent telegrams to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Chairman of the Security Council, denouncing *with indignation the arbitrary acts of the French Government . . . unjustifiable provocative measures contrary to the United Nations Charter,* and demanding that *the Security Council take up the question of French intervention in Tunisia which brings new and serious threats of conflict against the peaceful interests of the peoples and at the same time constitutes a violation of their democratic rights.*

The French people feel very deeply about this. Factory workers everywhere are demonstrating their solidarity with the Tunisian people by petitions and resolutions. The Executive Bureau of the French C.G.T. has called on the workers to step up these demonstrations. The appeal says: *"At this time, when the French colonists, who bear the terrible responsibility of the criminal war in Viet-Nam and the massacres in Madagascar, are committing provocations in Tunisia whose consequences cannot yet be foreseen, the Executive Bureau wishes to make known the French workers' complete solidarity with the workers of Tunisia.*

The Executive Bureau stresses the fact that the French capitalists who oppress the Tunisian people, and who to-day wish to strengthen this oppression, are the same people who are threatening the rights and liberties of the French workers."

* * *

FRENCH colonist terror against the Tunisian people is arousing protest and solidarity movements, not only in France and the Moslem countries, but also in such Western countries as the United States itself.

On March 20, a demonstration took place in front of the French Consulate in New York which lasted for two hours and created a sensation in Fifth Avenue. On the posters carried by the demonstrators—black mingling with white—were the following slogans: "Freedom for North Africa — Not Bomber Bases," "1776 American Independence—1952 African Independence," "No U.S. Support for French Colonial Oppression," "The Fight for Colonial Freedom is a fight for Peace."

A delegation demanded an interview with the French Consul who refused to see them. The delegation then left a protest addressed to the Consul and to the French delegate to the United Nations, declaring:

"We support the protest of the peoples of Tunisia and the other North African territories under French control against the arbitrary inclusion of these countries in the military programme agreed to by the Western Powers at the recent Lisbon Conference. . . .

"We Americans resent the commitments which our Government has made to support the French Government's war against the people of Indo-China with money and military equipment—plus official hints that American soldiers may also be required. We most certainly oppose any similar involvement in French North Africa. . ."

The Soviet Budget—A Budget for Peace

The third session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., meeting from March 5 to 8 this year, ratified the 1952 State budget.

The revenue of the new budget amounts to 509,900 million roubles, and expenditure to 476,900 million roubles. This year's budget is 41,900 million roubles higher than last year, and expenditure 35,600 million roubles higher.

The revenue of the Socialist State is derived mainly from the contributions of Socialist economy. Soviet national economic development follows the laws of extended Socialist production. Suffice it to say that aggregate industrial output in the Soviet Union in 1951 was *more than twice as great as in the pre-war year* 1940. This rapid

growth of production is accompanied by the growth of national revenue derived from the Socialist enterprises in the shape of the turnover tax and deductions from profits. *Taxes paid by the population comprise less than one-tenth of the total revenue of the State budget.* The growth of budgetary revenue is assured, *not by impositions* upon the workers, as is the case in capitalist countries, *but by the continuous development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., which experiences no crises.*

* * *

THE expenditures of the State budget of the U.S.S.R. are additional evidence of the peace policy of the Soviet Government, of the Soviet peoples' aspiration for peaceful construction, of the strengthening of the powerful economy of their country, and of the attainment of an even higher living standard.

More than one-third of all expenditure, that is, 180,400 million roubles, is devoted to the development of the national economy. *More than a half of this sum will be spent on the great construction projects.* Considerable budgetary resources are to be used for the achievement of the Stalin Plan for the transformation of nature. In 1952, the planting of forests will be carried out over an enormous area, together with work of land improvement and a considerable amount of irrigation work.

The sum of 124,800 million roubles, *or more than a quarter of the total budget expenditure,* is devoted to social and cultural measures. Out of this sum, 60,000 million roubles are set aside for education. Not only has primary education been established in the Soviet Union, but secondary education is also being developed in every possible way. One million four hundred and sixteen thousand students will attend higher educational establishments in 1952; this is 60,000 *more than last year.* The number of technical students *will increase by* 57,000 *to a total of* 1,441,000.

Allocations for health and physical culture this year will be 22,800 million roubles, for social insurance and social security 37,500 million, and State allowances to unmarried mothers and to mothers of large families will amount to 4,500 million.

These figures strikingly illustrate the constant care and attention given by the Soviet Government to raising the cultural and material level of the wide masses of the population.

* * *

THE Soviet Government is taking measures to reduce administrative expenditure and the 1952 allocation is 14,400 million roubles, or about 3% of the State budget.

Eight thousand nine hundred million roubles are budgeted for the payment of State lottery prizes and for interest on State loans.

* * *

THE Soviet Union entertains no aggressive plans, but, on the contrary, is resolutely carrying out a policy of peace, and is in the vanguard of the fight for peace. In the Soviet Union there is a law in operation on the defence of peace, a law designed to strengthen the cause of peace and friendship among the peoples.

The amount set aside for the country's defence in the 1952 budget is a striking proof of the peace policy of the Soviet State. This amount is fixed at 113,800 million roubles, which is 23.9% of State budgetary expenditure, less than a quarter of total budget expenditure.

Thus, almost two-thirds of the Soviet State budget goes to finance the national economy and is used to raise the material and cultural standards of the population of the country.

In the United States, on the other hand, where the imperialists are preparing a new world war, *military expenditure now accounts for* 80% *of the State budget.* In Britain, France, Belgium and other countries whose Governments belong to the aggressive Atlantic bloc, military expenditure has reached colossal dimensions.

The main burden of war expenditure in these countries falls upon the workers. The British workers are at present forced to pay *one-third of their wages* in direct and indirect taxes. In the United States, income tax rates for the lower-paid sections of the population have increased from eight to ten times the pre-war level.

It is enough to compare the proportion of the budgets of the United States and the countries of Western Europe devoted to military expenditure with that of the Soviet budget to be convinced that the U.S.S.R. does not want war.

The budget of the Soviet Union is a peace budget. It is the budget of a country whose people are occupied with peaceful construction and who are profoundly interested in the safeguarding and consolidation of peace among the peoples.

A. B.

(by telephone from Moscow, 21.3.52).

Building the New Workers' Cities in Czechoslovakia

DOZENS of pits, blast furnaces, giant factories, surrounded by houses: that is Ostrava, city of miners and engineers. For, at the present time, this city is one of the foundation stones in the building of Czechoslovakia. New Socialist enterprises are continuously springing up with astonishing rapidity. New mines are continually being opened, and the first blast-furnace of the New Clement Gottwald Forges was fired there.

The building of the New Ostrava is not a vague project for the distant future, but a task which will be achieved very shortly. Still to be achieved during this year in the New Ostrava is the construction of a series of buildings comprising 500 housing units. The new city is planned for 150,000 inhabitants. Another city of 50,000 inhabitants will be built between Senov, Sum-

The inauguration of a new blast furnace for peace at Kladno.

bark and Bludovice. Karvina will be enlarged to 70,000 inhabitants and Mistek to 40,000.

* * *

OSTRAVA will be the largest of the new cities. Its urban character will demonstrate the spreading of culture and the arts. and will show how much the standard of living is increasing.

Public buildings and six-storey apartment houses will have a pleasing appearance, demonstrating the attention given to the Czechoslovak workers. They and their families will live in beautiful airy apartments, exposed to the sun, and comprising two or three rooms with all conveniences and central heating. Public buildings will be monumental. A large square holding 100,000 to 150,000 people is planned, with avenues nearly 90 yards wide running through parks and gardens.

This Socialist city, surrounded on three sides by forests, with a magnificent view of the slopes of the Beskydes mountains, will be divided into five districts, each one comprising 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants. In the centre of these districts there will be houses of culture, cinemas, libraries, hospitals, children's playgrounds, infant schools, and swimming baths, three of which will be for winter use. Public and Government buildings, a large theatre seating 2,000, a youth theatre, a Central House of Culture, a concert hall, museums and hotels will be the main features of the city.

* * *

AT Kladno also the building of a city for 8,000 miners and foundry workers is proceeding. Construction began during the Two-Year Plan. Up to the present time 20 two and three-storey blocks of flats containing 450 apartments have been built.

The main thoroughfare of the city has six large buildings between which there will be two and three-storey houses which, following the Soviet example, will embellish the general outline and raise the æsthetic level of the whole. The large buildings will have six flats on each floor, totalling 70 in all. There will be a well-equipped entrance hall leading to corridors, to the three lifts, and to the club and meeting rooms. Storage space will be reserved for children's prams, etc. There will be two shops and an arcade for each apartment house.

* * *

THE construction of workers' dwellings with modern living facilities near industrial centres is now going on in Czechoslovakia. Thus at Kladno, during the Two-Year Plan, the construction of a new housing estate in the healthiest surroundings of the city, in the centre of the forests between the city and the Rozdelov quarter, was undertaken.

During the Two-Year Plan, 465 dwellings were put at the disposal of the workers, and another 650 will be finished by the end of June. Simultaneously with the erection of the buildings will go the installation of central heating, as all apartments on the housing estate will be heated.

The Plan also provides for the construction of a stadium. The new housing estate at Kladno will be well provided with schools, shops, and everything necessary to modern living. A creche is already completed and an infants' school is in the process of being built. They have also begun laying out gardens between the apartment houses.

A happy life exists in the Peoples' Democracies, where the people are the masters of their own destiny, where work is creative and serves the cause of peace and is the basis for a better life for the people. What a fundamental difference exists between life in these countries and in the Atlantic Pact countries.

S. M.

Gold Coast Maritime Workers Fight for Trade Union Rights

FORMED in 1948, the Gold Coast Maritime Workers was registered as a union to cater for seamen, dockers, stevedores and waterside workers and, although inexperienced, it developed a growing unity among the workers. Aware of the importance of unity,

it set about its task of organising the workers without distinction of race, colour, creed or religion in the best traditions of the trade union movement.

The shipping companies, true to their own tradition, hated trade unions and feared the growing unity of the workers which trade unionism encourages. The British Empire's policy of "trade following" the flag has given rise to the colonial form of exploitation. In the scramble for huge profits, its agents became past masters in the art of playing people against people. The shipping companies have little to learn in the art of the "Empire Builders" for exploiting cheap labour. Indeed, they wish to preserve this tradition of playing African against African. It has paid rich dividends.

So the tribal basis of African society and the trusting sincerity of the African has been exploited without conscience in the ruthless grab for profits. It is the time-honoured way to play one tribe against another, to encourage supposed differences and, where they do not exist, to create them in order to render impotent any resistance to cheap labour.

Thus, the Elder Demster Lines proceeded to counter this trade union potential for unity in the typical colonial way. The chiefs of the two tribes were approached and bribes and threats succeeded in intimidating the members of these tribes into leaving the union *en masse*. The threat to refuse employment if they continued their union membership succeeded.

The shipping companies then attempted to consolidate their position by appointing members of these tribes, without regard to ability or competence, as their gang bosses, with freedom to "choose" men for their gangs.

However, the struggle of the people of the Gold Coast for independence, which had forced the British Government to change its method of government in order to maintain control of the Colony, made this formerly effective device inadequate. The persistent adherence of the maritime workers to the principles of trade union unity became obvious when the shipping companies resorted to the recruitment of labour from Liberia, thus imposing starvation to try to break the loyalty of the Gold Coast workers to their union.

The corrupting influence of colonialism also showed itself in the gang leaders, who exploited the situation in the time-honoured way of the white exploiter by establishing their own private racketeering, imposing a premium payment of £2 10s. on the workers for the privilege of being considered for employment. Thus, union busting and racketeering went hand in hand to serve the interests of profits.

So far, the shipping companies have been able to exploit the trade union inexperience of the maritime workers and their leaders to postpone recognition of their unions. The tactics of these employers, however, are a challenge not only to trade unions, but to the basic principle of African independence.

To allow employers to play one African worker against another injures the cause of the entire African people. To allow them to use Africans of another country against the native worker undermines the very fabric of the struggle for economic and political rights of the people of the Gold Coast. The fight of the maritime workers for recognition is the fight of the trade union movement and the Convention Peoples' Party.

United action will win their fight and strengthen the trade union movement. Solidarity with the Maritime Workers' Union will consolidate and extend the gains already won. **G. Williams.**

Australian Building Workers Fight for Unity

THE 120,000 Australian building workers are faced with the prospect of unemployment as a result of the Menzies Government's policy of war and preparation for war.

Building workers who in the main are organised in craft unions, are overcoming craft barriers to make common cause in a campaign to preserve the building industry to satisfy the people's building needs and maintain employment.

As it becomes increasingly clear that the rôle assigned to Australia by the U.S. war-makers is to provide cannon fodder, the opposition of the people is taking more concrete forms.

Building workers have taken the lead in what can quite easily become a really broad movement of the people in defence of their material interests.

More and more the people are shedding their illusions about the character of the present Australian Government and are beginning to realise that only by their own united action will they preserve living standards and maintain peace.

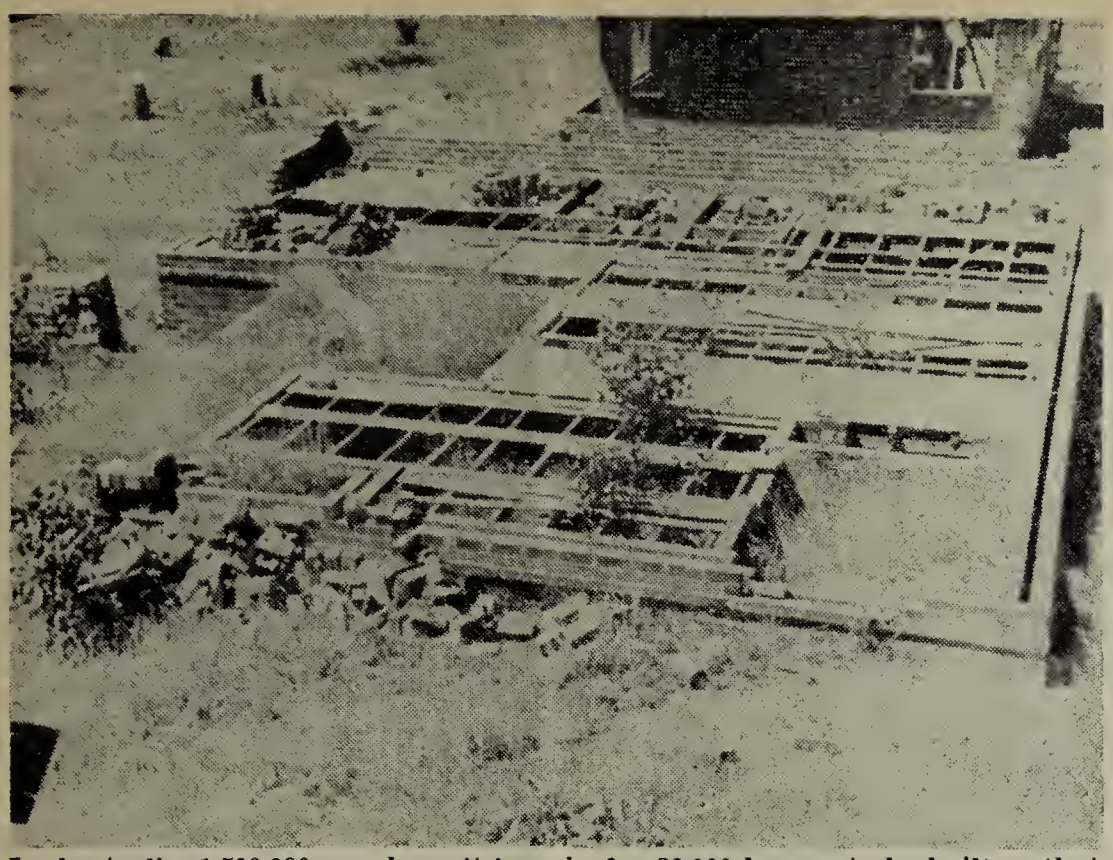
Attacks upon wages and conditions are accompanied by attacks upon union rights and civil liberties. Every conceivable trick is used to divide and confuse the workers.

In the building industry a breakaway Carpenters' "Union" was formed to weaken and destroy the Building Workers' Industrial Union, which has over 50,000 members, more than half of the employed building workers (24,000 are self-employed).

Because of its inability to fight for and defend the interests of the workers, the breakaway "Union" did not secure mass support even though, for a period, it secured recognition by the Arbitration Court and has been openly supported by employers.

To counter the splitting effects of the breakaway and to end dual unionism in the industry, the B.W.I.U. has made overtures to the rank and file and also to the leadership of the breakaway union.

In its open letter to all building workers last May, the B.W.I.U. drew attention to the growing impoverishment of working people,



In Australia, 1,500,000 people wait in vain for 80,000 houses to be built so that they can be comfortably housed.

resulting from the unprecedented rise in the cost of living, excessive taxation on lower incomes, record profits and the armament programme. It was shown how living standards had deteriorated and how the 40-hour week and working conditions are under attack.

Attention was directed to the acute shortage of housing, hospitals, schools, power, transport and other services to which the people are justly entitled, as well as to the growing diversion of labour and materials to work of a war character.

The B.W.I.U. pointed out that the threat of war was real and the Australian Government's policy in this regard made it clear that an all-out attack on democracy was intended.

Correctly, the B.W.I.U. showed that the proposed Arbitration Act (it has since been made law) was designed to destroy the independence of the Australian trade union movement. Continuing, the B.W.I.U. declared that by their united action workers will crushingly defeat those who would make war at home and abroad and reduce Australian workers to virtual slavery.

Underlining the urgent need for unity, the letter declared dual unionism to be detrimental to the vital and immediate interests of building workers. This lack of unity makes more acute the position of all building workers. The B.W.I.U. concluded its appeal as follows:—

> "Because of the urgent need to present a united front to big business and its Government, which aims to destroy trade unions in order to further reduce standards and conscript workers for the armed forces and war work, we ask that persons who have joined the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners appoint a committee to meet the B.W.I.U. Federal Executive to discuss how to unitedly defend workers' vital interests, maintain peace, and end dual unionism."

This appeal, as well as a later one addressed to the leaders of the breakaway union in September, did not result in the holding of any discussions, but they did command support from broad masses of the workers. In fact, with the growing tension resulting from the Government's policy, the rôle of the breakaway "union" is being more clearly understood by the whole of the workers.

The breakaway "union" has continued its rôle of splitting. It has endeavoured to foist piecework

Australian building workers sign the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

upon building workers and has in other ways endeavoured to weaken their solidarity.

Recognising that the first consideration is the mobilisation of workers to defend and advance their interests and to draw support from the wider sections of the people, the B.W.I.U. has embarked on a campaign to protect the employment of building and other workers, and at the same time satisfy the peoples' most pressing building needs.

Despite six years of unprecedented activity in the building industry, the needs of the people have increased. In housing alone the lag has increased and 1,500,000 of a population of 8,000,000 urgently need housing. Hospitals, schools and other forms of public building are in a similar condition.

Response to the call issued by the B.W.I.U. has been magnificent.

In all States, workers have pledged themselves wholeheartedly to participate in the campaign.

In New South Wales, the largest State, thousands of petitions are being circulated by building workers. These petitions are in the form of an open letter from the people to the Prime Minister and they show quite clearly that Menzies in trying to kill peaceful construction so that war may be promoted.

People from all walks of life are eagerly signing these letters. Workers enthusiastically refer to "our open letter" and discuss how best they can use it.

Even though the campaign has only started, workers are looking towards the next steps to be taken. They are calling for the holding of peoples' conferences and for deputations to the Government.

In Victoria, the second largest State, workers and union officials of differing views are making common cause in a fight to save the building industry and the construction of developmental projects.

Workers are closing their ranks to defeat mass unemployment and impoverishment, which are threatened by the U.S. dictated drive to war.

They are learning to discriminate between those who assist them to defend their interests and the misleaders who seek to weaken and divide their unions and leave them an easy prey to the war-makers.

By their defence of the workers' interests and their support for peace, the B.W.I.U. and other progressive building unions in Australia are cutting the ground from under the feet of the splitters. They are laying a firm basis for still wider unity, which will enable the building workers to play their part to the full in the struggle for freedom, peace, and better living standards.

Frank Purse,
Federal Secretary, Building Workers' Industrial Union of Australia.

Children's Strike in the Cameroons

AT the age when other happier children are going to school, playing marbles or basket-ball, or making clothes for their dolls, these children are fighting for their right to live. For the boys and girls of the Cameroons are workers. *These children take part in strikes.*

Three hundred employees of the *Société Africaine du Textile's* weaving and spinning mill in Bassa, near Douala, went on strike on January 21, 1952, after vainly demanding a wage increase. These strikers were from ten to twenty-three years of age, the majority of them being between twelve and fourteen. The management immediately alerted the Mayor-Administrator of Douala, who came along with troops. What followed is described in a letter which the Cameroons Confederation of Trade Unions sent to the French C.G.T.'s Federation of Textile Workers:

". . . The factory was surrounded and guarded by the troops. The children arrived later, remaining about fifty yards from the factory to see how things would turn out. The Mayor had them called over and told them that they must send six of their workmates to negotiate with the Labour Inspector.

"These youngsters were hoisted on to a lorry and taken to the Douala gendarmerie, where they were subjected to interrogations on the usual pretext that they had impeded 'freedom of work. . .'

"The Confederation was immediately informed, and took the necessary measures. Naturally, these little child workers were not yet members of a trade union, but, of course, it was up to us to defend them, that being our job; it would also give us the chance to organise them later."

Thus these little strikers knew that they were not alone in their struggle. While the Cameroons Confederation of Trade Unions took the matter up on the spot with the management and the authorities, the French C.G.T.'s Federation of Textile Workers sent protest letters to the Minister of Overseas Territories and to the Governor-General of the Cameroons, as well as a telegram to the Confederation:

"Federation Textile Workers of France greets courageous struggle of young workers at textile factory in Bassa. We protest against inadmissible attitude of colonial administration, and demand release of arbitrarily arrested children. We assure complete solidarity of French textile workers fighting against same exploiters, and for bread, independence, freedom and peace. We wish you success and strengthening of your organisation.

Aubert,
General Secretary, Vice-President Textile Workers' Trade Unions International of the W.F.T.U."

What was the result of the Confederation's vigorous action in support of these child strikers? Here is what we learn from their letter of February 9:

"The 15-day strike of young workers at the *Société Africaine du Textile* in Bassa ended the day before yesterday.

"The strikers won:

"1. A 12½% to 25% wage increase;

"2. a contract between workers and the management of the company.

"This contract fixes apprenticeship conditions, the rate of wages and bonuses in the various grades. Further, the contract allows for a 15-minute snack break every morning and a reciprocal agreement that a week's notice be given in cases of dismissals or resignations. Finally, the contract, which is open to further improvement, lays down that no fine or wage withholding shall be made by way of punishment.

"So far as the six imprisoned young workers are concerned, our approach to the administrative authorities and the Public Prosecutor resulted in a promise from the judge that these young workers would be released. If this promise is not kept, a new situation may be created."

A group of young strikers—boys and girls—from the Bassa African Textile Company, Douala.

Thus the true face of colonialism is revealed: exploitation and the forced labour even of children.

But the last word has not been said in this matter. It will come from the workers of the colonial territories who have known exploitation at an age when they should be going to school or playing games, who have seen the face of colonialism at close quarters and who will never forget it. Children like these are already the trade union militants of to-morrow. They are the great hope for the freedom of the Cameroons. **P. G.**

Italian Women Demand Equal Pay for Equal Work

IN Italy women doing the same work as men receive lower wages and bonuses. At Fiat Mirafiori, in Turin, women are replacing men on the night shift and drawing 12,000 lire less.* The factory employs 1,950 women workers, thirty per cent of whom are ill from exhaustion. Eighteen per cent of the workers at the Olap factory (Milan) are tubercular; at the Marelli factory, 50 per cent of the women are ill as a result of acid fumes and the lack of protective measures; and at the Lecce sanatorium 196 out of the 240 patients are women tobacco workers.

In the Claverano textile factory at Cuneo, the number of spindles tended by one woman has been increased from 412 to 618, but wages have remained the same. At the Valle di Susa cotton mill in Turin, the women tend as many as 800 spindles in such conditions that the perspiration results in terrible sores. The owner of the Marzotto textile factory, who considers himself a benefactor of women workers, makes them work two looms for the wage of a man working one.

All legal provisions which in any way protect the workers are systematically violated by the employers. At the Bank of Italy, the Christian-Democrat State itself has led the way by dismissing pregnant women. At the Modern Press in Monza, 16-year-old girls work from six in the morning until ten at night. At the Brignano stocking factory at Bergamo, 20-year-old girls are still apprentices receiving 280 lire per day. In Southern Italy, the majority of women employed on fruit picking, as well as most of the women agricultural workers, are paid from 150 to 200 lire per day, while the minimum required to keep a family is officially set at 62,000 lire per month. Working days of 16 to 18 hours are normal in the gown shops and the great fashion houses of Flor-

* 100 lire=1s. 1d. approximately.

ence and Rome, where, in some cases, a day's wages is as low as 100 lire.

Women employed on jasmin picking in Sicily are only paid 80 lire a day, women shelling nuts in the province of Naples put in a 15-hour working day for 300 lire and have to carry loads weighing some 160 to 170 pounds. In the Naples canneries, the women are paid 40 lire an hour and work a 13-hour day. And we could continue with an almost unending list of examples which are such an indictment of the miserable lives of the Italian working women.

Under these conditions, the working women's fight for a better life, for wage increases and equal pay for equal work as between men and women, is developing irresistibly throughout the country. Leading the movement are the women textile workers who are establishing united action in the factories and showing magnificent spirit.

In Piedmont, Lombardy, and Venetia, tremendous strikes have taken place. The Federation of Clerical and Manual Textile Workers, demanding the application of the constitutional principle of equal pay for equal work, is asking all workers, with the help of trade union organisations, to support the voting of an appropriate law.

"Reasonable Working House." "Work for the Unemployed." "Peace," are some of the slogans under which the women are carrying on their fight, and which have been adopted by the Italian Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.).

The initiative taken by the C.G.I.L. National Commission for Women in promoting a Recruiting Week for Working Women to the Workers' Unity Organisation has had a great success. Many are women members of the C.I.S.L. (Christians) and the U.I.L. (Social-Democrats) who have joined the C.G.I.L., the great unity organisation, and are foremost in the fight for peace and better living conditions.

M. G.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.A.

American Trade Unions' Open Letter to Acheson

American readers of *New Times* have sent us a copy of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* containing an open letter to Dean Acheson from the following trade-union organizations: Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America (A.F.L.), Local 848, New York; Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America, Local 587, Philadelphia; United Packinghouse Workers of America (C.I.O.), Local 347, Chicago; United Auto Workers of America (C.I.O.), Local 1045, Cleveland; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Local 623, Pittsburgh; United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, Local 1150, Chicago; United Shoe Workers of America (C.I.O.), District Council No. 4, Chicago; United Steel Workers of America (C.I.O.), Local 1011, East Chicago.

It is significant that these unions could publish their open letter to Acheson only in the form of a *paid advertisement*. None of the big dailies would give them space; while a paid advertisement was harder to turn down.

The letter is entitled "*Acheson—Lift the Curtain From America, American Trade-Unionists Are Not Free to Travel Abroad,*" and it reads:

"Much has been said about the need of the American people to know the truth about what goes on in Europe and especially behind the so-called 'iron curtain' in Europe.

"We agree. The more we know about actual facts concerning the nations of the world the better. The more chance we have for an understanding, peaceful world.

"But, Mr. Acheson, how about raising the barriers against American trade-unionists going abroad?

"Today the State Department either has revoked or will not issue passports to any trade-unionists except those who they know in advance give unreserved support to the Administration's foreign policy. For example, the following trade-unionists had their passports revoked before they could leave the United States in response to an invitation from the C.G.T. (left), Force Ouvrière (right), C.F.T.C. (Catholic), Packing and Auto Unions of France:

"Joseph Bizenhoffer Marlovicz: Employed by Armour and Co., and grievance chairman Local 347, Packinghouse Workers Union, Chicago, Illinois.

"Michael Santina: Financial Secretary of Local 347, Packinghouse Workers, Chicago, Illinois.

"Layman Walker: An employee of Briggs Manufacturing Co., and Recording Secretary of Local 742, United Auto Workers, Detroit, Michigan.

"These men were not issued passports:

"William Cristy: Employed at Indiana Harbour Works of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., President Local 1011, United Steel Workers, East Chicago, Indiana.

"Fred Perry: Employed at the same plant and grievance committee member Local 1011, United Steel Workers, East Chicago, Indiana.

"Oscar Noble: Employed at the Pontiac Division, General Motors Corp., Pontiac, Michigan, and a member of the plant committee, Local 653, United Auto Workers, Pontiac, Michigan.

"John Reynolds: Employed at Bohn Aluminum, and President Local 208, United Auto Workers, Detroit, Michigan.

"GRACE B. BAUMAN: Chief steward, McKinney Mfg., and financial secretary Local 623, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

"ERNEST JUDITH: Chief steward at Goodman Mfg. Co., and a member of the executive board of Local 1150, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Chicago, Illinois.

"But in addition, workers who have been abroad are facing harassments upon their return and their passports have been revoked without cause, such as:

"STANLEY BEGZKIEWICZ: President Lake States Council United Shoe Workers, Cudahy, Wisconsin.

"WARREN HOOVER: President, Local 751, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Niles, Ohio.

"VINCENT MOSCATO: Jamaica Store chairman, Local 1S, Department Store Employees (C.I.O.), New York.

"FRANK WEDL: President, Local 848, Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators (A.F.L.), New York.

"CARRIE M. ELLIS: Steward, Local 140, United Furniture Workers, New York.

"FRED SANIAT: Chief steward, Miehle Press Unit, Local 1114, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Chicago, Illinois.

"Why should these trade-unionists be discriminated against and persecuted for wanting to see for themselves what is happening in nations overseas? Does the Department of State want only its own representatives to visit Europe?

"The American people should speak out in protest against the iron curtain which Secretary Acheson is dropping around our borders. Now is the time to protest. *Democracy begins at home.*"

The facts made public by the American trade-unionists show that the rulers of the U.S.A. want to hamper normal friendly intercourse between the peoples. Why? Because theirs is a policy of war, not peace.

"Democracy begins at home"—a very pertinent trade-union reminder to the Washington exporters of the "American way of life."

New Times (Moscow), 27.2.52

GREAT BRITAIN

Women for Peace

"I can't speak, I'm not educated, I'm nothing, just a woman. But I've put my whole heart and soul and body into this great movement, and I know we can do something."

The speaker was the mother of a prisoner of war in Korea, Mrs. Teresa Campbell, of Huyton, Liverpool. Hundreds of the other delegates at the National Assembly of Women in St. Pancras Town Hall yesterday cried as they heard her sum up the meaning of this great rally.

Describing in a trembling voice how Mrs. Monica Felton, chairman of the Assembly, had brought her the first news of her missing son when she came back from Korea, Mrs. Campbell said:

"I can never tell you what it meant to me when Mrs. Felton brought me that first letter. He'd been missing eight months and I thought he was dead."

She read the letter her son had sent to the Assembly: He had written: "Do anything you can for peace.

"Whatever you do, mother, try to bring the women together and work for the end of the war in Korea."

"That's what I'm doing," said Mrs. Campbell, "just the same as I would do anything for my son—my baby."

Daily Worker (London), 10.3.52

BRAZIL

A Year of Labour Struggles

Between February 1951 and January 1952, according to incomplete reports, more than 200 strikes have taken place. Nearly half-a-million workers took part in these struggles, paralysing over 600 enterprises with a total of over a million strike days.

The strikes, which broke out during the first year of the Vargas government, continued to extend as the living conditions of the working class deteriorated and as they began to see through the demagogy which Getulio Vargas had used in order to win power. Thus, 54 strikes took place from February to July 1951, while in the succeeding six months this figure was more than doubled and the strikes revealed a greatly heightened fighting spirit on the part of the workers.

In the course of some of these strikes—the most significant from the point of view of the number of workers who participated and the advanced forms of the struggles—the workers linked their demands for wage increases and better working and living conditions with the mass struggle against Vargas' policy of terror and war.

The most important strikes were those of the Sao Paulo metalworkers and textile workers, each of which involved tens of thousands of workers and paralysed over 130 enterprises. Besides their specific demands for an increase of wages, etc., the metalworkers and textile workers took part in great street demonstrations in which they expressed their deep love of peace and their hatred of American imperialism. The Belem dockers faced up to the police, and when the police proved impotent, the Navy trained its guns on them in an attempt to break their fighting spirit. The railwaymen of the Gaucho region burned the portrait of Vargas after the bloody repression of their strike movement ordered by the dictator.

Other powerful movements were the strike of bank employees, which lasted for 60 days, in Sao Paulo and for 26 days in Minas, and the nationwide strike of aviation workers which paralysed commercial air traffic within the country for five days.

An important aspect of these strike movements is the contribution which they made to the organisation and unity of the workers. It is true that the growing activities of the trade unions has nothing in common with the demagogic appeals of Vargas, who wants to maintain them in the situation which they occupied in the "New State." Vargas appealed to the workers, asking for their support and using all his demagogy, but the workers joined the trade unions to fight for their demands, thus forcing Vargas to reveal his dictatorial role.

Following the bank strike, nearly 2,000 new members joined the trade union. The metalworkers' struggles increased the membership of their trade union from 4,000 to 22,000. The strike showed the workers that the trade union is the starting point for the launching of struggles against employer exploitation and for the defence of the working class. The Sao Paulo textile workers' trade union gained 5,000 new members during and after the strike. New trade union sections were formed in the enterprises, and the existing organisations were strengthened.

Voz Operaria (Rio de Janeiro), 9.2.52.

JAPAN

Japanese Trade with China

A dilemma concerns the future of Japan's trade—or lack of trade—with Communist China. Between 1948 and 1950 Japan's two-way trade with Soviet Russia aggregated $24,000,000, while Russia's trade with Communist China during the two years 1949-50 totalled $73,000,000. Prominent on Japan's list of imports from these nations were coking coal, pulp, iron ore, and salt.

The suspension of trade with these areas (stated the *Oriental Economist*) compelled Japan to import these materials from areas lying farther off and consequently at higher prices. This naturally led to a rise of the cost price of products of our domestic industry. For this reason it is hoped that our trade may be resumed with Soviet Russia and Communist China, especially the latter . . . Japan deems it right for her to trade with the Communist countries on the same conditions as other free nations. Should the free nations by any chance place restriction exclusively on Japan it would be tantamount to putting a fly in the ointment of friendship between the United States and Japan.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Yoshida, has taken the view that Japan's de-

pendence on the China market—which with Korea and Formosa once accounted for 30 per cent of Japan's total foreign trade—has been exaggerated. Alternatively, he says that politics are one thing and trade another. Apart from Mr. Yoshida, everyone in Japan agrees privately that the nation is defying the laws of economic gravity by buying from the United States at a high price plus freightage across the Pacific, coal which is available in North China, just across the sea from Kyushu, or in Russian-held Saghalien, at much lower price.

In the opinion of responsible foreign business men in Japan, the problem thus posed can be resolved in only one way. Japan is going to trade with China either directly and openly, or via, Hongkong, or by organised smuggling.

Manchester Guardian, 28.2.52.

CHINA

The Truth About the Medical Missions

The medical work long carried out in Asia by various religious missions was always presented by them as an example of disinterested humanitarianism. In fact, both objectively and in the eyes of its own missionary organisers, such activity has always been a means of imperialist penetration. It also covered the economic exploitation of Chinese medical workers and patients alike. . . .

Despite preaching of equality in the eyes of God, Chinese and foreign staff members were treated quite differently. Prior to liberation, Dr. E. C. Schroeder, who was concurrently an "adviser" to the Kuomintang military, received a salary equivalent to that of thirteen Chinese doctors or forty other Chinese hospital workers. . .

Medical ethics did not exist in this hospital (the Drum Tower Hospital in Nanking). It carried on a trade in U.S.-made medicines which it misrepresented, or whose period of usefulness was over. From 1947 to 1949, it sold two hundred pounds of ordinary cod-liver oil to Chinese patients under the label of "concentrated extract" which should have contained ten times as much vitamin value as the ordinary kind in fact contained. Actually worth about 30 million yuan, the cod-liver oil was thus sold for 560 million yuan. . .

In 1949, Nurse Huang Chueh's one-month-old baby girl was injected with time-expired penicillin by Dr. Trimmer and died a few days later. Patients with filaria were regularly treated with time-expired drugs which produced no result other than income for the hospital.

"Free" patients were used as guinea pigs. Liu Chuanshan, a dyke worker, was kept in hospital for a long time and not allowed to leave, even though he wanted to, because American doctors were testing a drug called Hetrazine on him. The records of this test were sent to America. . . .

The Chinese staff of the hospital was only able to rise against these abuses after the liberation of Nanking in April of 1949. They joined the Nanking Medical Workers' Union and participated enthusiastically in all the nation-wide movements, and in demonstrations against the American rearmament of Japan. . . .

Sixty years of U.S. oppression came to an end on June 12, 1951, when the institution cut off all foreign connections and became the Nanking People's Drum Tower Hospital. A democratic administration was at once set up, under an Administrative Committee, composed of doctors, nurses, assistants, workers and representatives of the nursing students and the trade union. A welfare committee took charge of dormitories, living conditions and vacations. Pay scales were debated and unfair discrepancies remedied. Reactionaries and criminals were exposed and chased out. Dr. Chen Tsu-yin, a famous chest surgeon who had led the medical corps to Korea, was elected president. In August, as masters of their own hospital, the staff drew up their first annual work plan for service to the people. . .

Perhaps the greatest change in the hospital is the new attitude of the staff to the patients. In the past, the poorer patients, especially in the third-class wards, were starved of attention. Doctors frequently made a point of always being late, to demonstrate their own importance. Now doctors voluntarily increase their hours if needed and nurses collect criticisms and suggestions from the patients in an effort to improve their work. . . .

The main driving force in the transformation of the Drum Tower Hospital has been the realisation of everyone working there that the hospital today belongs to the Chinese people, is run by the Chinese people and serves the Chinese people. . .

HSIAO CH'IEN in *People's China*, 1.2.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

March 15

UNITED STATES.—Thirty ships are immobilised for 24 hours in West Coast ports when workers belonging to the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards strike in defence of their trade union, whose contract the National Labour Relations Board cancelled on the pretext that it is not sufficiently representative.

CUBA.—The Workers' Confederation (C.T.C.) publishes a manifesto denouncing General Batista's March 10 coup d'état, which was supported by the big imperialist firms and landowners. The C.T.C. calls on the workers to fight for the re-establishment of constitutional order, for trade union democracy, for the right to strike, and for presidential elections before September.

ITALY.—Eight thousand Piombino workers strike for two hours against the signing of the Schuman Plan. On the same day, G. Roveda, secretary of the Italian Metalworkers' Federation and president of the Metalworkers' Trade Unions International, makes a speech in the Senate against the Schuman Plan and in defence of Italian economy and industry.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Forty-three cotton mills close down, putting 10,000 out of work.

— The Birmingham District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, representing 32,000 workers, calls on British engineering workers to force withdrawal of Budget proposals hostile to the interests of the working class, and the resignation of the Tory Government.

March 16

WESTERN GERMANY. — The Hagen-Haspe engineering factory shop stewards committee, in the name of 5,500 workers, welcomes the Soviet Government Note proposing the signing of a Peace Treaty and declares that the workers oppose the Military Services Act.

CUBA. — The Batista Government signs an agreement with the official C.I.S.L. trade union leaders confirming trade union positions conferred on them by the preceding Government against the will of the workers. Throughout the country, workers meet and pass resolutions expressing their desire for the holding of meetings for the democratic election of their trade union leaders.

March 17

BERLIN.—The European Workers' Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany publishes a communiqué stating that the conclusion of a peace treaty as proposed by the Soviet Union will free the peoples of Europe from the danger of war inherent in the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

FRANCE.—The Brest building workers' strike movement for a 30-franc hourly increase is complete. From four o'clock in the afternoon a general solidarity strike is in operation throughout the city.

MEXICO CITY.—The Confederation of Workers of Latin-America calls on the workers to give the most active solidarity to Mexico Telephone workers who are on strike for a revision of their collective agreement and for a 60% wage increase.

UNITED STATES.—Abram Flaxer, United Public Workers' president, refuses to hand over as ordered a list of his Union's members to the Senate Commission of Special Investigation.

March 18

SPAIN. — Forty-three anti-Fascists, including five women, appear before a war tribunal in Corunna. Severe penalties are demanded for two of the accused, Juan Vazquez and Ramon Garcia, as also for four women. At the same time the American Government announces that an economic and military pact is to be signed with the Franco Government.

IRAN.—Negotiations between the Government and the International Bank on the subject of the control of the oil industry are broken off following the Government's rejection of the severe conditions sought by the bank, conditions which have also been rejected by the entire Iranian people.

KOREA.—Mr. D. N. Pritt, President of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, receives a telegram from the organisation's International Commission investigating germ warfare in Korea, stating that there are proofs of bacteriological bombardment by American 'planes.

FRANCE.—Workers of a metal factory in Melun who are on strike obtain the release of six of their workmates arrested the previous day. During the demonstration, two American lorries run into the workers. One of the lorries, driven by the American Corporal Zerafoss, crushes a worker, Alfred Gadois, against a wall. Gadois dies shortly after admission to hospital.

ALGERIA.—A day of demonstrations for wage increases, and against unemployment and repression, is held in the Constantine region. Miners take part 100% in a 24-hour strike. All agricultural workers in the south stop work.

POLAND.—In the course of a large meeting, the population of Warsaw denounces the crime of bacteriological warfare in Korea and associates itself with the appeal made by Joliot-Curie to stop the criminals.

March 19

IRAN.—Following the Iranian Government's refusal under pressure of public opinion to renew the 1947 military agreement with the United States Government or to give "written guarantees to support the Western Powers," the U.S. Government declares that all aid will henceforth be refused.

March 20

SOVIET UNION.—A delegation of American workers arrives in Moscow, invited by the Central Council of Trade Unions.

BELGIUM.—After much activity in the majority of pits, miners win a special holiday bonus of 850 francs.

TUNISIA.—The General Workers' Union protests vigorously against the banning of its Arab-language paper "Eshaab Ettunsi."

— Over 20,000 students are on strike to demand the reinstatement of students who have been excluded from schools by the authorities, for the reopening of the colleges of Tunis and Sfax, closed by order of the French Resident-General, and for the release of all the imprisoned and interned and the return of the deported.

FRANCE.—Building workers hold a very successful day of demonstrations for wage increases, the sliding scale, respect of trade union rights and for the improvement of safety measures at work.

UNITED STATES.—William Patterson, secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, is acquitted of charges made by the American Government that he refused to reveal the names of subscribers to the aid funds collected by his organisation.

March 21

UNITED STATES. — Branches of trade union organisations covering the International Harvester trust's factories, i.e., United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, United Automobile Workers of America (C.I.O.) and the A.F.L. announce that they are to meet to decide on united action for wage increases and for the improvement of their collective agreements.

MEXICO.—The population of the town of Oaxaco demonstrates against the imposition of a new Government tax. The army intervenes and fires on the demonstrators, killing two and wounding four.

ALGERIA.—The African Transport and Dock Workers' Conference is held at Algiers under C.G.T. sponsorship. One hundred and twenty-eight delegates, representing the railwaymen, road and air transport workers and seamen, from North Africa, French West Africa, and Madagascar, take part in the conference. Fressinet, General Secretary of the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), A. Drouard, president of the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), and Abdoulaye Diallo, vice-president of the W.F.T.U. are also present.

FRANCE.—Following the death of the worker Alfred Gadois, killed by an American corporal, the population of Melun, together with many workers' delegates, take part in a great protest demonstration. In spite of the banning of the demonstration and the many preventive arrests, thousands of demonstrators demand the punishment of those responsible and the withdrawal of American occupation troops.

March 23

TURKEY. — Five thousand taxi drivers in the capital strike against the heavy taxes to which they are subject. This is the first important strike in Turkey since the end of the war. The police carry out mass arrests on the pretext that the right to strike is not officially recognised.

SINGAPORE.—The Harbour Board is to set up a Pioneer Battalion, subject to military law, for work on the docks. This battalion is to be used as a strike-breaking force against the militant dockers should the occasion arise

AUSTRIA.—Several thousand women demonstrate in Vienna for the defence of peace and for better conditions for their children.

March 24

EGYPT.—The Hilaly Pasha Government dissolves Parliament, prolongs martial law for two months, and arrests hundreds of Egyptian workers, students, and others.

SUDAN.—For the second time in two months a four-day general strike is declared by the Workers' Federation for a 75% wage increase. Work stops in the factories, offices, workshops and on the railways, as well as in telegraph and telephone offices.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Protest meetings against Malan's rejection of the Appeal Courts' decision declaring the Separate Representation of Coloured Voters' Act to be illegal take place in Durban, Pretoria, Johannesburg and other parts of the Union of South Africa. Twelve thousand people attend the biggest political gathering in Durban history. The demonstrators demand the resignation of the Malan Government.

ITALY.—After two months of united strike, 10,000 sulphur miners win an important wage increase.

March 25

TUNISIA. — The French Resident-General has four of the five Ministers present in Tunis, including M. Shenik, the Prime Minister, arrested and deported. The leaders of the Neo-Destour Party, already deported, are transported further south. Martial law is reinforced. The Tunisian people intensify their protests.

FRANCE. — The fur and leather workers' day of demonstrations organised by the C.G.T. and C.F.T.C. (Christian) unions is a success for united action, and is marked by many work stoppages.

March 26

SOVIET UNION.—In the presence of J. Stalin, the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R. adopts the Budget for the Republic for 1952, 72% of which is devoted to social and cultural ends.

MEXICO. — The general strike launched on March 22 to protest against the murder of a number of workers spreads through the country.

March 27

GREAT BRITAIN.—After a ten-day strike, 7,000 building workers employed on the site of the Kent Oil Refinery win the recognition of their site stewards and the right of these stewards to consult with each other in pursuance of their trade union work.

March 28

IRAN.—A great demonstration called by the Association of Democratic Students and other associations takes place in Teheran to protest against the use of bacteriological weapons in Korea and China. The police open fire, killing ten young men and a girl and wounding more than 200. The Government proclaims martial law.

ITALY.—Thirty thousand workers at the port of Genoa, including 8,000 dockers, strike in protest against the threat of unemployment in the docks.

March 29

OSLO. — At the meeting of the Bureau of the World Peace Council, its Vice-President, Kuo Mo-jo, gives irrefutable proofs of bacteriological warfare being carried on by the American imperialists in Korea and China.

March 30

SYRIA. — The Syrian Government arrests Khalil Hariri, a printing worker and leader of the Syrian trade unions, on a charge of "illegal trade union activity.'

GREECE.—In spite of countless protests from all countries in the world, the Plastiras Government, obeying the orders of the United States' Ambassador, P e u r i f o y, shoots the Greek hero Beloyannis and three of his comrades.

March 31

UNITED STATES. — The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards condemns the strike-breaking action of American troops and sends the condolences of American workers to the family of Alfred Gadois, killed by an American corporal.

April 1

SOVIET UNION.—The Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party decree a new reduction in retail prices, particularly of foodstuffs. As a result of these reductions, which range from 10% to 30% on the main products, the income of the workers will be increased this year by 28,000 million roubles.

OSLO.—In concluding its discussions, the Bureau of the World Peace Council appeals to the whole of humanity to develop the fight to put a stop to bacteriological warfare. It demands the prohibition of bacteriological weapons and the trial as war criminals of those who use them. It notes that 603,570,000 people have signed the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact, 122 million more than the number who signed the Stockholm Appeal. It decides to call a meeting of the World Council on June 21 to prepare the organisation of a great Congress for the defence of peace.

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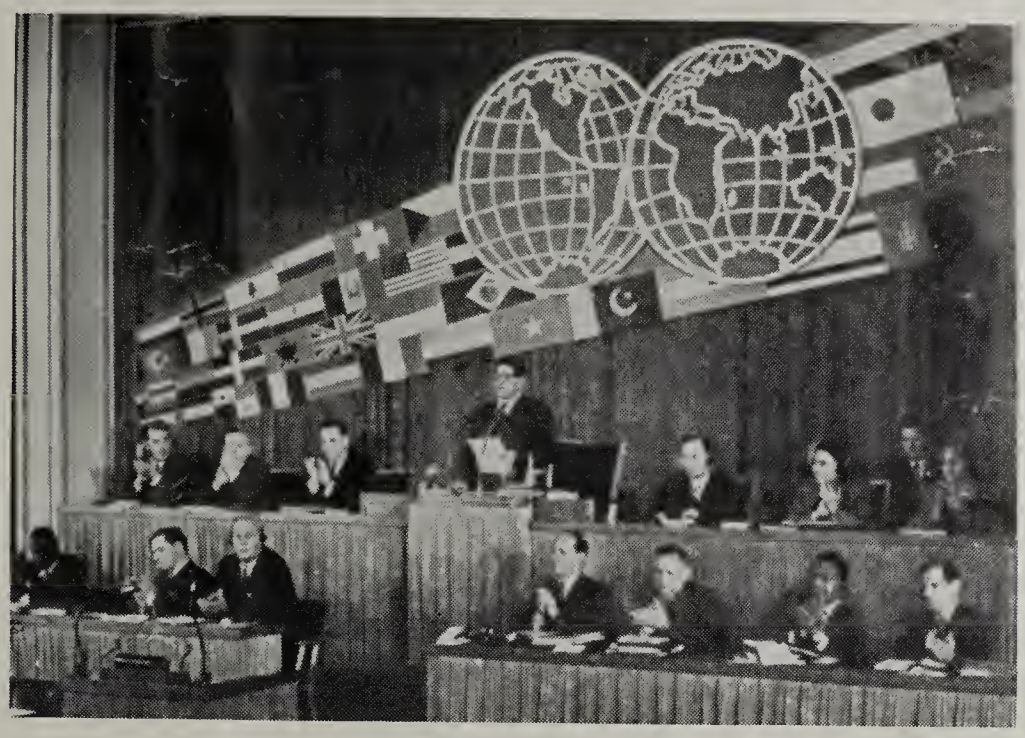

UNITY
on the march

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of the World Federation of Trade Unions
Berlin, November 1951

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

MAY 1—15, 1952 ★ No. 9

MOSCOW ECONOMIC CONFERENCE SHOWS WAY FORWARD

Louis Saillant

TUNISIAN PEOPLE DEMAND SELF-DETERMINATION

Habib Dellagi

Full Report on Economic Conference • Documents on Bacteriological Warfare • West German Youth Intensifies Struggle • U.S. Policy in Japan • Sliding Scale in Italy • Economic Notes on Socialist and Capitalist Living Standards • Spotlight on Britain, France, U.S.A., Spain W.F.T.U. work in I.L.O. • and other regular features

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The General Council recommends the Executive Bureau, the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) and all trade union organisations to fight systematically against the manifestations of sectarianism which still exist, to recognise that united action and trade union unity are won by unceasing and persevering struggle in the factories and in the trade unions.

Resolution on the Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise their Living Standards and Against the Economic and Social Consequences of War Preparations (General Council, Berlin, November 21, 1951.)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
Jim HOLLYMAN

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EDITORIAL

After the International Economic Conference in Moscow

THE ROAD IS OPEN

TO understand the importance of the International Economic Conference it is necessary to remember that it has taken place *now* and not in the past, when international trade was accepted as a normal phenomenon.

The results of the Conference have indelibly marked the present economic and social situation. Let us look at the Conference from the trade union point of view.

By the time the Conference ended on April 12 in Moscow, seventy-one active trade unionists had taken part in it. Amongst them were some who were not affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. This was the case for the delegates from Finland, Norway, Sweden, Western Germany, Pakistan, Chile and for the delegates from Great Britain, who attended in their personal capacity.

Like the trade union delegates from the W.F.T.U. or from organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U., their opinion was that this Conference was a splendid piece of initiative and that it did useful work.

It is worthy of note that the 71 trade unionists who attended the International Economic Conference found themselves in agreement in approving its historic recommendations and initiatives.

It is thus true that concrete possibilities for agreement exist on precise subjects among all trade unions of the world. All that is necessary is to have good will and to examine these precise questions honestly and with the loyal desire to serve the interests of working men and women of every country. This was done at the Conference which met in the House of the Trade Unions in Moscow.

ON the eve of the opening session the General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U. distinguished himself once more in a hack communiqué by the violence of his language and insults. The leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. are losing their heads. They are becoming angry when they see free manifestations of international co-operation. Truth is gaining ground, much to the annoyance of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U.

Nobody forced Lord Boyd-Orr, President of the British delegation in Moscow, to say that "*this Conference has made a very great concrete contribution to extending international trade which will lead to a rise in the standard of living.*" He said it because it is the truth.

At the closing session Lord Boyd-Orr said that to his knowledge " it is the first time in history that such a wide Conference has been held". In saying this Lord Boyd-Orr not only expressed the opinion of the delegates, but particularly his own opinion. Nobody asked him to make such a statement.

For public opinion in general, for the workers, and even for governments of whatever complexion they may be, the important and serious aspect which merits attention and reflection is not what was said against the Conference in Brussels on April 2 by the General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U., but the declarations made by the President of the British delegation on April 12 in Moscow following upon the proceedings and work of the Conference.

The I.C.F.T.U. leadership can be as pigheaded as they like in their unhealthy anti-Soviet policy, their policy of economic and social discrimination, their hostility to everything which the W.F.T.U.

does or with which it is associated. That does not stop the facts from being obstinately against them.

If the I.C.F.T.U. doesn't come out of this in a very good light we can do nothing about that.

The vital needs of millions of human beings throughout the world are more powerful, and play a more determining rôle in the evolution of the world's social problems, than the opinions of the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. on the activities of the W.F.T.U.

Let us look at the shipbuilding workers of Naples, for instance. Days of unemployment with nothing to eat affect some and threaten others. The I.C.F.T.U. offers them no other perspective than enrolment in the North Atlantic Army or permanent unemployment.

During the Moscow Economic Conference agreements were signed which guarantee work for *three years* for these workers of Naples.

We are certain that if they have to choose between the policy of work, well-being and peace for which the W.F.T.U. constantly works and the policy of discrimination and war put forward by the I.C.F.T.U., the workers of Naples, like those of every country, will choose the programme and activity of the W.F.T.U. For the continued deterioration in international and economic relations adds its deplorable effects to the general lowering of the living standards of the working people in many countries. At the present moment unemployment is increasing in the capitalist countries. The official statistics on complete or partly unemployed show an important increase in the number of workless, particularly in the United States and Western Europe.

Must we remain passive and inactive when we are faced with such social events?

The World Federation of Trade Unions thinks not. Efforts in different directions and of differing types must be undertaken against unemployment. That is why the W.F.T.U. was represented at the International Economic Conference.

Should we not look for remedies for this social scourge and for the economic anomalies and contradictions which are a consequence of the discriminatory policy introduced into the economic relations among nations?

The W.F.T.U. is of the opinion that it is worth while looking for a way out of this unbearable situation for millions of human beings. For this reason its representatives adopted the recommendations and declarations of the International Economic Conference after taking part in the working sessions and in drawing up the recommendations.

The W.F.T.U. appeals to all workers and to all trade union organisations without exception, asking them to support the decisions of the Conference.

Henceforth, greater attention must be paid by trade union organisations to examining solutions which can contribute to the development of international economic exchanges and, consequently, to improving the standard of living of the peoples without limiting the activities of the workers for their demands which the conditions of life in the régimes where man exploits make necessary.

☆ ☆ ☆

The International Economic Conference was a great success. Unique of its kind, it made it possible to study the opportunities of action for people and social groups desirous of seeing no limit put on economic and social progress.

The agreements reached in Moscow between 471 persons—business men, economists, trade unionists and co-operators— who took part in the Conference will have considerable repercussions throughout all the countries of the world.

How many are there in the world who, every day, look for some way towards a better future? The results of this international meeting will help these people to overcome despair, for they indicate that peaceful co-existence makes social progress possible and that to achieve these things one must have the will to fight and know how to go about it.

For these people the Conference did more. It indicated the road which the world must take to turn its back on the prospect of war and increased misery. It showed the peoples of all countries the necessity of immediate and urgent action as well as the dynamic force of the initiative taken.

☆ ☆ ☆

BECAUSE the Moscow meeting was a happy idea and a healthy initiative it must inevitably give birth to new initiative of the same kind in every country. Trade unions, workers as a whole, have now a wider field of action in a direction which has been fully opened up by the work with which the W.F.T.U. was associated from April 3 to 12, 1952.

The strengthening of international economic and social co-operation by the positive acts of the

Conference is not a forecast. It is a reality, a concrete result which we have obtained.

Who can remain indifferent faced with the proofs given by the President of the Moscow Chamber of Commerce and by Brother Kuznetsov, President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. when they spoke of the new sources of work which would arise from accepting offers from the Soviet Union, from China, and from the Peoples' Democracies to undertake new international economic exchanges?

More than a million workers could immediately find work in the capitalist and under-developed countries by the conclusion of new, possible and useful international agreements.

The World Federation of Trade Unions considers that it is its duty to say to all workers and all trade unions to get to work in every country so as to give rise to wide common actions for economic development, social progress and peace.

A considerable work of international mutual aid and human solidarity has just been launched in Moscow by men of good will. With the support of the masses, who must be further informed on this question, we must ceaselessly expose and denounce those who are dishonouring themselves through sabotaging this policy. To denounce and expose them means to oppose their words and acts of hate with words and concrete actions which defend the needs of the workers. *To be vigilant towards all attempts at obstruction directed against the positive results of the Conference and to combat these obstructions is to increase our contribution to the success of this work of international mutual aid and human solidarity which we support.*

In the fulfilment of this noble task we call all men and women workers and trade union organisations to play their part.

This will be a new service which the working class and its organisations will render to humanity. *For the trade unions this must be one more opportunity to increase their maturity, to strengthen their influence, to defend their rights, and to develop their struggles.*

It will also be a firm indication that our international workers' movement is continuing unflinchingly its forward march for a future of well-being and peace for all humanity.

Louis Saillant.

"Friendships, Not Battleships"

A Report by JOHN WOLFARD

Our Special Correspondent at the International Economic Conference in Moscow.

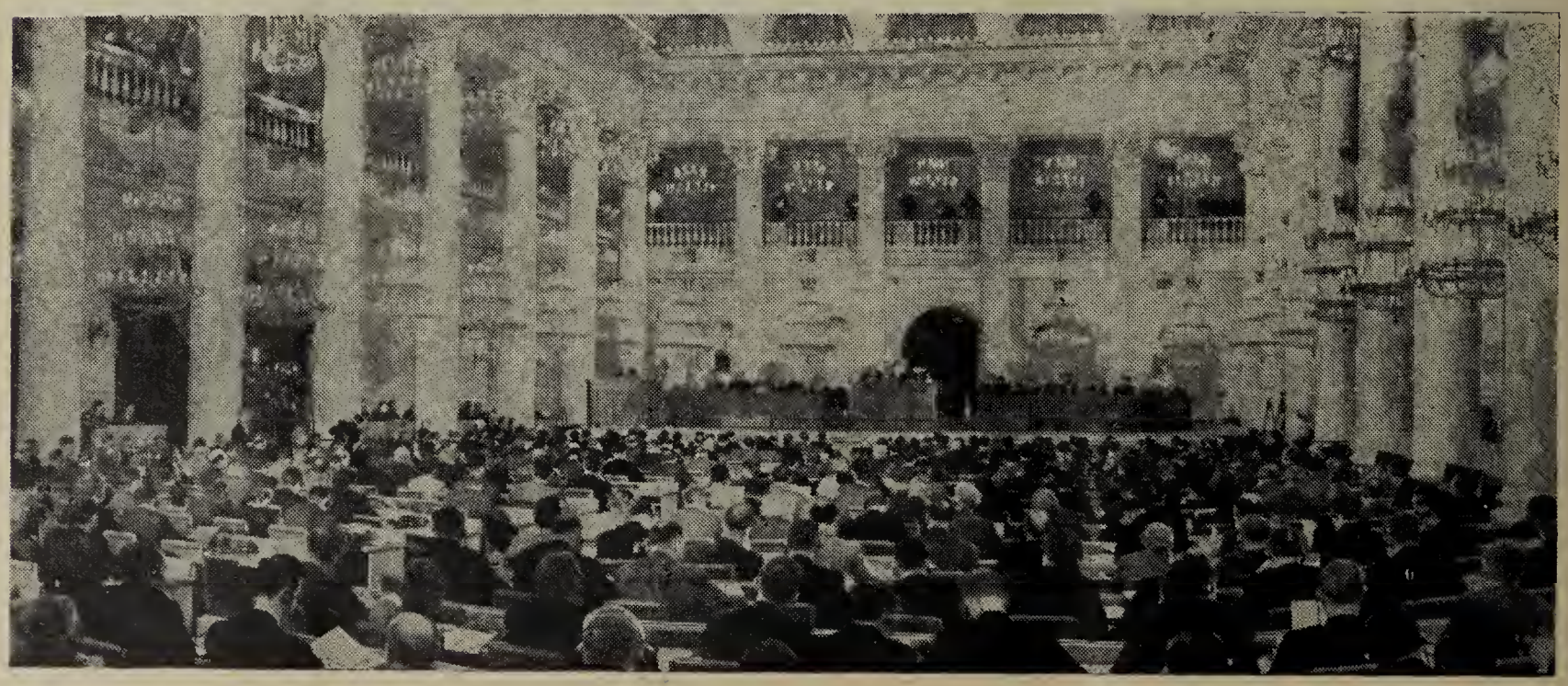
"It is better and cheaper to build friendships than battleships." This sentiment, expressed by a Pakistan businessman, was repeated in varied forms by speaker after speaker at the International Economic Conference held in Moscow from April 3 to 12. Businessmen, bankers, foreign traders, economists, trade unionists and co-operators united in expressing the view that different political and economic systems not only *can* but *must* coexist peacefully through the extension of international trade, through the elimination of political discrimination in trade and other obstacles which impose inequities on many countries, particularly the under-developed countries. Through the reduction in war production and the use of the sums released for the development of the national economies and raising the standard of living peaceful coexistence can also be assured.

Gathered together in the beautiful Hall of Columns in the Moscow House of Trade Unions were 471 delegates from 49 countries throughout the world. Among the total were 71 trade union delegates representing 31 countries including China, Great Britain, United States, France, the U.S.S.R., Italy, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE

The International Economic Conference was the largest conference of its kind ever held. Its potentialities for improving trade relations, particularly

The plenary session in the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions.



A view of the Conference hall. The delegates of the World Federation of Trade Unions can be seen in the third row, from left to right: Guiseppe di Vittorio, President; Louis Saillant, General Secretary; Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Metal and Engineering International, and Sergei Rostovsky, Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

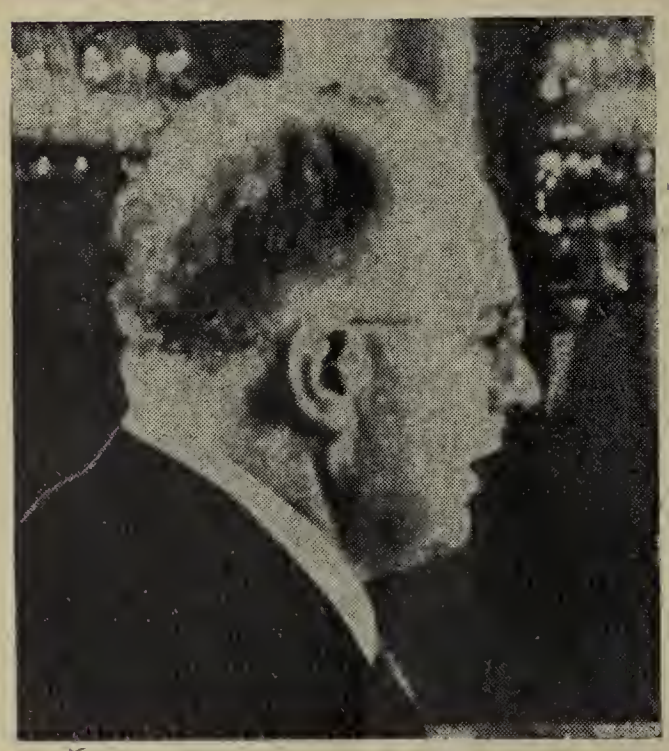
between West and East, disrupted by the war drive of the United States, inspire hope.

The Conference agenda called for a study of the possibilities of improving the living conditions of the people by the peaceful co-operation of different countries and different political and economic systems and by the development of international exchange. The Conference itself was open to all persons desirous of promoting peaceful international co-operation, irrespective of their economic, social or political views.

The Conference devoted two days to plenary sessions following the formal opening and the welcoming speech of Mr. M. A. Yasnov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies. The plenary sessions were devoted to explanations of the economic structure, problems and needs of the various countries. Following the plenary sessions three working groups were set up to consider specific aspects of the agenda. These three working groups studied the development of international trade, international economic co-operation for the solution of social problems, and the problems of under-developed countries. After some days of discussion in the working groups their recommendations were submitted to two final plenary sessions, where the various suggestions and proposals were incorporated into a final set of recommendations.

It should be particularly noted that the Initiating Committee had a two-fold conception of the role of the Economic Conference. First, a discussion of the broad problem indicated in the agenda, leading toward the adoption of widely-approved recommendations, and secondly, the Conference was viewed as an important opportunity for making business contacts which would result in increased trade through the conclusion of contracts. In order to give the fullest opportunity for the negotiating of business contracts, the formal meetings were reduced in number to a minimum consistent with permitting an exchange of views. These two types of activity were being engaged in simultaneously and the contacts between businessmen were facilitated by a Bureau of Contacts and by making it possible for importers and exporters interested in the major commodity groups, such as engineering products, chemicals, minerals, foodstuffs, grains, textiles, etc., to meet together and negotiate business transactions. As a result a number of important contracts were concluded and many more were initiated. Among those concluded was a contract involving 10 million pounds on each side between China and Great Britain, of which about 35% was for textiles to be sold to China. This should be good news to the growing numbers of British textile workers who are unemployed.

After electing a presiding committee, on which the trade unions were represented by W.F.T.U. President Guiseppe di Vittorio, the plenary session got to work to examine the economic conditions and possibilities for increased trade in the various countries. The Presiding Committee included prominent personalities from a number of countries such as Lord John Boyd-



From forty-nine countries came 471 delegates—such was the impressive representation at the International Economic Conference. From top to bottom: V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R.; Oliver Vickery, United States industrialist; Professor Oskar Lange, Poland.

Orr, former Director General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation, Nobel prize winner, Mikhail Nesterov, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the Soviet Union, Professor Oskar Lange of the School of Planning and Statistics of Poland, Jose Maria Rovera, Director General, Bureau of Statistics, Argentina, Iftikhar-ud-Din, Publisher of the *Pakistan Times* and member of the Constituent Assembly, Oliver Vikery, United States industrialist, Professor De Vries of Holland, Nan Han-chen, President of the People's Bank of China, Paul Bastid, former French Minister of Trade, and others.

A study of the speeches made both in the plenary sessions and in the working groups, by businessmen, economists and trade unionists permit the following conclusions to be drawn :

1) The imposition of war economy and the reduction in international trade is disrupting the economies and reducing the standard of living in most capitalist countries. M. Bernard de Plas, a French businessman, for example, pointed out that the members of the European Payments Union do not have economies that complement each other, but instead are competitive, and that the history of the E.P.U. is a history of its crises. " As an instrument for expansion and freedom of trade, it has not lived up to the hopes its founders reposed on it."

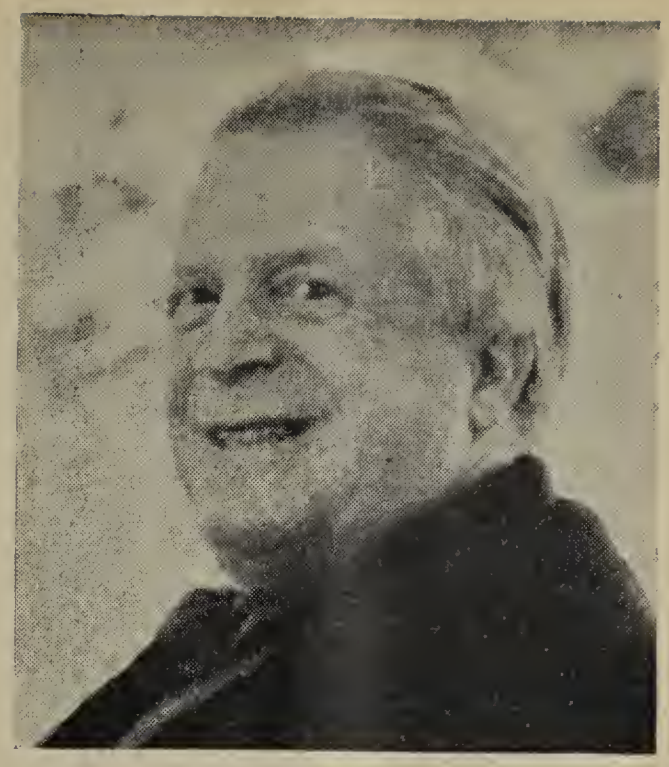
The growing unemployment, the reduction in living standards, and the necessity of halting war economy and increasing international trade on a basis of equality and mutual advantage were particularly stressed by the trade union delegates who spoke in the working group on international co-operation for the solution of social problems. Pierre LeBrun of the French trade union delegation stressed the housing and social security needs in France, pointing out that the economy of France has been deeply disturbed by the reduction of trade with the U.S.S.R., the Peoples' Democracies and China. Similar comments about worsening conditions in their own countries were made by other representatives, including Giovanni Roveda, of Italy, Veikko Porkkala of Finland, H. W. Wynn of Great Britain, A. Deutsch of the United States, and many others.

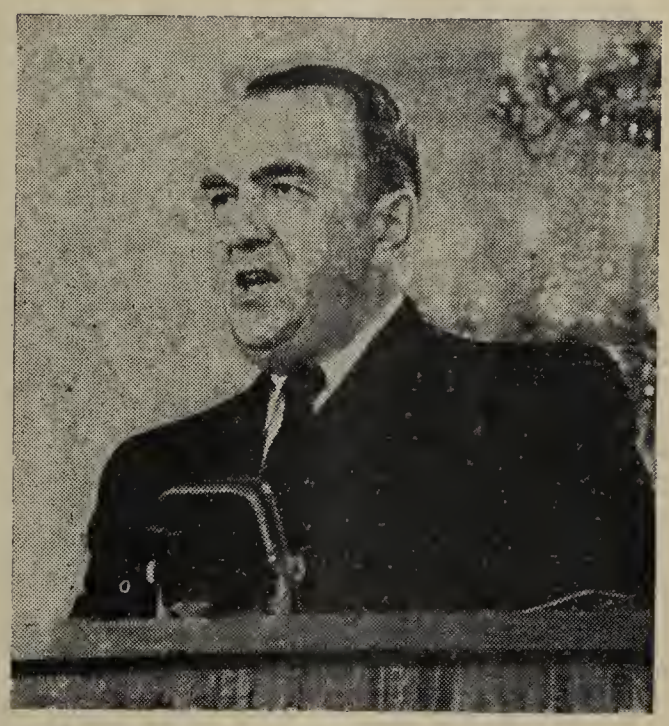
The analysis presented by speaker after speaker of conditions in the various capitalist countries completely confirmed the report made by W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant in the plenary session and by Henry Jourdain, Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.) in the social problems working group, of growing economic difficulties due to trade restrictions and war economy.

2) There must exist great possibilities for expanded trade on mutually beneficial terms between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies and China, and with the underdeveloped countries. The discussions of import and export needs of the various countries clearly showed the possibilities that exist and showed, moreover, that present political obstacles to trade are cutting off traditional market outlets and reducing trade between areas whose economies complement each other.

The potentialities that exist were analysed in great detail in the speech of Mikhail Nesterov of the Soviet Chamber of Com-

From top to bottom: S. S. Silverman, Member of Parliament, Great Britain; M. A. Yasnov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet; Kara Tomi, Member of Parliament, Japan.





merce. He pointed out that the widespread support which the Conference had received "is proof that extension of international economic co-operation and trade relations has become an urgent and vital necessity, and that the weakening of these relations in the past few years and the creation of artificial obstacles to them is arousing no little uneasiness." Mr. Nesterov analysed the trade possibilities in terms of exports and imports with all the most important trading countries of the world. He concluded that the Soviet Union could purchase in the countries of Western Europe, the Americas, South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Australia the commodities which they customarily export. At the same time the Soviet Union could sell them products in which they are interested to such an extent that Soviet trade could be increased to 30,000 or 40,000 million roubles in the next two or three years or to 10,000-15,000 million roubles (2,500 to 3,750 million dollars) a year as compared with the maximum post-war figure of about 5,000 million roubles in 1948.

In view of the difficulties which many countries have in balancing their trade and making payments in hard currencies, the willingness of the Soviet Union, as expressed by Mr. Nesterov, to accept payment in each country's own currency with which the Soviet Union could then purchase products in that country, should stimulate interest and also result in increased trade.

Another factor which should stimulate trade with the countries building socialism which was pointed out by speakers from many of the Peoples' Democracies, notably from Poland and Czechoslovakia, is that, by contrast with the capitalist countries, the planned economies are progressing and developing without economic crises, unemployment, lowered living standards. There is, as a consequence, a stability which permits long-term contracts to be negotiated without fear that subsequent events will force a rupture of the contract.

3) The delegates to the Conference overwhelmingly expressed the hopes and needs of the world for peace, for mutual friendship and understanding, and for increased exchange based on equality and mutual benefit. As Mr. Vickery, United States businessman, expressed it: "The free and equal exchange of goods . . . is the basis for increasing the production, prosperity, security and peace of the world. Peaceful economic relations among the nations are indivisible from peaceful living and are the foundation for the welfare of every nation and for the whole of humanity."

4) Political discrimination in international trade has harmed the countries of the capitalist world, but has had no significant harmful effects on the U.S.S.R. and Peoples' Democracies against who they were applied. This point was made by several speakers from the Peoples' Democracies and Mr. Nesterov of the U.S.S.R. said that not only had Soviet economic development not been harmed by the restrictions on trade but in some cases Soviet industries had been stimulated and had developed more than they would otherwise have done.

ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE CONFERENCE

It is clear that in such a conference as this the leading role is not played by the trade unions, but by businessmen upon whose efforts international trade must, to a large extent, depend

for expansion. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the trade unions have an important role to play. They had an essential part to play within the conference—a role of drawing the attention of the conference to the connections between the well-being of the people and the practices of trade discrimination and war economy. They had an essential part to play in suggesting methods of improving living standards within the framework of the agenda of the Conference.

The trade unions have an important role to play after the Conference—a role which is analysed in the editorial of this issue of *World Trade Union Movement.*

In the plenary session, the trade union point of view on international trade, the importance of increasing trade and removing all political discrimination and other obstacles to international exchange in the interests of improving the standard of living of the workers, was analysed by W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant.

The W.F.T.U. proposed: 1) the elimination of political discrimination and the removal of all barriers to the development of normal economic exchange; 2) the establishment of plans for the peaceful development of industry and trade in order to increase the well-being of the people; 3) the reduction of military expenditure and the use of the funds thus released to finance social, cultural and other services aimed at raising living standards; and 4) recommendations to the U.N. Economic and Social Council that it take measures directed to enlarging international exchange and raising living standards.

Several trade union delegates in their subsequent speeches in the working group on social problems warmly supported the analysis and proposals made by the W.F.T.U. Obviously, the proposals put forward by various trade union delegates constitute only a partial programme, designed to help achieve the aims of the Economic Conference. They constitute but a part of the general programme of the trade union organisations.

As V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., said in a speech to the social problems working group, ". . . trade expansion cannot in itself solve all the social and economic problems in which the working people have a vital interest. Nevertheless, we fully share the opinion . . . that the development of trade relations can exert a beneficial influence on the national economies of co-operating countries and promote higher living standards."

There were trade union delegates present at the Conference from trade union organisations not affiliated to the W.F.T.U., notably rather large delegations from the United States and Great Britain. As was the intention of the Initiating Committee, the trade union delegates, like the other delegates, represented different viewpoints and political and trade union affiliations.

Trade unionists participated in all three of the working groups, but their interest centred on the working group on social problems, where a large number of trade unionists from many countries contributed data and suggestions to the discussion.

A Few of the Practical Results of the International Economic Conference —

LORD BOYD-ORR announced that Great Britain had concluded agreements to export goods totalling £30 million to the U.S.S.R., China, the Peoples' Democracies, and other countries.

French businessmen announced the conclusion of agreements amounting to from 25,000 to 30,000 million francs, including 3,000 million francs with Rumania, and 3,500 million francs with the German Democratic Republic.

Many other contracts between different countries represented at the Conference have been or are being concluded.

— Which Could be Developed Still Further

GREAT possibilities exist for even greater expansion of trade which would materially reduce the unemployment existing and growing in many capitalist countries. V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, noted in his speech that "the restoration and expansion of international trade and economic relations would go a long way towards cutting down unemployment and easing the lot of millions of people. What tangible benefit to the working people the development of trade can bring may be judged from the fact that the Soviet orders alone, which the President of the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce described at the Conference, would provide jobs for at least one and a half to two million people for three years. If to this we add the members of their families, it will mean an opportunity to ensure a livelihood for about six million people. . . .

"Tentative estimates made by Soviet economists show that these orders would ensure work for more than 100,000 unemployed Italian workers, including all the unemployed shipbuilders. The removal of discriminatory measures and further development of trade between Italy, on the one hand, and the U.S.S.R., and the Peoples' Democracies on the other, would guarantee work and a livelihood to additional hundreds of thousands of unemployed.

"Similar estimates for other countries provide approximately the following pictures: orders placed by our country alone would make jobs for over 100,000 persons a year in France, nearly 200,000 in Britain, over 100,000 in Western Germany and the same number in Japan, tens of thousands in Holland, etc. Development of mutually advantageous trade with the Soviet Union alone would thus reduce unemployment and mean better living for hundreds of thousands of workers and their families. . . ."

CONFERENCE RESULTS

As a result of the discussions in the working groups and plenary sessions, the Conference unanimously adopted and implemented the following three proposals :

1) To issue a communiqué indicating the scope and main lines of the discussions, pointing out that " dislocation of world trade is gravely jeopardising the economic development of a number of countries, is adversely affecting balances of trade and payments and is exerting an unfavourable influence on living standards by worsening food supplies, raising prices, increasing unemployment, and impeding social progress, in particular curtailing housing construction." The communiqué also notes the unanimous opinion of the Conference that the volume of world trade can be considerably expanded, bringing many advantages to business circles, leading to better utilisation of economic resources of all countries and promoting employment and higher standards of living. Conference members from various countries agreed that " differences in economic and social systems need not be an obstacle to the expansion of international economic relations founded on equality and mutual advantage."

There are vast possibilities for expanding trade between Western Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the U.S.S.R. and Central and Eastern Europe. The rapid industrialisation of the under-developed countries is urgently needed and should be promoted, which will also contribute to enlarged trade and peaceful economic co-operation.

In addition, the communiqué presents the plans for future work and mentions the concrete results of the Conference in terms of business relations established.

2) To issue an Appeal from the International Economic Conference to the General Assembly of the United Nations, calling attention to the disruption of world trade and its serious results and urging the General Assembly to convene, at the earliest possible date, "a conference of representatives of governments with the participation of business circles, trade unions and other social organisations of all countries for the purpose of promoting an expansion of international trade, on a basis of equality and with due regard to the needs of the industrialisation of under-developed countries."

3) To establish a Committee for the Promotion of International Trade for the purpose of disseminating information about the Conference, to transmit the Appeal to the United Nations and to determine the time and place of a Second International Economic Conference. Trade unions are represented on this committee by V. M. Gutierrez, General Secretary of the United Confederation of Labour of Guatemala, Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.), Pierre Le Brun, Secretary of the French C.G.T. and Liu Ning-yi, member of the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U.

The First International Economic Conference was a great success. It was a success despite the efforts of some governments to discourage participation. It was a success in terms of the number of countries represented, in terms of the leading personalities—businessmen, economists, trade unionists, and public figures—who participated, and it was a success in terms of the actual results achieved and the promise of continuing beneficial results in the future.

Every honest participant will go home feeling that a useful job has been done in the interests of peace and expanded trade, and that he has had a full opportunity freely to express his views and make his suggestions, despite the efforts of some governments and some sectors of the press to convince him that it would be otherwise. He will go home with a deep appreciation of the warm hospitality of his Soviet hosts who spared no effort to make his visit to Moscow both comfortable and interesting.

The Tunisian People Demand the Right to Self-Determination

● By HABIB DELLAGI
Secretary of the U.S.T.T. (Trade Union of Workers of Tunisia.)

GRAVE events are taking place at the present time in Tunisia. The police and the army, in the service of the French imperialists, have shed the blood of hundreds of patriots. Crimes which bear the ugly stamp of colonial exploitation have been committed in the beautiful and peaceful Cap Bon and Sahel regions.

After several months of a so-called policy of "negotiation" with certain nationalist elements, a policy which has only helped imperialism to strengthen some of its economic, strategic and military positions, the Tunisian people found that the promises of independence had evaporated into thin air.

The repression continued, and was accompanied by such bloody deeds as the shooting down in November, 1950, of agricultural workers at Enfidaville, the arrest of hundreds of agricultural workers at Béja, Souk el Arba, and Kébili, and the imprisonment of striking miners from the Gafsa phosphate mines and the lead mines of Touireuf, Oued Maden, etc.

The economic situation was deteriorating and the purchasing power of wages was being continually reduced by the rise in prices. The peasantry was bowed down under the weight of taxes and other charges; tradesmen and artisans found themselves bankrupt. Hundreds of thousands of young people were unemployed and the students, in spite of their fight, could not obtain modern education at their great Zitouna University (Olivier Mosque).

Using every kind of manœuvre, the French imperialists had taken over most of the vacant jobs in the administration, while the responsible Ministers, in trying to carry out their duties, were constantly impeded by the French Resident-General's administration and its so-called "legislation" and "supervision" departments.

All sections of patriotic Tunisians have arrived at a point where they can no longer tolerate the oppression of French imperialism.

I.—A Survey of the Economic Situation in Tunisia

FROM 1881, French colonialism has expropriated the best land in Tunisia, 2,000,000 acres being exploited by 2,185 French colonists. Four limited companies alone possess 350,000 acres. These lands, the best in Tunisia, are situated in the plains, with adequate rainfall. The 7,500,000 acres of cultivable land shared by 450,000 Tunisian peasants are on stony hillsides situated in those regions with the lowest rainfall.

In 1939, the Tunisian tuberculosis death rate was 12%; in 1948 it was 13%. There are no sanatoria. For the whole of Tunisia there are only six hospitals, that is, one bed for every 1,000 inhabitants and one doctor to every 15,000 inhabitants.

Illiteracy is widespread. There are only sufficient schools to cover one child out of seven. Primary, technical and secondary education is in French. Arabic, the national language, is relegated to second place.

The working class is severely exploited by the trusts and rapacious employers. The majority of the Tunisian workers are employed as labourers. Eighty-five per cent. of those working in the mines are Tunisian, while technical and supervisory staff is recruited from among the Europeans. The mining companies have always tried to force an inhuman pace on the workers. In 1939, one out of every three mine workers met with an accident. Tuberculosis plays havoc in the phosphate workings, and there are frequent cases of lead poisoning in the lead mines.

Social security is not applied in Tunisia. Legislation treating industrial diseases is practically non-existent. There is no old-age insurance. The maximum family allowance is 2,625 francs a month for each child. Representatives of the workers do not sit on the Management Committee for family allowances in spite of the existence of a law to this effect. These committees are in the hands of the employers, who created so many formalities that the Tunisian worker finds it extremely difficult to obtain the allowances to which he is entitled. To this day, as a result of administrative obstacles, thousands of miners have not yet received their family allowances to which they have been entitled since 1947.

The agricultural worker has no legally established working day. He works from sun-up to sun-down. He is not given a pay slip; he receives no family allowances.

There are many thousands of unemployed. Unemployment relief is non-existent. The workers live in shacks and statistics reveal that 61% of the population is crowded together in overcrowded slums. In most

cases they live in shanty towns, hovels made out of old tin cans which are found around the towns.

While unemployment and poverty are ruining the people, the trusts are enriching themselves by exploiting the mineral wealth of the country: phosphate, iron, lead and zinc.

Eight capitalist firms accumulated a declared profit of 3,750 million francs between 1939 and 1949, and during the same time their capital increased from 303 million to 3,582 million.

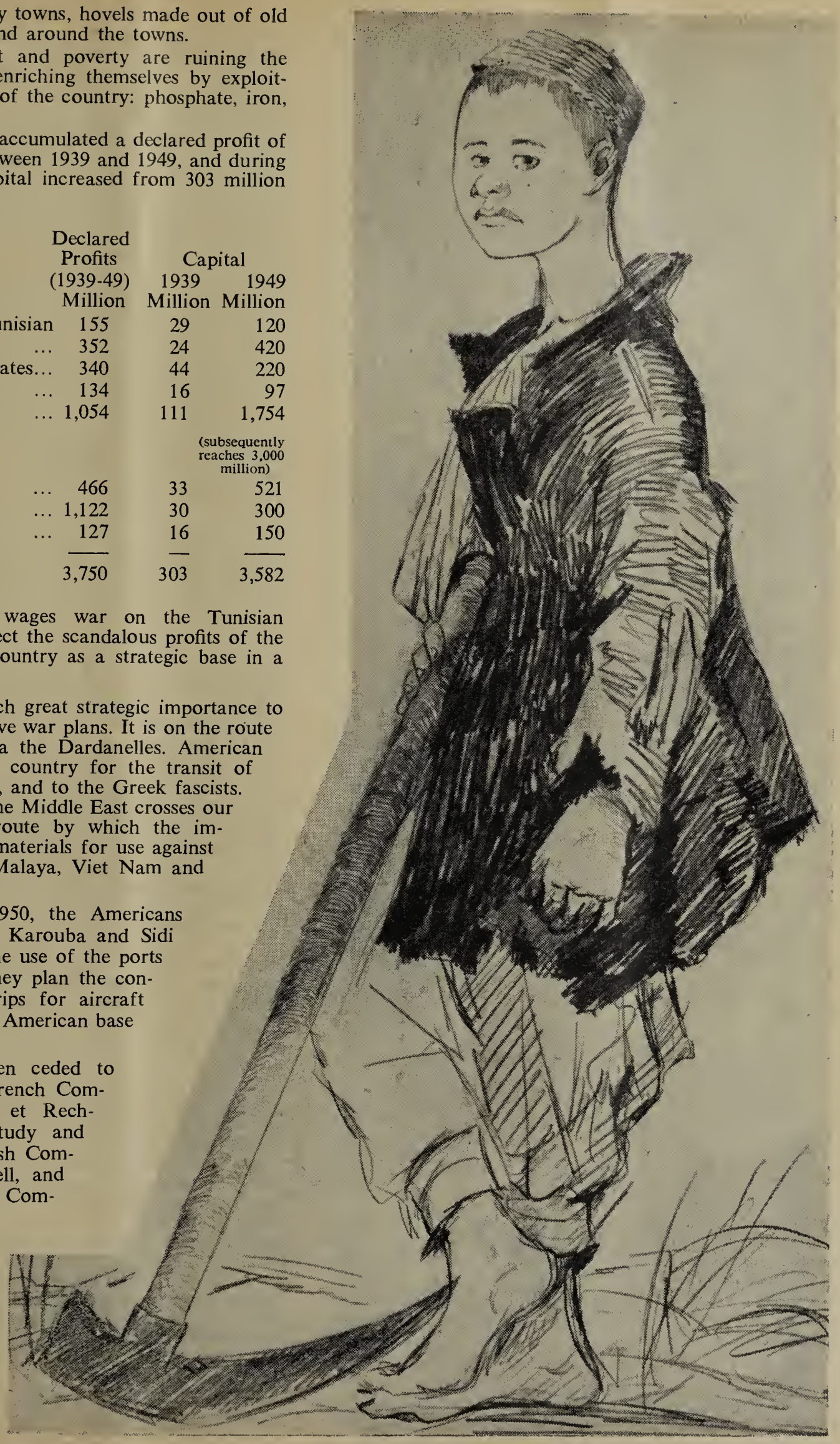
	Declared Profits (1939-49) Million	Capital 1939 Million	1949 Million
Omnium Immobilier Tunisian	155	29	120
Tunis Gas and Water ...	352	24	420
Djebel M'Dilla Phosphates...	340	44	220
Djebel Hallouf Mine ...	134	16	97
Gafsa Phosphates	1,054	111	1,754 (subsequently reaches 3,000 million)
Djebel Djerissa	466	33	521
Sté Fermes Francaises ...	1,122	30	300
Bank of Tunisia	127	16	150
	3,750	303	3,582

French imperialism wages war on the Tunisian people in order to protect the scandalous profits of the trusts and to use our country as a strategic base in a third world war.

The warmongers attach great strategic importance to Tunisia in their aggressive war plans. It is on the route to the Soviet Union via the Dardanelles. American armies already use our country for the transit of arms to the traitor Tito, and to the Greek fascists. The road to the oil of the Middle East crosses our country, as does the route by which the imperialists despatch war materials for use against the peoples of Egypt, Malaya, Viet Nam and Korea.

On September 20, 1950, the Americans took over the bases of Karouba and Sidi Ahmed and count on the use of the ports of Bizerta and Sfax. They plan the construction of landing strips for aircraft and the setting up of an American base on the Island of Djerba.

Tunisian oil has been ceded to three companies: the French Company Société d'Etudes et Recherees Petroliere (Oil study and Research Co.), the British Company, Royal Dutch Shell, and the American Gulf Oil Com-



● **A young agricultural worker.**

pany. The American newspaper, *U.S. News and World Report,* says that in North Africa, United States Mediterranean bases are endangered by the Arab risings which extend from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. Without these bases, it says, the United States would find it a great deal more difficult to send atomic bombs over Russia if and when this becomes necessary.

Because it wishes to use our country as a strategic base, American imperialism supports French colonialism's violent repressive measures. *Intelligence Digest* reveals this in its November 1951 issue, in which it says that the northern part of Africa must remain firmly in the possession of the Atlantic nations, and be organised as a strategic base. It must be clearly understood, says the paper, that the Atlantic nations have no intention of tolerating the least disorder and that it will be to the advantage of the leaders of the local populations to conform to this desire rather than resist it, for no resistance on their part will be tolerated.

II. Recent Events

INCAPABLE of quelling the struggle of the Tunisian national movement, imperialism tried a policy of "negotiation" and verbal promises in order to fool and divide the Tunisian people.

Unanimously and regardless of political opinion or trade union affiliation, the mass of the working people immediately demanded:

—A Tunisian National Assembly elected by universal suffrage;

—a Tunisian Government responsible to the elected representatives of the Tunisian people;

—the administration of Tunisia by Tunisians.

To these unanimous demands the French colonialist government replied with an insolent and provocative letter dated December 15, 1951, asserting that the hateful yoke of colonialism was to be forced on the Tunisian nation as a "permanent tie" and that the principle of Franco-Tunisian co-sovereignty was to be officially recognised.

In protest against the French colonialists' declared intentions, the political parties, Néo-Destour, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Old Destour, the U.G.T.T.[1] and the U.S.T.T. trade union centres, organisations of tradesmen, peasants and students called for a national strike by the Tunisian people from December 21 to 23, 1951. This three-dav strike strengthened the Tunisian people's desire for united action. Workers organised both in the U.G.T.T. and U.S.T.T., as well as non-unionists, united during these three days thus forcefully demonstrating their determination to free themselves from the regime of colonial exploitation and national oppression.

On January 13, 1952, the new Resident General, Vicomte Jean de Hautecloque, arrived in Tunis aboard a cruiser, while guns fired and airplanes circled above the capital. His arrival was marked by two events.

First, the National Conference of the Defenders of Peace was being held in spite of the ban by the colonial authorities. Tunisian patriots issued leaflets, expressing their will to live freely and independently. The police arrested Mohamed Salah Ouanes, a young U.S.T.T. militant. He was sentenced to one year on a prison farm and a fine of 50.000 francs on the charge of "complicity in an attack on the prestige of the representative of France."

1U.G.T.T. : A nationalist trade union movement closely associated with the Néo-Destour nationalist party and affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. The U.S.T.T. is a trade union centre which embraces all workers in Tunisia irrespective of their racial origins or political beliefs and is affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

Secondly, on January 14, 1952, the police opened fire on unemployed ex-servicemen who were demanding the release of their leader. Other demonstrations took place at Beja, Bizerta and Ferryville.

Faced with the power of the national movement, the headquarters of the Resident General attempted to decapitate it by arresting and deporting the leaders of the Néo-Destour Party, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Defenders of Peace, the U.S.T.T. and the U.G.T.T. on Friday, January 18, 1952. It banned the Néo-Destour Congress, which took place nevertheless.

The Tunisian people's reply to this attack was immediate. Everything came to a standstill for several days.

Tradesmen closed their shops and workers ceased work. The markets were deserted.

The national movement developed, drawing in all sections of the people. From all parts of the country, Destour members and Communists, U.S.T.T. and U.G.T.T. trade unionists, men and women, young and old, all clamoured for the release of the arrested leaders, and for the ending of colonialism. Defying the military repression, fearless of machine guns and uncowed by tanks and bren-gun carriers, thousands of patriots demonstrated in Tunis, Bizerta, Sfax and other places.

The Tunisian peasantry gave active support to the national movement. Tunisian women took part in the struggle, demonstrating in the streets against the police forces. The youth, the unemployed and the students were in the vanguard of the national fight.

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THE panic-stricken colonialists, having under-estimated the Tunisian people's desire for liberation, attempted to drown in blood the people's struggle for self-government.

The unstinted blood of Tunisian patriots flowed. Each day brought its martyrs, but each day also new forces arose against colonialism. Individual mobilisation orders were issued to those liable to service under French law. Reinforcements arrived from France and Algeria and were placed under General Garbay, one of those responsible for the terrible repression in Madagascar which cost the Madagascan people 90,000 lives. Tanks, mobile guards and commandos landed in Tunisia. Warships were stationed in Tunisian ports. A curfew was declared in several towns.

Actual war operations known as "sweeps" were organised. Vampire planes roared over the villages. Houses were pillaged, and shops sacked. The report of two Tunisian Ministers on the Cap-Bon events confirms that four babes-in-arms were killed and ten women raped, 15 summary executions took place, 29 houses were dynamited and two Mosques profaned. Holy books at Tazerka and Maamoura were destroyed. Collective fines of from 80,000 to 100,000 francs (£80 to £100 or $244 to $280) were imposed on the inhabitants of three villages.

In the towns, the occupying forces bludgeoned, imprisoned and massacred. In Tunis anyone wearing a chechia (military cap worn by troops in Africa) or a red scarf was searched and sometimes arrested. Everyone carrying a small knife was sentenced by the Military Tribunal. Certain areas of the town were placed out of bounds to all Tunisians. Thousands and thousands of people were arrested and imprisoned either in prisons or in camps politely known as "shelter camps."[1]

1Since this article was written, new and violent measures have been taken in Tunisia by the French imperialists. A number of Tunisian Ministers, including the Prime Minister, Chenik, have been arrested and deported.

III.—The Struggle Develops

BUT neither terror nor repression can break the resistance of the Tunisian people. The fight against French imperialism takes on new forms.

Members of the Union of Tunisian Women and of the Union of Women of Tunisia, both nationalists and Communists, carried on a 48-hour hunger strike in Tunis' Great Mosque. Sfax, Sousse and Tunis students' demonstrations take the form of strikes, sit-down strikes, hunger strikes and the occupation of premises and dormitories. Communist and Destour students in Tunis demonstrated in front of the Public Education and Fine Arts administrative offices. The funerals of national martyrs are made the occasion for demonstrations and processions. Trains are derailed, telephone lines cut, trams and trolley buses are under police protection.

The Tunisian people's fight aims at the satisfaction of national aspirations and supports the submission of the Tunisian question to the United Nations.

The Tunisian workers know that the United Nations cannot resolve the Tunisian problem, and will not give satisfaction to their national aspirations, but they consider the United Nations an international tribune from which the crimes of colonialism can be denounced. Having recourse to the United Nations thus provides an opportunity of demonstrating clearly that anti-imperialist forces, who support the just cause of an oppressed people before the United Nations are true friends.

For the Tunisian people, recourse to the United Nations is a starting point for action which has already made possible the closing of the ranks of the Tunisian working class. It is by united struggle that the national aspirations of the Tunisian people will be achieved, and will influence the outcome of their case before the United Nations.

IV.—Rôle of the Working Class

THE Tunisian working class has participated widely in the national struggle against French imperialism. The general strike declared by the U.S.T.T. on Friday, January 18, was almost complete in the factories, workshops and mines, and for three days the ports were deserted. In most of the demonstrations the workers led in the fight.

The workers have made every attempt, with the other sections of the population, to urge on the anti-imperialist struggle. There have been frequent work stoppages; resolutions have been carried unanimously and telegrams sent to the French Government and the United Nations.

Fights between police and demonstrators took place in Ferryville, in which one person was killed and several wounded. On hearing of this, the Arsenal Workers' Trade Union, affiliated to the U.S.T.T., immediately called on the workers to stop work. Admiral Barjot, as soon as he was informed of the strike call, had the gates of the Arsenal closed and tried to prevent the workers from leaving by shutting them in the workshops. In face of the firm stand of the workers, Admiral Barjot had the militant workers arrested—some of them, such as Audibert and Grisoni, in the workshops, and others, such as Gabriel Thorre, at the Arsenal gates. He discharged the U.S.T.T. and U.G.T.T. militants.

On January 21, 1952, at Souk el Arba, the repressive forces were withdrawn from the village following a joint approach by local branches of the U.G.T.T. and the U.S.T.T. to the Caid.[1]

At Sakiet Sidi Youssef, on January 23, 1952, the workers of the Pennaroya mine decided to go to the village, three miles from the mines. As soon as they arrived work stopped in the village, and shopkeepers and inhabitants joined in demonstrations with workers. After the demonstration, the gendarmerie arrested Mejid Ben Amar, general secretary of the Miners' Union. Nine hundred people immediately gathered in front of the gendarmerie and forced the release of this miners' leader.

On January 30, 1952, the Kahia[2] went to the village of Maknassy. The workers at all the esparto plantations stopped work at the call of their trade union. Villagers, workers belonging to the U.S.T.T. and peasants belonging to the General Union of Tunisian Agricultural Workers met together, and 1,400 people demonstrated

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1Arab chief.

2KAHIA : representative of the native authorities.

The leaders of the national movement, including Habib Bourguiba, president of the Neo-Destour, have also been deported. Militant workers have been arrested, and martial law and the censorship have been tightened up. A puppet Prime Minister was forced on the Bey on French orders. In spite of growing repressions, however, the Tunisian people has not relaxed its patriotic struggle, strengthened by the solidarity of the French workers and the C.G.T. The W.F.T.U. has sent messages of solidarity to the U.S.T.T. and the U.G.T.T., and has also sent telegrams to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Chairman of the Security Council, demanding that they should "draw the attention of the Security Council to French intervention in Tunisia which is bringing new and serious threats of conflict, and which is opposed to the peaceful interests of the peoples, and constitutes a violation of their democratic rights." W.T.U.M.

An aspect of colonial "civilisation": homeless Tunisians are forced to build miserable dwellings in the rocks.

Tunisian patriots come en masse to the funeral of a victim of colonial repression.

before the Kahia, who received a delegation composed of people of all political and trade union affiliations.

February 1, 1952, was a great national day of anti-imperialist struggle for the Tunisian people, and especially for the Tunisian working class.

In spite of the terror and the savage repression, in spite of the military occupation of the whole of Tunisia, the workers responded to the appeal of the political parties and the trade union organisations. Workers from all industries and civil servants took part *en masse* in this day of struggle.

In the mining centre of Redeyef, the workers, tradesmen and the villagers demonstrated in front of the police station at the call of their United Action Committee, which consisted of the local leaders of the U.G.T.T., the U.S.T.T., the Néo-Destour, the Tunisian Communist Party and the Tunisian Union of Artisans and Tradesmen.

Miners on strike in Moulares, belonging to both the U.S.T.T. and the U.G.T.T., adopted a joint resolution which they sent to the Resident-General and to the United Nations.

The local branches of the Néo-Destour Party and the Tunisian Communist Party at Métlaoui adopted a joint resolution.

The leaders of the Néo-Destour and Communist parties and of the U.S.T.T. and U.G.T.T. trade union centres, who have been deported to Remada, also took part in this great day of struggle by staging a 24-hour hunger strike.

Workers organised in the U.S.T.T. and the U.G.T.T. are taking part side by side in the anti-imperialist struggle which has aroused the whole of our people. Unity of action has been achieved in the course of a number of movements supporting industrial issues and is being strengthened in the fight for national aspirations.

Thus, a United Action Committee has been formed in the mining centre of Redeyef, consisting of 3 delegates each from the U.S.T.T. and the U.G.T.T., a representative of the Néo-Destour, a member of the Tunisian Communist Party and a leader of the artisans and tradesmen.

The postmen employed at the Central Post Office in Tunis, organised in the U.S.T.T. and the U.G.T.T., met together and adopted a joint resolution.

Similar action has been taken by teachers belonging to both trade union centres in the French-Arab schools in the Halfaouine district, Place aux Moutons and Place Sidi Ali Azouz.

Teachers from a number of schools, belonging to different unions, have collected funds and sent joint delegations to visit the wounded in the hospitals, and have collected gifts to buy food and clothing for the inhabitants of the martyred Cap Bon villages.

A committee of U.G.T.T. and U.S.T.T. Arsenal workers has been formed in Ferryville. It is demanding the release and re-instatement of the dismissed workers.

Leading Tunisian personalities and French democrats of various opinions (members of the Néo-Destour, the Communist Party, the peace organisation, U.S.T.T. and independents) have set up the Committee for Solidarity and the Defence of Mankind with the object of defending the victims of repression and denouncing acts constituting a breach of individual freedom.

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IN its fight for liberation, the Tunisian people has found its true allies.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has once more shown itself to be side by side with the colonial peoples, giving its support to the action of the Tunisian workers and people. It has protested to the United Nations against the colonialist crimes committed in our country and demanded the application of the United Nations' Charter and the sending of a Commission of Inquiry. The W.F.T.U. also sent a fact-finding solidarity delegation to Tunisia, consisting of Jacques Marion, a

member of its General Council, and Maurice Carroué, vice-president of the Agricultural Workers' Trade Unions International.

The workers in those countries where they are masters of their own future, have sent messages of solidarity to the Tunisian people, who are fighting for self-government.

The French working class has been unsparing in its support for the anti-imperialist struggle of our people. The C.G.T., faithful to the traditions of the French working class, has called upon the French workers and trade union organisations of all viewpoints to demonstrate their solidarity with the Tunisian people and to demand the immediate end of armed intervention, the release of those imprisoned and deported, the abrogation of the Protectorate treaty, the immediate recall of the Resident-General, the withdrawal of armed forces and the establishment of relations between the two countries on a basis of equality and to the mutual advantage of the two peoples.

The Marseilles dockers have refused to work ships bound to or arriving from Tunisia. In Toulon the population demonstrated against the departure of soldiers for Tunisia, and the Toulon dockers refused to load war material bound for Tunisia on to the s.s. Armand Blanc.

Workers in Paris and throughout France took part in the February 12 demonstrations against fascism, war and hunger, thus expressing their opposition to the colonialist policy of the French government in Tunisia.

The people of Viet-Nam, who are engaged in armed struggle against our common enemy, have expressed solidarity with our people's fight.

Strikes, demonstrations and resolutions in support of the Tunisian people resulted from the appeal of the Algerian Front and the Algerian national organisations.

On February 1, 1952, the peoples of the Near and Middle East and of North Africa demonstrated their solidarity with the Tunisian people by organising a "Tunisia Day," in which they took part *en masse*.

Messages of solidarity are arriving from all over the world—Japan, Finland, Brazil, Hungary, Poland, Albania and South Africa.

In their fight for social progress, national independence and peace, the Tunisian workers and people are learning who are their real friends.

Real friendship is demonstrated by deeds. The W.F.T.U., for example, is demanding an end to the colonial system, to the use of protectorates and dependent territories as spheres of economic exploitation, and maintains the right of peoples to self-government and national independence.

Their real friends are those like the French C.G.T. who show it by active solidarity.

Imperialism is making use of the I.C.F.T.U. in order to deceive the Tunisian working class. This "International" recently sent one of its leaders, Liniger, to Tunis, who, on his arrival made contact with the leaders of the *Force Ouvriére* who have taken a public stand against the national aspirations of the Tunisian people. The Tunisian section of *Force Ouvriére* in fact appealed for repression against the workers fighting with the Tunisian people to free themselves from colonial rule, proclaiming in their leaflets and communiques that the workers of Ferryville had called for "uprising and revolt."

The true sentiments of the I.C.F.T.U. appeared in the French review *Air-Terre-Mer,* in which an article from the Mediterranean Seamen and Dockers' Committee (I.C.F.T.U.), which was set up under the patronage of Irving Brown, published under the heading "Tunisia, Temple of the Past, Gate of the Future," stated:

"At the present juncture, the flowering of Tunisia, just like the upsurge of Morocco, is first and foremost a French work, solid, lasting and irrefutable, the abounding evidence of which can face up to all attacks, all criticisms, all reservations and all slanders without flinching."

Thus the I.C.F.T.U. is defending the interests of the trusts and supports their continued oppression and exploitation of the Tunisian working class.

After attacking Moroccan trade unionism, Lafond, leader of the I.C.F.T.U. and secretary of Force Ouvriére, employs terms like "fanaticism" to describe the anti-imperialist fight of the Tunisian people. He defends the colonialists' crimes in Tunisia in an article in which he admits that "blunders have been committed."

In obedience to their Washington masters, the reactionary leaders of the A.F.L. are demanding the application of Point Four of the Truman Plan to Tunisia. By means of this plan, which the peoples of the Near and Middle East have refused to accept, the A.F.L. would like to see the building of still more strategic roads in Tunisia, the investment of American capital in order to exploit the workers still more, and bring about the ruin of our local trade and the imposition of American imperialism on top of French colonialism.

The Tunisian patriots are delivering direct blows at French imperialism. The unity which has been achieved in the patriotic struggle will overcome all the manoeuvres of the colonialists. Strengthened by their experience, the working people will force the release of the deported and imprisoned leaders of the national movement.

By their united struggle, the Tunisian people will win the right to self government. Closing its ranks in the course of strikes and demonstrations, the Tunisian working class will carry on the struggle for its day to day issues and for its national aspirations.

The Italian Experience

By RENATO BITOSSI

Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour

I HAVE read with great interest the articles on the sliding scale and must admit frankly that the arguments advanced by progressive trade unionists in the United States have somewhat surprised me.

As a result, I am very anxious to go into the reasons for such a profound difference of opinion between us on the sliding scale. In fact, apart from the technical question of more or less perfect machinery for adjusting wages to increases in the cost of living, it is necessary to consider the question of principle—whether trade union tactics employed in Europe concerning the sliding scale are correct or not; that is, the tactic of establishing machinery within the framework of the general struggle which automatically and fairly maintains the purchasing power of wages.

Does this machinery, now known throughout the world as the "sliding scale," serve the workers' interests, or is it, as the progressive American trade unionists state, against their interests ?

Personally, I must say that I consider it advantageous to the workers and say sincerely that I would not change my opinion even should the sliding scale occasionally not succeed in adjusting wages, automatically and fully, to increases in the cost of living.

However, this statement requires clarification. I consider that the sliding scale is always favourable to the workers, provided that it in no way limits the rights of the workers and the trade unions representing them to demand additional wage increases at any time, and to any extent regarded as opportune. Such increases can help to improve the adjustment of wages to the real cost of living if the sliding scale works imperfectly, or even to obtain a net increase in the workers' standard of living when the sliding scale completely covers increases in the cost of living.

The sliding scale must guarantee real wages without becoming an obstacle to a net increase in the workers' purchasing power, that is, to an increase in the workers' standard of living.

In my opinion, the articles by our American fellow trade unionists criticising the sliding scale have not paid sufficient attention to the premises formulated by Jourdain in his article, *The Fight for the Sliding Wage Scale,* but they have allowed themselves to be influenced in their criticism by some apparently favourable observations made by Jourdain on the collective agreements with the General Motors Company. In criticising the sliding scale as incorporated in the various agreements concluded by the CIO leaders, Brothers Bryson, Sentner and Nixon have failed to consider whether these arguments were or were not contradictory to Jourdain's premises, which, to supporters of the sliding scale, are basic to its acceptance.

In his article, Jourdain writes: *The sliding scale is not a panacea, nor is it an ideal. In a period of war economy, it is a measure which guarantees the workers against the whittling down of their purchasing power.*

But Jourdain immediately adds: *It is therefore clear that whenever the ruling circles and the employers are forced to accept the sliding scale, this can in no way whatsoever be detrimental to the trade unions' constant struggle for an increase in real wages.*

A clear indication and a precise and unequivocal slogan was given to us by Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Trade Unions International of the Metal and Engineering Workers, when he stressed that *the fight for peace is inseparable from the fight for the improvement of the workers' standard of living.*

If Jourdain considered the sliding scale the one and only demand for which the workers must fight in the present period of war economy in the capitalist countries, he would not have spoken of the *fight for the improvement of the workers' living standards* but solely of the fight to safeguard the purchasing power of wages, since even under the best circumstances, that is, in the event of a perfect sliding scale machinery, it could provide nothing more than this latter guarantee.

I consider that our American brothers should not maintain this preconceived aversion to the sliding scale but should perhaps examine and study the reasons why the sliding scale as applied by some American trusts is prejudicial to the interests of the workers.

An almost perfect sliding scale system can maintain the workers' purchasing power unchanged in a period of rising cost of living.

Can this harm the workers ? Certainly not, for it is easier to obtain a net increase in the workers' standard of living when the struggle has as its starting point a wage which, because of the sliding scale, has maintained its purchasing power, than on the basis of a wage already reduced because of an increase in the cost of living.

The sliding scale reduces the gap which is otherwise inevitable, due to the lag of a possible wage increase when the cost of living rises. As a result of starting off from a better position, it becomes possible to fight for a net increase in the workers' standard of living.

Thus, in my opinion, it is not the sliding scale which must be fought, but the restriction on the freedom of the American workers to demand wage increases outside the sliding scale. Consequently, we should not condemn the sliding scale principle on the pretext that the machinery is not working properly and that it is prejudicial to the workers. We must find ways and means of improving the machinery by criticising those aspects unfavourable to the workers and fighting to make the device as perfect as possible so that the purchasing power of wages does not fall.

We should never adopt the totally negative position of demanding the complete demolition of a building when we could obtain a better result by a partial demolition accompanied by a rebuilding of some storeys. That has been the CGIL's policy and it has produced good results for the Italian workers.

APPLICATION OF THE SLIDING SCALE IN ITALY

THE need for a sliding scale to safeguard the interests of the Italian workers was forced on us in the very early days after the war. The Italian economic situation was at that time characterised by an *incessantly soaring rise* in all prices, especially in food products and major consumption goods which, being scarce, were only to be found on the black market.

It was not possible to think of obtaining, through normal trade union negotiations, a synchronised adjustment between wages and prices when the cost of living was mounting day by day.

Under such circumstances, I consider that, at the same time that the fight for an improvement in the workers' living standards is carried on, it is essential to prevent the rise in the cost of living from absorbing all preceding improvements won through struggle and from lowering, through inflation, the economic standard attained.

It was necessary under all circumstances to prevent the introduction of the sliding scale from excluding subsequent demands for wage increases by the CGIL, the individual unions and the workers in the various enterprises.

The Italian workers' sliding scale has gone through two distinctly different periods of application, separated from each other by an interval of about two years (August 1949—April 1951). In the second period, which is now in progress, the method of calculation has been changed and adapted to the new economic conditions of the country.

In the first period of the sliding scale system (July 1946—August 1949), the cost of living index was established directly by the workers' representatives and the industrialists in each province, who met together in joint committees to investigate prices according to a scheme called the "monthly expense account of a typical workers' family" (composed of man and wife and two minor children).

The "expense account" was made up not by incorporating *all* expenditures, but only those which were most likely to reflect the movement of the cost of living.

The "expense account" was divided into five sections: food, clothing, rent, heating, cooking and lighting, and miscellaneous expenses.

Food expenditure, which was the first to be affected by inflation, constituting basic expenditure which no one could afford to give up, accounted for 76% of the "expense account," clothing 9%, rent 1% (rents were controlled), heating and lighting 4%, miscellaneous (fares in town, cigarettes, spectacles, etc.) 10%.

Through their representatives on the provincial joint committees, the workers had at that time a decisive say in establishing price statistics, especially concerning food products only found on the black market. This was a very important fact and rendered the functioning of the sliding scale extremely favourable to the workers.

Thus government enquiries revealed in this first period between July 1946 and November 1947 a cost of living increase of 100% (the national average based on the 16 main regions), while the trade union computation gave an average increase of 113%.

During the first period of the sliding scale in Italy, the agreement stated that no reduction of wages would be enforced unless the cost of living was reduced by more than 8% in relation to the highest preceding level attained in each province.

There were, in addition, two other protective clauses, providing that should the cost of living *fall* by 8 to 12%, or by 12 to 20%, the *contingenza* (cost of living bonus) would only be reduced by 30% or 50% respectively of the amount by which wages would have been increased had the cost of living *risen* by the same percentage.

But in actual fact, in November 1947, when the cost of living began to fall, making it likely that the sliding scale would operate downwards, actions were undertaken in some provinces with full agreement being reached with the other contracting party, to suspend the registration of prices and, consequently, the functioning of the sliding scale.

On this point I have said that "when prices rise, the sliding scale works, when they fall, the sliding scale stops."

Because of an inaccuracy on the part of Brother Jourdain, I feel I must explain the following point more precisely: the variations in the cost of living are not directly added (or subtracted) to that part of the wage called the *contingenza* (cost of living bonus), but only after multiplying the amount of the *contingenza* (cost of living bonus) by the coefficient 2.3. Thus the wage adjustment to the cost of living includes the entire individual income of the worker. Also, since the initial *contingenza* (bonus) represented about half the entire earnings, and since the increases were added to the *contingenza* (bonus), the multiplication by 2.3 brought, in time, a net advantage representing a small but constant increase in real wages.

However, this use of a coefficient acting on one single figure (the bonus) which was the same for all workers, brought a marked levelling of wages, leading to a very small distinction between the wage of a labourer and that of a skilled worker and between an unqualified and a highly qualified clerical worker's wage.

With the beginning of the war in Korea, the slow improvement of the country's economic condition came to an end, and prices began to climb rapidly. The trade unions, which in the meantime had succeeded in establishing differentials between the wages for different qualifications, found themselves again faced with the necessity of making the sliding scale function. It became necessary to obtain modifications which would help to adapt the best possible machinery to the existing economic and political conditions.

It became necessary to establish a new expense account for the needs of the typical family, in which the section on food would no longer be drawn up in a "representative" way, but would be complete. This account provides for 3,000 calories a day per person (as against 2,600 calories in the previous calculation),

a quantity generally considered sufficient for an "average worker," not counting the calories in wine, which brings the daily quantity of calories up to 3,200.

Besides numerous improvements in the other sections, the section on miscellaneous expenses has been especially broadened and adjusted, as a result of the addition of new items of expenditure, such as railway fares, postal, telephone and telegraph charges, school fees*, sport, upkeep of domestic appliances and taxes. Though school fees had only appeared in the previous expense account as a rarely encountered item totalling 1,000 lire per year, (1/300th of the total amount), in the new expense account it has been increased to 10,000 lire per year, or one fiftieth of the total.

The new sliding scale calculation also makes a considerable change in the recognised wage differentials in the *contingenza* (cost of living bonus) for each percentage increase in the cost of living.

In the first period of the sliding scale system, the amount of the increase, as we said above, was absolutely equal for all workers regardless of qualifications, from manual labourer to workers with the highest qualifications, thus bringing about a levelling of wages for the various categories. This levelling has been corrected as a result of three successive trade union agreements called "revaluation" agreements (providing different increases according to qualifications). The divergencies between the different categories have thus been brought into a more correct relationship. The following are the averages in relation to the "contractual" wage of a labourer:

Category 1	office workers	239.4%
Category 2	" "	180.4%
Category 3	" "	134.3%
Category 4	" "	113.8%
Category 1	intermediate workers	175.0%
Category 2	" "	133.0%
	specialised workers	125.4%
	skilled workers	112.6%
	specialised labourers	106.6%
	unspecialised labourers	100.0%

To ensure the maintenance of these differentials, it was established that the rate of bonus or *contingenza* increase for each percentage increase in the cost of living would be in proportion to the average contractual earnings. Not only would the differentials between each category be maintained, but so also would those existing between men's and women's wages as well as between the wages of different age groups.

In addition, while previously each province established its own cost of living index (which was proper in a period when economic life was upset and when the difficulties of supplying the different markets were enormous), the present sliding scale system is now based on a single index for the whole country. The determination of prices is made by special joint committees presided over by a local government representative. Such committees are established in the 16 principal regional centres. They send their statistics each month to a National Committee on which the trade union organisations are represented. This committee is responsible for settling any disagreement which may arise between the local committees and for checking the accuracy of their findings.

The whole country has been divided into two zones following a demarcation line corresponding approximately to a diagonal drawn S.E.—N.W. In case of a rise in prices, the rates of increase of the *contingenza* are applicable only within each zone. National uniformity was, in fact, impossible since the rates of increase are based on an average price index which would have penalised the masses of people in Northern Italy. There is a 20 per cent divergence between the rate of increase in zone A (Northern Italy) and zone B (Southern Italy) corresponding to the differing average level of contractual earnings in the two zones, where the industrial labour power is, respectively, 85 and 15 per cent.

When the sliding scale was introduced, the contractual earnings of the *labourer* in zone A were 915 lire per day, one per cent of which equalled 9.15 lire.

On the other hand, the rate of increase of the *contingenza* has been fixed at 10 lire per day for each point rise in the cost of living with the above-mentioned proportional increase for grades higher than labourers.

* * *

WE do not pretend to have established perfect machinery for maintaining unchanged the purchasing power of the Italian workers in case of an increase in the cost of living. We have, however, succeeded in checking its application and can state that in general the automatic increases more or less maintain the purchasing power that wages had before the calculation of cost of living increases.

The sliding scale system as at present in force in Italy does not provide, as is the case in other countries, any method whatsoever for delaying an automatic increase in the cost of living allowance. Adjustments are made every two months, and if the national average increase in the cost of living is above 0.5%, earnings are increased by 1%.

Thus we have limited as far as possible the time lag between the adjustment of wages to the cost of living, which, in any case, is undeniably shorter than if the readjustment were made as a result of normal wage increase demands.

Today there is a widespread movement among the Italian workers, including a great number of work stoppages, for a 15% wage increase, as well as various demands relating to collective agreements, wage rates and so on, in spite of the existence of the sliding scale and in spite of the fact that last month wages rose by 1% as a result of an increase in the cost of living.

It is not the sliding scale as such which, in our opinion, ought to be criticised, but the shortcomings and restrictions on the trade union movement which so-called trade unionists have helped to impose on the American workers.

We would not accept a patched-up agreement, nor would the Italian workers. Such an event is rather rare in Italy. It is possible that the Christian-Democratic trade unions—financed by the supporters of American capitalism—would, without the CGIL, conclude an agreement with the employers, contrary to the interests of the workers. But in such cases, the workers take up the fight against the employers and against the so-called trade union organisations concluding unacceptable agreements, and they will fight until that contract is modified and found acceptable.

That, in our opinion, is the correct policy. It is not easy, but success is assured. The workers, whether Italian or American, hate exploitation. They have always, sooner or later, fought against exploitation and for an improvement in living conditions. To accord with the workers' will. it is up to everyone to create an ever more favourable environment for struggle.

Our tasks and struggle grow daily more difficult, but victory is certain.

*Only primary education is free in Italy.—Editor.

J. Stalin's Reply to Questions by a Group of American Newspaper Editors

A group of editors of American provincial newspapers submitted four questions to J. Stalin on behalf of fifty editors of these papers, to which J. Stalin gave the following answers:

Question: Is a third world war nearer today than two or three years ago?

Answer: *No, it is not.*

Question: Would a meeting of the heads of the Great Powers be useful?

Answer: *Possibly it would be useful.*

Question: Do you consider the present time opportune for the unification of Germany?

Answer: *Yes, I do.*

Question: On what basis is the peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Communism possible?

Answer: *The peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Communism is fully possible provided there is a mutual desire to co-operate, provided there is a readiness to honour the obligations assumed, and provided the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states is observed.*

APPEAL OF BUREAU OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

AGAINST BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

WE have carefully examined the documents relating to the bacteriological warfare now being waged in China and Korea.

This study has profoundly shocked and horrified us. Bacteriological warfare is not only an abominable crime which must be stopped, it is a menace to all mankind. We appeal to the conscience of all men and women and call on them to demand an end to the bacterological warfare and prohibition of the bacteriological weapon.

In the first instance we address ourselves to the men and women of the United States, since each of them is confronted with the question of honour and dignity. The fact that the war in Korea is being waged in the name of the United Nations constitutes a particularly grave circumstance; we place responsibility on those governments which approved intervention by the United Nations and which, consequently, bear moral and political responsibility for the methods of war employed.

We, on our part, have a double duty to perform: firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth known to all so that each can judge the heinous facts which have been brought to our knowledge. We have decided to publish the documents at our disposal. It is necessary that full light be thrown on these criminal acts. In order to throw light on these acts, the Chinese People's Peace Committee has proposed the setting up of an international commission which would collect all the facts. The competence and impartiality of this commission must be beyond question. For the purpose of forming this commission we address ourselves to the highest representatives of science, law and religion. We are confident that world public opinion will support the efforts of the commission.

Our second duty is to protect all peoples from bacteriological warfare. We note that only the United States—alone among the Great Powers—did not ratify the international convention of June 17, 1925, prohibiting asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons.

We urge all the peoples of the world to exercise pressure on their governments with the aim of ensuring that this convention be signed, ratified and observed by every state without exception.

Equally, we demand that vigorous action be taken to ensure that those guilty of employing this most heinous and most monstrous of weapons be brought to court and tried as war criminals.

We are confident that, in demanding protection for the innocent and punishment for the guilty, we are expressing the feelings of the overwhelming majority of people. We uphold, on their behalf, the noblest of causes—the right to life for all children and respect for the individual. Unless the peoples take action immediately to end the bacteriological war, there will be no bounds to the brutality and ferocity of the forces of destruction. Our call is addressed to mankind so that it can protect itself.

The Growing Struggle of West German Youth

By *HEINZ WERNER*

"AT this solemn hour we swear to remain faithful to the cause of peace." This was the pledge made at the 3rd World Youth Festival for Peace in Berlin last August by the representatives of 105 countries, including tens of thousands of young men and women from Western Germany.

The youth of Western Germany is completely faithful to this pledge. Its determined refusal to allow itself to be enrolled in a German army reconstituted under American auspices is a political reality of the highest importance which must be fully taken into account by the Bonn government.

The hostility of the West German youth to Adenauer's policy has been further strengthened following the note addressed by the Soviet Government on March 10, 1952, to the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France, on the question of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The achievement of the country's unity, the speedy signing of a peace treaty which meets the real national interests of the German people and guarantees peace in Europe—this is what millions of young Germans consider to be the primary condition for the improvement of their conditions.[1]

However, the leaders of Western Germany do not see things that way. Theodor Blank, who for all practical purposes is Minister of War in the Bonn government, announces that compulsory military service will soon be introduced and that the 1929 to 1934 classes will be called up. The Secretary of State, Hallstein, envisages the creation of a "United Europe" which will stretch to the Urals, and Adenauer, like Hitler, lectures on the "new order" to be established in Europe.

They care little about the sufferings which war has brought to the German people, and above all to the youth. All these men, traitors to their people, dream only of attacking the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, and they are firmly supported by such right-wing trade union leaders as Christian Fette.

Out of every 100 Germans of the 1924 class, 25 have been killed, 31 disabled, 2 permanently incapacitated for work and 5 slightly wounded. Only 37 out of every 100 Germans are fully able to work.

Adenauer and the American occupation forces are encouraging the organisation of "soldiers associations" and of all kinds of scarcely-camouflaged military organisations destined to prepare for the resurrection of the Wehrmacht, the graveyard of German youth. Fascist youth organisations are being set up, such as the Reichsjugend (German Youth), a new version of the Hitler Youth, and the Bund der Deutschen Jugend (Union of German Youth), whose aim is to make young Germans into instruments in the service of the United States.

On the other hand, democratic youth organisations are persecuted The Union of Free German Youth is banned and young fighters for peace are arrested and imprisoned.

Distress among the West German Youth

THE exploitation of the workers, and particularly the West German youth, is carried to the extreme. The youth are faced with widespread unemployment, a fact which is even admitted by the right wing trade union press. On March 7, the official organ of the right-wing trade union centre of Western Germany (DGB), the *Welt der Arbeit,* admits, in referring to official statistics, that 1,200,000 young men and women have no work and no opportunity of studying in trade schools. This figure takes into account only those unemployed youth who are registered in accordance with official regulations, and does not include those incapable of work. In West Berlin one out of every four young persons is unemployed.

The basic cause of this mass unemployment is the restriction on peaceful industry. When their schooling is finished, young people remain without work or apprenticeship opportunities.

[1] See No. 5/52 of **W.T.U.M., Powerful Working Class Opposition to Remilitarisation in West Germany.**

It is a common sight to see groups of young vagabonds on the roads, the exact number of whom it is difficult to establish. The authorities estimate that they number about 250,000.

Western Germany lacks about five million homes, and the Adenauer government, fully occupied in pushing ahead with rearmament, is doing its best to curtail the building of homes. In the province of Rhine-Westphalia alone, more than 1,400,000 people, many of whom are young people, are crowded into basements and hovels. Young miners in the Ruhr are often herded into primitive huts in which one dormitory sometimes contains hundreds of beds.

If the Bonn government were to use its "defence contribution" of 12,000 million marks a year for the building of houses, it would be possible, according to the national press, to build between 800,000 and 1,250,000 apartments in 1952. That would be enough to house all the young Germans who are at present homeless. But the Adenauer government prefers to build new barracks for the youth.

Young people are forced to work under frightful conditions, and American "rationalisation" methods which have been introduced into the armament industries are undermining their health.

Employers are imposing speed up and at the same time are lengthening the working day for young workers, often making them work night shifts and Sundays, contrary to existing agreements.

The *Welt der Arbeit,* already quoted, shows that in the province of Hesse 15% of young workers work a 48-hour week or less, 37% work 54 hours a week, over 20% work from 55 to 60 hours, 10% from 61 to 66 hours, 6% from 62 to 72 hours, 5% from 73 to 90 hours and 2.5% more than 90 hours. The same paper notes that in the province of Wurtemberg-Baden, there are apprentices who sometimes work up to 95 hours a week.

Young workers generally receive a wage well below that paid to adult workers, the difference often being as much as forty or fifty percent.

These terrible living conditions, to which must be added the danger of pornographic literature and American gangster films, have naturally brought about a considerable increase in juvenile delinquency. According to the Protestant Sunday paper *Das Evangelische Sonntagsblatt,* the growth of juvenile delinquency between 1933 and 1951 amounted to 87 per cent. Nearly 50,000 young people of 18 years of age are at present in correctional institutions.

German Youth Fights for Peace and Democracy

THE Bonn Government wants to stifle by repressive measures any movement for peace and democracy. Many young persons have already been victims of the police. Nevertheless, the West German youth is waging a stern struggle for its rights, and against the treacherous policy of Adenauer and his clique.

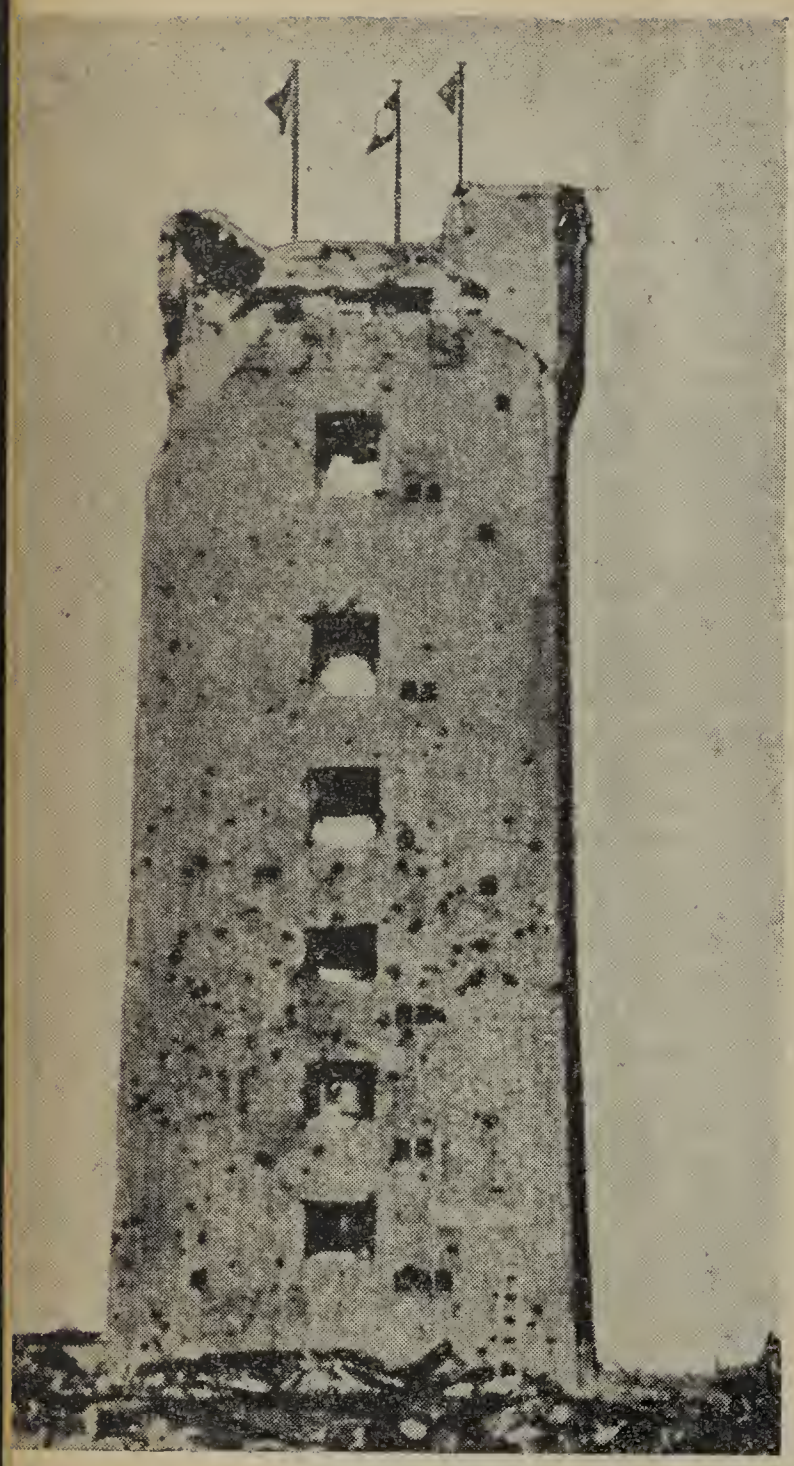
We can recall the part taken by the youth in organising the referendum against the remilitarisation of Germany in 1951 and their courageous exploits in sealing up the mine-chambers which the Western occupation forces were placing in the bridges under the roads. We should also recall the dramatic actions on the island of Heligoland, which had been transformed by the British into an experimental ground for bombers. In protest, four groups of young patriots succeeded in landing on the island, access to which was forbidden, and hoisted the German flag.

Young miners and metalworkers formed Committees of Struggle and called upon the West German youth to oppose remilitarisation. An appeal issued by the Committee of Young Metalworkers and Apprentices on September 22, 1951, says: "*Demand that your trade union use every means of preventing the remilitarisation of Germany and thus avoid a third world war. Demand also that all the efforts of the trade unions be directed to the fight for wages and for better living standards.*"

Under the pressure of young trade unionists, the Youth Committee attached to the central leadership of the D.G.B. has been forced to oppose the remilitarisation of Germany and the formation of Soldiers' Associations.

In November, 1951, the people of Osnabrück saw the blue flag of the Free German Youth floating on the 140-feet-high chimney stack of the town's steelworks. In this way the youth proclaimed that their organisation, though banned, was continuing its activity and its struggle.

Hundreds of thousands of young vagabonds wander the roads of Western Germany, victims of war and even more of the criminal neglect of the Adenauer government.



Young patriots hoisted the flags of Germany, of Heligoland and of the World Peace Movement over a destroyed anti-aircraft tower on the Island of Heligoland.

Towards the end of 1951 and the beginning of 1952, by which time the Bonn leaders had exposed themselves to all as warmongers, the German youth intensified its activity for peace. Ever wider sections of the youth entered into the struggle. The essential fact to be noted is that in most cases the youth were able to achieve unity of action among their organisations —Free German Youth, Socialists, Catholics, sports associations, etc.

There is a considerable growth in the number of committees and action groups against conscription, based on localities, factories and educational institutions, bringing together youth representatives of the most varied organisations.

Young workers in thousands of enterprises are acting jointly with adult workers, adopting unanimous and vigorous protests against the war plans of the Bonn government.

There have been so many meetings and conferences against remilitarisation recently that it is impossible to enumerate them all.

Thus, in Brunswick the former president of the "Falcons," a Socialist youth organisation, spoke at a meeting of 660 young people of the 1930 to 1933 classes and called upon them to tear up their call-up papers when they received them. On the evening of the same day, the youth of Brunswick demonstrated in the centre of the town with the slogans: "The 1932 class won't march," and "All Germans at the same table."

Early in January, an important conference of Bavarian youth organisations sent an appeal to all the young people of Western Germany calling upon them to take every kind of action against the threat of conscription. Six hundred delegates representing 1,300,000 members of youth organisations in the province of North Rhine-Westphalia unanimously rejected remilitarisation and military service.

On March 2, the Congress of Trade Union Youth of the Saar unanimously passed a resolution declaring: "The youth of the United Trade Union rejects all war, and in principle is opposed to the conscription of youth. We fight for peace, for freedom, for mutual understanding between the peoples, against war and any preparation for war."

On the same day, the Darmstadt action group held a huge meeting for the youth of the whole of Western Germany, against remilitarisation. Nearly 1,200 representatives of different youth and trade union organisations, as well as French youth delegates, took part in this important meeting, which the police tried unsuccessfully to ban.

The main report was presented by Pastor Mochalski, who emphasised that the remilitarisation of Western Germany remains the greatest obstacle to the unification of Germany. Denouncing the Bonn government's manoeuvres aimed at dividing Germany, the pastor appealed to West German youth to seek together with the youth of the German Democratic Republic the way towards the unification of the country.

An action committee was set up to unify the movement of West German youth against remilitarisation. An appeal was adopted calling to the West German youth to unite in a resolute struggle against conscription.

Many regional Social-Democratic organisations have gone on record against remilitarisation, and many trade union youth committees have done the same. The young metalworkers of Frankfurt-on-Main, for example, have appealed to their comrades of the 1929 to 1934 classes to refuse to present themselves to the military registration office and to hold out against any threat. A similar stand has been taken in the name of 60,000 young trade unionists by the secretary of the trade union youth in Kassel.

Large youth demonstrations against military service have taken place in Ambach, Gelsenkirchen, Recklinghausen, Nuremburg, Aachen, Gladbach, Wanne-Eikel, Western Berlin, and in many other West German towns. Young demonstrators have declared that they will tear up their call-up papers and have demanded "A law for general elections throughout Germany instead of the conscription law."

The betrayal of such rightwing leaders of the D.G.B. as Fette and Rosenberg, who have expressly approved remilitarisation, has caused deep indignation among young trade unionists. They are demanding a radical change of policy from the trade union leaders, and the expulsion of men like Fette.

Thus, on February 17, 1952, 1,800 West Berlin workers took part in a meeting called by the leaders of the D.G.B. Scharnowski, President of the West Berlin D.G.B., and Rosenberg, a member of the central leadership, after having laid down the law in an em-

phatic manner, thought that they would close the meeting. The youth, however, remained in their places to listen to one of their own speakers who called upon Scharnowski and Rosenberg to give precise replies to the questions which are worrying the youth. "We demand that the trade unions take serious measures against remilitarisation. We want work, peace and the unity of our country. We don't want a law on military service; we want to take part in reconstruction. Stand up, those who agree with me," said the youth speaker. And the entire audience of young men and women rose and shouted "Work! Peace! Unity!" The disconcerted leaders of the D.G.B. hastened to call in the police, who dispersed the youth with their clubs. A large part of the audience of 1,800, however, regrouped and demonstrated in the streets of Western Berlin.

The young workers of Western Germany are playing an active role in the token strikes organised by the adult workers in protest against remilitarisation and the inclusion of Western Germany in the Atlantic Bloc. Sometimes, as in the cases of the "Bongartz" agricultural machinery plant in Munich and the Hitzler-Werft shipbuilding yard in Hamburg, the initiative in these token strikes has been taken by the youth themselves.

A youth demonstration against remilitarisation in Stuttgart. The banners carry the slogans: "27 million dead appeal to you; Don't take up arms again!" and "Peace is life for us!"

The youth are aware of the strength which they gain from united action with the adult workers, and the latter support the struggles of the youth.

The Youth Defend Their Rights

THE democratic youth of Western Germany do not forget that the struggle for peace is directly linked to the struggle for economic demands. They also warmly greeted the proposed organisation in 1952 of an International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth and are already preparing to take part in this Conference. With their demands for the safeguarding of peace, West German youth are struggling for equal wages with adults for the same work, against speed-up, for wage increases, the right to a trade and apprenticeship, housing, etc.

A West Berlin youth conference adopted a programme of action and elected a permanent committee to defend youth rights, including representatives of different political viewpoints.

The youth are fighting resolutely with the whole population of Western Germany for the reunification of the country and for general elections throughout Germany. They are demanding the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty, the possibility of which has been shown by the Soviet note. They are aware of the importance of the Soviet proposal allowing the reunification of Germany.

This is shown by resolutions demanding immediate Four-Power talks on the conclusion of a peace treaty, for the unification of the

West Berlin police beat up members of the Free German Youth going to a demonstration commemorating the victims of Nazism.

country, against remilitarisation and the "general treaty" which have been adopted by representatives of 14 Hamburg youth organisations, by a thousand delegates of the Socialist youth organisation meeting in Kassel, by representatives of different youth organisations of the provinces of Hesse and the Rhine Palatinate, and by the representatives of many other youth organisations.

The youth of Western Germany is receiving keen and wholehearted support from the youth of the German Democratic Republic.

At the end of May, the fourth meeting of the Free German Youth will be held in Leipzig, in the German Democratic Republic. The young generation of Germany will demonstrate together once more at this sport and cultural youth festival its unshakeable will for peace, for unity and friendship with the youth of the whole world.

In order to support by all means the growing struggle of the German people, the World Federation of Trade Unions invites:

The National Trade Union Centres,
The workers of all countries, regardless of their trade union, political or religious beliefs,
The Trade Unions Internationals,

1. **To publicise widely among the mass of the workers the courageous battles of the German workers,**
2. **To call upon all the workers, all trade unions and all trade union bodies at all levels:**
   - **to protest against the measures taken, or in preparation, to transform Germany into a war base in Europe; to send from the factories, mines, workshops and offices fraternal messages of solidarity with the German workers;**
   - **to organise exchanges of workers' delegations from the countries bordering on Germany with the workers of Western Germany;**
   - **to lend all possible support to the activities of the European Workers' Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany.**

Let the German workers know that they can be sure of the solidarity of the workers of the world in the common fight for a better life and for peace.

The Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Vienna, 25th March, 1952.

Prices Fall in the U.S.S.R. and Rise in Capitalist Countries. Why ?

FALLING ← HERE THE COST OF LIVING IS ... → RISING

ON March 31, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party announced the following price reductions:

— 10% for milk, sugar, jams, and tinned fruit;
— 12% for white and black bread and for flour;
— 15% for best quality bread, first quality flour, spaghetti, etc., wheat, eggs, meat, cold cooked meats, poultry, butter, margarine, ice cream, coffee, and cocoa;
— 20% for rice, yeast, bacon, tinned meat, cheese, tea, oil, fresh and dried fruits, tinned vegetables;
— 30% for salt, peanut oil and mayonnaise.

The prices in canteens and restaurants have been reduced in proportion.

The price of hotel rooms was reduced by 15%.

The price of books has been reduced by 18%.

ON March 11, the British Government abolished in its budget proposals a large number of subsidies on basic necessities, which will bring a probable rise in prices of sixpence per pound for butter, cheese and bacon; of eightpence for tea, threepence for fats, and a penny for one pound of sugar, and a penny each on eggs.

On March 17 new price increases were announced in Sweden, affecting particularly: butter (6.2%), Meat (from 6 to 9.3%), sugar (9%), cheese (9.3%), margarine (11.1%).

In March there were also price increases in Israel of 40% on milk, 30 to 60% on meat, 93% on tea, etc.

In the month of March in France there were increases in the price of meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, coffee, chocolate, margarine, bicycles, etc.

RISES ← HERE THE STANDARD OF LIVING CONTINUALLY ... → FALLS

THE recent price reductions in the Soviet Union are the fifth since 1947.

Price reductions took place in December 1947, March 1949, March 1950, and March 1951.

They have provided the population with an annual saving of more than 294,000 million roubles, or more than 72,000 million dollars.

This sum can be compared with the military expenditure imposed on the American people, which, according to the budget submitted by Truman for the 1952-53 fiscal year, amounts to more than 65,000 million dollars.

THE recent increases in prices in Great Britain, Sweden, Israel and France are merely examples of a situation which exists in all the capitalist countries and which lead to a continuous lowering of the workers' living standards.

Official indices of the cost of living which, however, only admit part of the price increases have risen between 1948 and December 1951 in the following proportions, taking the 1948 average as 100:

Great Britain ...	120	Canada ...	124	Mexico ...	136
Finland	136	Greece ...	144	Peru	146
Japan	158	Chile ...	194	Austria ...	203

AN ELOQUENT COMPARISON

Products	Reduction 1.3.49 %	Reduction 1.3.50 %	Reduction 1.3.51 %	Reduction 1.4.52 %	Total reduction In U.S.S.R. from 1948-52 %	Total increase In France from 1948-52 %
Bread	10	25.9	15	12	—50.3	+108
Spaghetti, etc.	10	25	15	15	—51.3	+145
Meat	10	28	15	15	—53.3	+ 80
Fish	10	25	10	—	—39.5	+210
Butter	10	30	15	15	—54.5	+ 95
Milk	—	10	10	10	—27.4	+ 70
Cheese	20	20	10	20	—54	+106
Eggs	—	15	10	15	—35	+ 25
Margarine	—	35	10	15	—50.3	+170
Oil	—	10	—	20	—28	+204
Rice	—	12	15	20	—40	+246
Sugar	—	12	—	10	—21	+100
Salt	30	50	10	30	—78	+200
Coffee	—	18	10	15	—37.5	+435
Cocoa	—	16.7	10	15	—36.3	+180

WHY IS THIS ?

IT is because war economy is causing prices to rise in the capitalist countries. The reasons? Taxes are becoming increasingly heavier in order to supply war budgets. Inflation is developing and there are frequent devaluations. Profits on capital are tremendous. The opposite is true in the U.S.S.R. In the U.S.S.R. the whole economy is oriented towards peace. The new reduction is a new and striking proof of it for, as J. V. Stalin indicated to a "Pravda" correspondent in February, 1951: **"It is understandable that if the U.S.S.R. is not reducing but developing civilian industry, is not reducing but developing the construction of mighty electrical power plants and of irrigation systems, that if the U.S.S.R. continues to pursue the policy of reducing prices ,it cannot at the same time develop war industry and build up its armed forces without running the risk of bankruptcy itself."**

AMERICAN POL

Peace Promises...

Back in 1945 *when Japan surrendered and advocating democracy was still fashionable in American circles, the ordinary people of the world were told that Japanese militarism was to be done away with for all time; those who had assisted the regime to any extent were to be removed from public life for ever; the giant monopolies which largely made pre-surrender Japan what it was were to be permanently broken up and the long down-trodden people were to be allowed to form trade unions and other organisations; thought control was to be a thing of the past. Briefly, the Japanese were to be given a break—the future was theirs.*

But this is 1952. *The infamous U.S.-Japanese 'Peace' Treaty is due to come into force. A Japanese army, navy and air force have become essential—to the American imperialists' aggressive plans. The army, allegedly for defence only, the core of which if already in existence, is to be* 80,000 *more than the Japanese war lords found necessary for their invasion of Manchuria in* 1931.

The new militarism entails all the evils of the old. How complete is the policy changeover in seven short years is illustrated in the following quotations taken from various public and easily verifiable sources.

MILITARISM IS FORMALLY RENOUNCED . . .

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes.

"In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognised."—Japanese Constitution, Article 9.

"The authority of the militarists and the influence of militarism will be totally eliminated from her political, economic and social life."

—U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, 29.8.45.

. . . UNTIL AMERICAN REQUIREMENTS DICTATE OTHERWISE

"MacArthur recommended to Yoshida in the middle of September that the Ninth Article (of the Japanese Constitution) should be revised or totally annulled. More recently, Deputy Chief of MacArthur's General Staff, General Fox, openly told a group of American officers that the background to MacArthur's demand is the desire of the United States Armed Forces' commanders to form the former Japanese soldiers into strong infantry, paratroop and marine units to be incorporated into the United States Far East Armed Forces.—*Telepress,* 24.10.1950.

"The leading independent daily newspaper *Asahi* said today that Japan should have more than three hundred thousand men under arms by the end of 1953. *Asahi* claimed to have learned details of Government plans for the national police reserve, commonly referred to as the nucleus of a new Japanese army, and said Mr. Yoshida had reached this decision after consultation with American officials on the 1952 budget. The present strength of the national police reserve is 75,000. It is armed with rifles, machine guns, bazookas, and armoured cars, is organised in army-style battalions, and carries out field manœuvres. Another press report quotes a Government source as saying that the Japanese 'Navy'—the Maritime Safety Board—will soon recruit five thousand more men to man approximately fifty small naval vessels which the Government hopes to lease from the United States. The Maritime Safety Board has a present strength of sixteen thousand."

—*Reuter,* 20.1.1952.

...CY IN JAPAN

... Warlike Acts

"America is managing to send one million Japanese under the cloak of 'emigration' to Alaska for war preparations. This follows the forming into American forces and training of 85,000 Japanese soldiers and officers in America's Arctic bases of aggression, Alaska and Aleutian Islands."—*HSINHUA,* 29.9.1951.

"Two United States officers who recently arrived in Saigon have revealed that a group of Japanese experts on bacteriological warfare have left Tokyo for Korea to carry out experiments on Korean and Chinese prisoners of war."

—*HSINHUA,* 8.12.1951.

DISARMAMENT . . .

"Japan will be completely disarmed and demilitarised."

—U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan.

. . . SHALL NOT INTERFERE WITH U.S. NEEDS

"Wounded American soldiers arriving back in the United States have revealed that Japanese soldiers, wearing American uniforms, started to arrive in Korea during the first weeks of December, 1951.

"They had all received special training in American Army camps . . ."

—*HSINHUA,* 2.1.1952.

"The Japanese Government yesterday outlined a £200 million war budget. The budget includes £60 million for the revived Japanese Imperial Army (now called the Police Reserve Corps) and the Japanese Imperial Navy (now called the Maritime Safety Bureau)."—*Daily Worker, London,* 20.12.1951.

PEACEFUL INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT SHALL BE MAINTAINED . . .

"Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would permit her to rearm for war."—Potsdam Proclamation, July 26, 1945.

. . . PARTICULARLY BOMBS, TANKS AND CRUISERS

"A Japanese company has been given a contract to make a new terror bomb to be used against civilians by U.S. forces in Korea. It is a new type of napalm (jellied petrol) which was developed in Japan."

—*People's Voice, New Zealand,* 14.3.1951.

"An order for three cruisers and five torpedo boats, which is just being executed in the dockyards of the Japanese shipping concern *Mitsubishi* in the ports of Nagasaki and Sasebo, is the first war order given by American command . . . to Japanese shipbuilders."—*Telepress,* 24.5.1950.

"Mr. John Foster Dulles, the United States special envoy who drafted the Japanese Peace Treaty, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today that there was no ban in the treaty on Japanese atomic bomb production."

—British United Press, 22.1.1952.

THE PEACETIME REQUIREMENTS OF THE POPULATION . . .

"The Japanese people shall be afforded opportunity to develop for themselves an economy which will permit the peacetime requirements of the population to be met."—U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan.

. . . SHALL BE OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE

"During September and October, the Japanese Government cut the power supply to non-military industry to the bone."—*HSINHUA,* 25.11.1951.

THE BIG MONOPOLIES . . .

"It shall be the policy of the Supreme Commander: To favor a program for the dissolution of the large industrial and banking combinations which have exercised control of a great part of Japan's trade and industry."

—U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan.

. . . SHALL BE LEFT INTACT

"General MacArthur's headquarters announced today that the Deconcentration Review Board had completed its recommendations on the breaking up of excessive concentrations of economic power in Japan. . . . What the board has done has been merely to divide up 11 companies out of 325 companies designated for examination. Of the 11 companies, one is a dairy concern and another a brewing company. Another eight companies were ordered to effect partial reorganisation."

—*Manchester Guardian,* 4.8.1949.

"The Mitsubishi Trading Company, one of Japan's biggest war-time trading enterprises, broken up by the occupation authorities, was re-formed today under a new name. The new company, the Fuji Trading Company, is composed of the four companies into which Mitsubishi was dissolved."—*Times,* 19.3.1952.

IN ORDER TO ENSURE NO INTERFERENCE WITH THIS POLICY, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION . . .

"Freedom of assembly and association, as well as speech, press and all other forms of expression are guaranteed.

"No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated."—Japanese Constitution, Article 21.

"The Japanese people shall be encouraged to develop a desire for individual liberties and respect of fundamental human rights, particularly the freedom of religion, assembly, speech, and the press.

—U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan.

. . . SHALL NOT BE TOLERATED

"The Japanese Attorney-General's office stated that 121 papers have been ordered to suspend publication under General MacArthur's instructions. The office announced that 1,083 'affiliates and substitutes' of the Japanese Communist Party newspaper *Akahata* had been suppressed to date."—*Reuter,* 6.8.1950.

"Tokyo police yesterday arrested 500 students gathered for a banned rally of the League of Korean Students in Japan."—*Daily Worker, London,* 8.5.1951.

. . . NEITHER SHALL THERE BE FREE ELECTIONS

"The Japanese government arrested 749 people on General MacArthur's instructions during the election campaign for the Japanese Upper Chamber. The campaign was marked by the widespread use of coercion by government forces including heavily armed police. All meetings and demonstrations in Tokyo were forbidden. . . ."—*Telepress,* 5.6.1950.

ANY DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES . . .

"They shall also be encouraged to form democratic and representative organisations."—U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan.

"The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of

speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established."—Potsdam Proclamation, July 26, 1945.

. . . SHALL GIVE WAY TO THE TOTALITARIAN NEEDS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

". . . The Prime Minister declared that his Government was tabling a Bill —called the 'Internal Security Bill'—which will outlaw the Japanese Communist Party and all opponents of the present regime."—*Daily Worker, London,* 26.1.1952.

"Since the purge of Communists, Communist sympathisers, and others from Japanese newspapers and broadcasting stations began on July 28, a total of 645 persons have been dismissed. General MacArthur's headquarters has complimented Japanese publishers on their 'timely and courageous action,' but the publishers themselves state that heavy pressure was brought to bear on them and the action they took was taken under compulsion. . . ."—*Times,* 9.8.1950.

AND MILITANT TRADE UNIONISM . . .

"*Encouragement shall be given and favor shown to the development of organizations in labor, industry and agriculture, organised on a democratic basis.*"
—U.S. Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan.

"*The right of workers to organise and to bargain and act collectively is guaranteed.*"—Japanese Constitution, Article 28.

. . . SHALL BE HINDERED FOR FEAR THAT THE WORKERS' HOSTILITY IMPEDE THE PLANS OF THE OCCUPATION

"On August 30, 1950, the All-Japanese Liaison Council of Trade Unions was dissolved by government decree and its property was confiscated.

"The Convention of the National Conference of the All-Japan Liaison Council of Trade Unions for Nationwide Unity . . . was banned in the name of the order of the Occupation forces."—*Statement of the Management Committee on the Suspension of the Conference,* 3.7.1950.

FULL EMPLOYMENT . . .

"*All people shall have the right and the obligation to work.*"
—Japanese Constitution, Article 27.

. . . MUST BE SACRIFICED IN ORDER THAT THESE THINGS SHALL BE

"An article in the weekly *World Culture* reveals that nearly half the working people of Japan are unemployed or under-employed. Of the 37 million workers and peasants in Japan, 18 million are on short-time or entirely jobless."
—*HSINHUA,* 7.12.1951.

The reason for this about face, the people are told, is that the 'West' which, on suitable occasions can include the Japanese (just as Greece and Turkey are now Atlantic powers), must defend itself against the danger of attack. However, the Japanese people prefer a neutral line, and in many cases their hostility goes further.

All the public opinion polls carried out by the Japanese press on the subject of rearmament show at least fifty per cent. of the participants against. A recent Tokyo street radio forum discovered only three people out of some 600 interviewed in favour of the U.S.-Japanese Administration Agreement governing the stationing of U.S. Forces in Japan.

The real reason for this change round is, of course, as we have often said before, the imperialists' war policy. They are determined to fight the U.S.S.R. and China and they need Japan's manpower and industrial potential. They know that this is against the interests of the Japanese people and are afraid of what they might do about it were they not kept in shackles.

But even the American occupation troops find the technical difficulties of keeping some 83 million people in chains a bit of a poser.

The number of anti-occupation, anti-government demonstrations and incidents is on the increase. This year alone there have been many big protest actions. On March 1 a hundred thousand people demonstrated in Tokyo against Bills cutting down on trade union and peace activity. This followed a late January meeting between Diet-members and trade union, peace movement and civil leaders on measures to be taken against this legislation. Numerous token strikes were held throughout Japan in January and February. On March 20, 5,000 trade union delegates met in Kyoto and protested against the 'peace' treaty and the 'security' pact.

Thus in Japan today the people's refusal to be shackled as elswhere is more determined than ever.

M.W.

After the Council of

Democratic Lawyers

We Accuse

By JEAN WETZLER

ON April 16 the Inquiry Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers presented two reports of prime importance to the Council of the Association, meeting in Vienna. One of these reports was " On U.S. Crimes in Korea " and the other " On the use of bacteriological weapons on Chinese territory by the armed forces of the United States "— reports which reveal to all who have eyes to see, a brain to think and a heart to feel, the extent of American crimes in Korea.

At its September 1951 Congress, the Association had established a Commission to make an inquiry into violations of international law committed by the American forces. This Commission, made up of lawyers from eight countries, of widely different political views, was presided over by Heinrich Brandweiner, professor of canonical law and international law at Graz University, Austria.

During its journey across Siberia, the Commission learned of the first bacteriological attacks. Although the field of its inquiry was immediately widened, its fundamental character remained unchanged. The inquiry into bacteriological warfare which the Commission then deemed it necessary to make came within the general task which had been assigned to it by the Association. *The crime of bacteriological warfare does not differ in substance from the other atrocities committed by the armed forces of the United States in Korea. On the contrary, they form a common whole ; it is their corollary and their extension.* Thus bacteriological warfare is not separated in the report on Korea from other war crimes, but forms a chapter among the others: chemical warfare (chapter III), massacres, murders and other atrocities (chapter IV), air attacks on civilians (chapter V), other war crimes (chapter VI). This is an array of facts which support each other, each one confirming with inside evidence and implacable logic the authenticity of the others.

Read this passage from chapter IV, first part, subdivision, Province of Hwanghai, paragraph, town of Sinchon:

On 18th October, 1950 in the city of Sinchon behind the building of the People's Committee, a mass murder of about 900 men and women including about 300 children was committed. Some of the women were pregnant.

The murder was committed by order of the commander of the American occupying forces in the city— Harrison (described by one witness as Halison). Harrison was present when his order was fulfilled and took photographs of the execution.

The murder was committed as follows. All the people were pushed into an open deep grave. Harrison ordered them to take off their clothes, then ordered fuel-oil to be thrown over the victims who were set on fire. Those who tried to get out of the grave were shot.

A witness declared: "The cries and shrieks of these people were heartbreaking. Those who were not burnt to death were buried alive. Harrison came the next day and took photos."

There is page after page of similar reports, there is page after page of dates, names of places and of people, and there is page after page of figures. Everthing is divided and sub-divided with the scientific exactitude of lawyers. Collective massacres and individual murders, men and women, old people and babes-in-arms,

machine-gunned, burned alive, disembowelled, impaled, mutilated limb by limb, closed up in cellars or caves which were blown up with dynamite, buried alive, drowned, suffocated by water slowly poured into their nostrils—all the tortures used by the Nazis and worse.

We attended the poignant meeting of April 16 and heard the comments of the various members of the Commission on their collective report. Relating briefly the terrible picture of atrocities, Mr. Jack Gaster, a London lawyer, and a member of the Commission, exclaimed: "Having gone so far, why should they stop?" A fundamental question indeed! Why should those who committed the hundreds of crimes which are enumerated, classified and duly corroborated in chapters II and VI of the report hesitate to spread plague and cholera ? The report only relates the facts of bacteriological warfare which the Commission has itself been able to verify according to the strict rules of legal investigation. It confirms what the world has been told for weeks by the honest press, the press whose role is not to whitewash the crime.

American planes pass over, flying at low altitudes. They do not bomb or machine-gun. After they have passed, open and empty containers are found. There are no leaflets, which might have been in the containers, but insects are crawling about nearby: flies which are unable to fly because of the low temperature, fleas, bugs, spiders. Chicken feathers are also found. Where have the insects come from? Where have the feathers come from? Winter is not the season for insects and, moreover, they are types of insects unknown in Korea. Several days after the passage of the American planes, an epidemic of plague and cholera breaks out, leaving many victims. The insects and the feathers are examined. They are carriers of infectious diseases: vibrio cholerae, pasteurella pestis, eberthella typhosa, bacillus paratyphi A and B, rickettsia prowazeki and shigella dysenteriae. The facts form a logical chain. Turn and twist them as you will, you will fall into absurdity unless you accept the only logical explanation—the American invader, going a step further in the way of atrocities, has spread the insects and feathers carrying germs.

* * *

THE specialists of the Nazi propaganda corps were aware of the fact that: "The more atrocious the crime, the less it is believed."

Hitler's barbarism had widely exploited this psychological phenomenon. The Nazis perpetrated their crimes, knowing that the very horror of these crimes would give them the benefit of the doubt.

Do you recall the early months of 1933 when the Gestapo and the S.S., still only feeling their way, began their training in savagery and sadism ? A "Brown Book" published photos of men and women horribly tortured. The democratic press gave the first news on the concentration camps. But tens of millions of decent people, because they were decent people, hesitated to believe that all this could be true. The tortures of the Middle Ages had been re-introduced ? Nonsense!

Do you remember the burning of the Reichstag ? At the Leipzig trial Dimitrov told the world: "Goering is the incendiary!" A Minister of the Reich an incendiary ? Surely too fantastic to be credible. However . . .

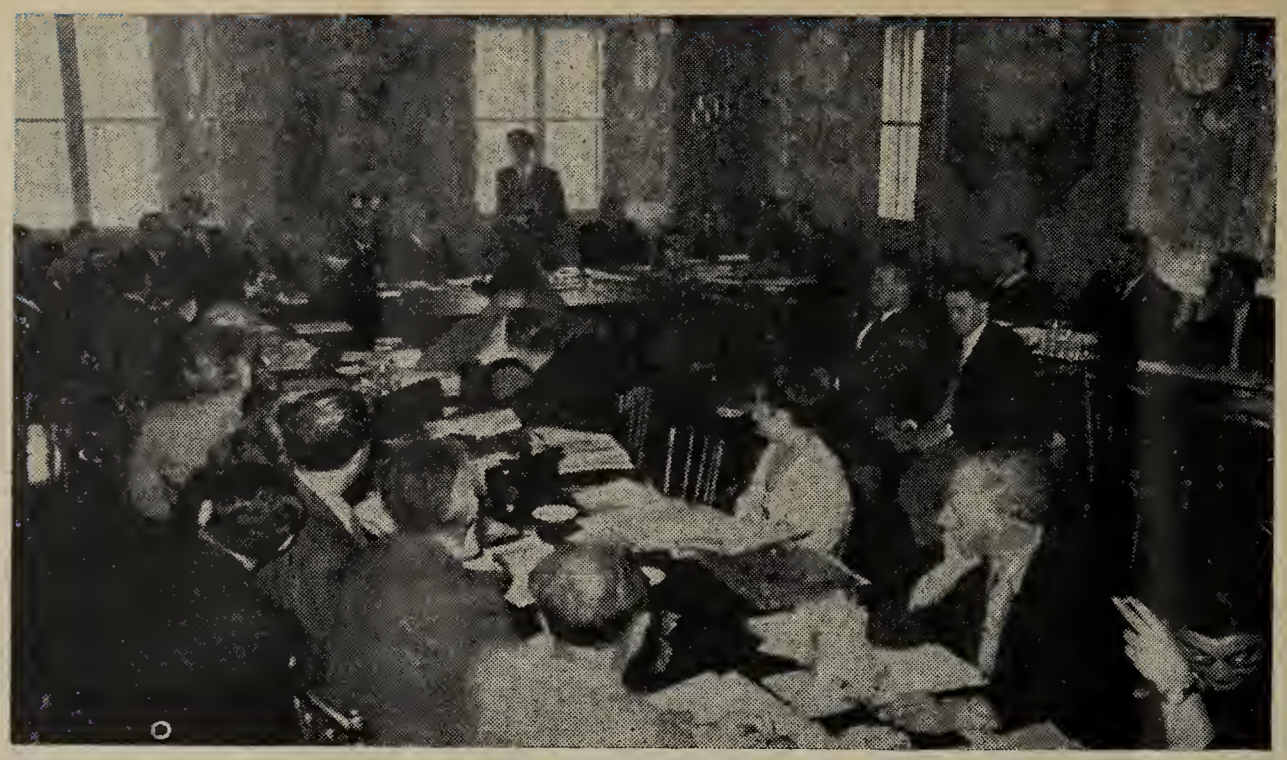
However, it was true. The time came when there were no longer any doubts that Goering was an incendiary ; when there were no doubts about the reality of the concentration camps ; when the tortures were no longer completely denied. But what did it matter to the Nazis that truth was breaking through. They continually extended their terror to even more inconceivable limits, assuring themselves time after time the benefit of the doubt.

The acceptance of facts by people always lags behind the facts themselves. No one any longer disputed the reality of the concentration camps, but many still refused to believe in the gas chambers and the crematoria.

Remember the return of the survivors of Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Mauthausen! Remember the horror with which you saw the first photographic documents and read the first eye-witness reports. Ask yourself the question, whether or not, a year or even a month before, perhaps even the day before, you had been prone to take all that as the product of a delirious imagination. Remember the return of the survivors of Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Mauthausen!

By hesitating to believe in the crime, tens of millions of decent people had, during the twelve years of Hitlerism, covered up the criminals.

Heinrich Brandweiner, professor of canonical law and of international law at Graz University (Austria) and President of the Commission of Inquiry.



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A view of the session of the Council of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Professor Brandweiner presents his report. On his right: D. N. Pritt, Q.C. (Great Britain), President of the Association.

★

THE lesson of this hesitant awakening of understanding has not been lost on the imperialists of the U.S.A. They are carrying on a barbarous war of extermination in Korea, assuring themselves also, by the very horror of their deeds, of the benefit of the doubt. To the use of explosives they have added the use of napalm, to the use of napalm the use of microbe bombs. Plague, cholera, encephalitis and other epidemic diseases spread by infected insects—that is the American perfection of Nazi methods of extermination.

Like the Nazis, the American rulers anticipate hesitation in public opinion, and create it by means of their own propaganda corps. To commit a crime too terrible to be believed was the essence of the Nazi method. Shall the lords of Wall Street now succeed in this method ? Once again, to refuse to believe the crime is to cover up the criminal and to arm him for the commission of even more terrible crimes.

The Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers has carried out its inquiry according to the rigorous principles of the examining magistrates. The dossier which the Commission has compiled equals the horror of the Nuremberg dossier. All decent men and women must demand the punishment of the criminals.

It is not only a question of ending the horrors in Korea and of re-establishing peace there, but also of safeguarding peace throughout the whole world.

● *A letter from the WFTU to National Centres and to the Trade Departments*

Unity and Action Against Bacteriological Warfare

Dear Brothers,

As you have already been informed, American armed forces operating under the flag of the United Nations dared, on January 28th, 1952, to undertake bacteriological warfare at the front and behind the lines in Korea.

On February 29th they extended the sphere of their abominable crime to Chinese territory, spreading large quantities of insects carrying germs of the plague, cholera, typhus and other frightful contagious diseases on Fushim, Sinmin, Anting, Kwantien, Lin-Kiang.

The details which have subsequently arrived prove that the U.S. leaders are perfecting their cruel crime by dropping infected foodstuffs destined for the populations and releasing germ-carrying birds for the destruction of crops.

The Hitlerite monsters thought up in their camps cruel tortures of slow death, gas chambers and crematoria, but they never dared to resort to bacteriological warfare. They are to-day being surpassed in their cold-blooded cruelty by the governmental and military headquarters of the American millionaires.

Never in the history of humanity has such a base crime been perpetrated against the individual.

Bacteriological weapons, in fact, are classed at the head of the list of the most terrible means of mass exterminations of populations. They are uncontrollable in their terrible epidemic consequences, which know no frontiers and which strike at entire populations, first of all at children, old people and women.

Everyone knows that the safety of the whole of humanity is threatened by the bacteriological crime which is at present striking at the invincible martyr populations of Korea and China.

This act of unspeakable barbarity violates all international conventions. It proves that the American war criminals know that their unjust cause is lost in Korea, that they do not want an armistice, but, on the contrary, that they wish by all the most atrocious means to extend their war to China, thus threatening still more seriously world peace and the life of humanity.

On February 22nd, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Korean People's Republic protested to the United Nations against this inconceivable crime.

On February 25th, the President of the Peace Council of the Chinese People's Republic, Kuo Mo-jo, sent a message to the President of the World Council of Peace, Joliot-Curie, asking him to awaken world opinion against the use of bacteriological weapons.

On February 28th, the All-China Federation of Labour sent a telegram to the World Federation of Trade Unions, in which it is particularly suggested that:

> *" Besides the vigorous protest made to the American Government, we hope that the W.F.T.U. Secretariat will issue an appeal to the world working class with a view to taking effective measures against the inhuman crime of the American imperialists."*

On February 29th, the W.F.T.U. sent a vigorous protest to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Chairman of the Security Council. This protest was made public the following day, to arouse workers throughout the world.

On March 8th, in the name of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chou En-lai, officially protested against the use of bacteriological weapons in China.

On April 1st, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace annealed to all men and women to take firm action to put an end to bacteriological aggression and to guarantee humanity against such methods of extermination.

* * *

Faced with the condemnation of all men worthy of the name, of all countries, all opinions and all races, it is understandable that the Washington Government is defending itself by denying the unworthy deeds of which it is guilty in Korea and China.

Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that in his denials the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Acheson, is careful not to condemn bacteriological warfare, as was demanded

by the Warsaw World Peace Congress of every civilised man, woman and government.

This attitude confirms the fact that the American leaders have remained outside international law in order better to prepare bacteriological weapons and to have recourse to them.

The American press and the political and military leaders of the U.S.A. have announced many times that the U.S.A. has for several years been spending millions of dollars and has appointed hundreds of "scientists" to the development of the breeding of bacilli of death and to the perfection of methods used to spread these microbes.

In 1925 the United States and Japan refused to sign the Geneva international protocol forbidding the use of asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons.

In July 1949, also in Geneva, at the conference on international conventions for the protection of war victims, the American delegation persisted in this clearly defined attitude.

Those who dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima are trying to camouflage their present atrocious crime. For this purpose they are making use of the powerful means of propaganda at their disposal. But the material proofs are there to bear witness that the frightful American bacteriological warfare in Korea and China is a fact beyond doubt.

The world working class was able to play a determining role in preventing the use of the atom bomb. It now has the vital duty of uniting and gathering around it all forces of the population capable of stopping the present abominable crime, to take over the leadership and to demand the punishment of the authors of the crime.

Therefore, taking into account the actions already undertaken in this direction by the workers of many countries, especially those of the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies, Belgium, Italy and France, the World Federation of Trade Unions addresses itself to the National Centres, to the Trade Unions Internationals, and to all workers' trade union organisations, urging them :

1. to use all means to awaken the masses of the workers on the bacteriological warfare being carried on by the American armed forces in Korea and China;
2. to appeal to all workers without distinction to unite in joint demonstrations and in making joint protests directly to the Washington Government and to the authorities representing this Government in the various countries to demand that the American Government immediately ratify the Geneva International Convention forbidding the use of bacteriological weapons;
3. to address protests to the Governments and the parliamentary majorities of the countries which support American aggression in Korea and China;
4. to protest also to the United Nations, and particularly to the United Nations' Disarmament Commission which is at present meeting in New York, and to which the delegate of the Soviet Union has made a strong demand for action to put an end to bacteriological warfare;
5. to organise the collection of pharmaceutical products and their despatch to the stricken populations of Korea and China;
6. to take effective action with a view to putting into practice the latest decisions of the Oslo meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

The W.F.T.U. approves of the initiative taken by the rank and file workers of all countries to send direct information to their brothers in the United States on the shameful acts of the Wall Street Government.

The W.F.T.U. would like to know your opinion and the results obtained with regard to these suggestions, the first aim of which is to promote active international co-operation to bring about the complete end of the terrible war of which the heroic working peoples of Korea and China are victims.

With best wishes, yours fraternally,

G. DI VITTORIO, President.

LOUIS SAILLANT, General Secretary.

The Task of Trade Union Leaders

After the meeting of the National Confederal Committee of the French C.G.T., General Secretary Benoit Frachon published an article from which we give the following extract, considering it to be valid for all trade union militants of the capitalist and colonial countries :

"OUR National Committee has insisted on the need to study with the greatest care all the demands arising in every industry and in every factory. It stressed that we must avoid like the plague set schemes or the mechanical reproduction of a general demand which may be right in itself but which becomes wrong if it is not adapted to each individual case, unless it is, in fact, made into a living issue for all the workers whom we are addressing. And a general demand cannot become alive unless it is thoroughly discussed and elaborated with the workers concerned.

"The same is true of forms of struggle.

"The conditions of the struggle are varied and changing. An action which was decisive yesterday can prove to be inadequate and no longer corresponding to reality to-day.

"Every leader of an organisation must make a mental effort and a deeper study of problems in order not to remain static.

"Above all, in this sphere, as in others, it is necessary to learn from the very source of life itself.

"The creative genius of the masses is constantly finding new forms of struggle which we could not invent ourselves.

"We must pay attention to their initiative.

"It is the task of leaders to take hold of the initiative of the people in its raw state, study it, perfect it and to popularise it so that the people's own initiative can become the best possible weapon for use in the hard struggles of the working class."

BENOIT FRACHON in "L'Humanité," 8.4.52.

Great Britain: Engineering Apprentices Refuse Ice Cream

AN enthusiastic conference of young delegates representing 63,000 apprentice members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union decided in Eastbourne on March 20, 1952, to "applaud" and recommend official recognition of the actions of over 18,000 apprentices in Scotland, Manchester and Sheffield in striking for £1 a week wage increase. This decision of the Ninth Annual Conference of the AEU's Junior Workers' Committee was not surprising as many of the delegates had come straight from meetings of fellow strikers to infuse this official union conference with a fighting spirit. Mover of the resolution supporting the strike was 19-year-old James Reid, a member of the Clyde Strike Committee. He received a tremendous ovation as he told the conference of the determination of the apprentices, since for the last 7 years the annual conference of young engineers had demanded an increase in wages. Now they decided that it was time to act.

The demand of the 1951 Conference for the lodging of a claim for £1 a week increase for all apprentices, youths and boys in the industry was endorsed by the National Committee of the union. Yet when the adult claim—also £1—was lodged by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions last autumn, and the employers' counter-offer of 11 shillings per week accepted, the young workers got only a miserable percentage. This incensed the young engineers. The cost of living, already high, was now mounting daily as a result of the rearmament programme.

A shirt, a meal, a bus fare cost the same for a young worker as for an adult. First year apprentices earned less than 30 shillings a week. Boys of 16 and 17 under £2, those of 20 earned little more than £4 per week. On the other hand, the boys could see the profits of the employers rising. As one delegate put it: "The union in their claim for £1 for adults pointed out that engineering employers were making an average profit of over £3 per week per worker. If that is correct they were making over £4 or £5 per week from the labour of every apprentice."

The Decision to Fight

In November of 1951, a meeting of lads in a Glasgow factory decided it was time to organise for action. Apprentices from this factory held discussions with others in the adjacent factories. They met friends at night-school, in youth clubs, in cafés. Apprentices' Committees sprang up in many shipyards, factories and foundries. A Clyde Apprentice Wage Campaign Committee was formed representing 16 establishments. It began activity by issuing a leaflet calling attention to the plight of the young workers.

From this small beginning the movement began to spread throughout Clydeside and Scotland and an All-Clydeside Conference was a great success when 114 delegates representing 31 factories attended. The meeting passed a unanimous resolution stating that the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions should take nothing less than £1 for the apprentices. The feeling for some kind of token action was very strong and a resolution was passed which called for a half-day stoppage on Thursday, February 7.

A delegate suggested that it would "shake the bosses if a thousand lads marched through Glasgow." But this estimate proved conservative. Five thousand apprentices, in fact, struck work and

Thousands of shipbuilding and engineering apprentices demonstrate in Glasgow in support of their demand for £1 a week wage increase.

Jimmy Reid, the young secretary of the Glasgow Apprentices' Action Committee, addresses his workmates.

marched from their factories to the centre of Glasgow—some walking 5 and even more miles. In the nearby town of Greenock another 1,200 lads also downed tools, showing that the mood of fight was surging upwards. One week later the apprentices in Aberdeen staged a similar token stoppage, 600 marching through the streets.

The apprentices' claim was at last lodged by the Confederation on February 15—10 months after the original resolution was passed and only 5 weeks before the Ninth Annual Conference of the Young Workers—a fact that was commented on indignantly by them at the Eastbourne Conference.

Lads from the Clyde and from London factories were outside the engineering employers' headquarters on February 15 to tell the bosses in no uncertain terms of their determination to win the £1 demand. Several of the employers, in fact, found their cars adorned with posters reading: "£1—or else." The Clydeside Committee then issued an ultimatum. If the employers did not answer their £1 claim by March 7 in a way acceptable to them, they would strike. This decision was supported at a special conference in Glasgow attended by representatives from the Clyde, Aberdeen, Dundee, Sheffield and London.

The failure of the employers to heed this warning resulted in 7,000 apprentices stopping work in Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Motherwell and other Scottish towns on March 10. A few days previously the Tory Lord Provost of Glasgow, Sir Victor Warren, had sneered: "No more than a hundred will come out." So one of the first actions of the young strikers was to stand in their thousands outside the City Chambers and shout, "Come out and count us."

Not only were they making a great sacrifice to show that their fight for the £1 was in deadly earnest, but many of them had been offered all kinds of concessions by the employers. Clyde factories were offering free film shows, ice cream, afternoon tea with the manager if the lads would stay in. In an Airdrie factory, the lads were offered an immediate £1 increase for a return to work, but the strikers refused the offer unless it applied to all apprentices.

In a few days the strike had spread to Manchester, Birkenhead, Sheffield, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Over 4,000 were out in Manchester, 2,000 in Belfast, over 1,000 in Birkenhead and hundreds in Sheffield and other towns. Meanwhile the Glasgow, Paisley and Manchester District Committees of the AEU asked the union to recognise the strike as official and donations started flowing from the adults to the strike committees. In this situation the delegates of the Ninth Annual Conference supported the strike by 36 votes to 8, in face of the hostility from the AEU President and member of the TUC General Council, Jack Tanner.

After three weeks, the young apprentices agreed under pressure from the unions to return to work pending the negotiations on their claims. But they refused to take any chances. They are extending their factory and shipyard organisations and the Clydeside apprentices are prepared to take further action if the negotiations fail to give them full and rapid satisfaction.

A Clydeside Apprentice.

France: United Action Stops Dismissals

THE great Renault nationalised automobile factory on the outskirts of Paris employs 42,000 men and women, which means that there is quite a crowd in the streets leading to the factory before starting time.

The Renault factory is a veritable town. Its area is equal to that of the town and suburbs of Chartres, a town of 80,000 inhabitants.

The whole of France has been following events in the Renault factory recently. The reason for this was given to us by a veteran turner to whom we spoke.

"The government wanted to ban the traditional anti-fascist demonstration commemorating the February days,"[1] *he said. "We know what that means. We have made it clear that we are against fascist*

[1] A great anti-fascist strike took place in France on February 12, 1934, in complete unity, which opened the way to the Popular Front, to trade union unity and to the great social victories. This year, the government banned the traditional demonstration commemorating these events. It was against this fascist ban that the French workers, united, declared a strike on February 12, 1952.

measures. That is why the men and women workers of Renault took part in the anti-fascist general strike on February 12, 1952, *together with other workers throughout the country.*"

Baylot, the Prefect of Police, a right-wing Socialist, called out thousands of police against the Renault workers, but he got nowhere for his pains.

A woman worker who took a leading part in that day's events described for us one of the many scenes during which the workers barred the way into the factory to the police.

"Barricades were built," she said, "and at each attack, paving stones and bolts stopped the armed and helmeted police who were attacking and forced them to retire. At last the leaders cried out: Forward! and the police did not come after them any more."

At three o'clock the movement had become so broad that Lefaucheux, member of the government and director general of Regie Renault, was forced to close the doors of the factory.

Fascist Methods Defeated

AFTER the strike of February 12, 1952, Lefaucheux and the government tried to dismiss 1,700 workers. To prepare for this characteristic fascist operation, the prefect of police, Baylot, at three in the morning of February 18, massed about 15,000 police in the neighbourhood around the factory, while tanks and machine-guns awaited orders. Thus protected, the management began issuing dismissal notices to the workers, at first to ten workers, then thirty, a hundred and 265. But faced with the strength of the workers' protests and of the whole working population, the management had to hold its hand.

Better still, to begin with Lefaucheux had already been forced to reinstate some workers. And Baylot's police, after remaining in the vicinity of the factory for a fortnight, had to pack their bags without having dared to intervene. This was a real defeat for Lefaucheux and the government.[2]

Popular Protest

ON that day we went to find the dismissed workers who were holding their daily meeting in the trade union office of the Renault factory. For the most part fathers of families, some with as many as 8 children had been recklessly thrown on to the streets by the government employer.

What an atmosphere, and what confidence there was in this room! "You see the fellow who is at the extreme right," said one of the dismissed chaps, "he is Legrange, and has worked at Renault's for 30 years, with a long service decoration."

Decorated . . . but dismissed for having gone on strike, even though he has the right to do so according to the French Constitution.

The dismissed workers had the full support of the whole factory and all other factories.

"Thus," they told us at the end of the meeting, "the metalworkers' trade union office in the Paris region, from the moment the dismissals were announced, launched an appeal to all Paris workers to collect a million francs in one day. That very evening, two million 522,679 francs were collected, of which one million came from inside the factory itself."

The collectors came in their hundreds from all the factories in the Paris region, bringing in the money paid by the workers.

On March 7, this solidarity had brought more than 5 million and each dismissed worker received 15,000 francs plus 1,000 francs for each child under his care.

United Action

THE CFTC (Christian Workers) trade union organisation in the factory added its protest to that of the CGT. Leaflets and posters were published jointly and a joint delegation went to the Ministry of Labour.

The members of the trade unions Force Ouvrière and S.I.R. (independent Renault trade union) from most of the shops, against the advice of their leaders, joined in the general protest.

"In this way, for example, in the foundry, a member of the CFTC and a member of the SIR took part in the collection. An F.O. member was bent on signing the poster, and so on," we were told by the dismissed workers.

A Very Broad Defence Committee

A DEFENCE and Action Committee against arbitrary dismissals was set up. Personalities of every political opinion were on this committee. Among others M. Jean Anquetin, member of the Executive Committee of the Radical Party; M. Boudry, Governor of the Colonies; Claude Bourdet, journalist and formerly on the reactionary newspaper *Combat;* M. Bouret, M.R.P. (Christian); the Abbé Gau, M.R.P. member of Parliament; M. Gerard Lyon-Caen, teacher in the law faculty;

A great meeting of Renault workers (Boulogne-sur-Seine) against arbitrary dismissals and for the reinstatement of those dismissed. The parish priest of Boulogne, beside Roger Linet, Secretary of the Renault trade union, addresses the workers.

2The Renault automobile factory is, in fact, a nationalised factory, and thus the government is actually the employer.

M. Montaron, editor of the Catholic newspaper *Temoignage Chrétien;* M. Monteil, M.R.P. member of Parliament and former Minister; Dr. Weill-Hallé, member of the Academy of Medicine.

Daily Meetings in the Factory

LEFAUCHEUX and the government retreated not only before the very broad unity built up around the dismissed workers, but also and especially when faced by the tremendous fighting spirit of the whole personnel of Régie Renault.

The workers, completely solid, insisted on the presence of the dismissed workers in the workshops, in spite of the increased measures taken by Lefaucheux to supervise these. Every day powerful meetings took place in the factory, which was covered from end to end by the dismissed workers carrying placards on high, chanting slogans which were taken up in a chorus by the workers.

We saw more than 200 of them get into the factory and enter the workshops in spite of the opposition of the guards.

"Work and Bread," "Down with Penalties," "Fascism Shall Be Stopped." The workers applauded from their machines and shouted "Bravo fellows!"

Under the windows of the management, the dismissed workers chanted the slogan *Work and Bread.*

Meetings were held in various parts of the factory. Microphones appeared as though by magic. Everybody listened. People like the Reverend Father Robert, the worker priest from the nationalised aircraft factory SNECMA, spoke on the same platform with Roger Linet, Secretary of the trade union affiliated to the CGT, the lawyer Lederman, etc. They addressed the working men and women while they were working. In that way, the workers were gathered together every day in a different part of the factory, 3,000 here, 1,500 there, 800 somewhere else and so on. On Thursday, March 6, Mons. Domenach of the Catholic Review *Esprit* addressed the workers in the factory... Monday, March 10, it was the curé of Boulogne-Billancourt who penetrated into the factory and, alongside CGT leaders, spoke to the workers.

Reinstatements Forced on Many of the Factories

THE repressive offensive which the government and the employers wished to unleash in other enterprises at the same time as at Renault met with the same resistance of the workers against the dismissals.

For example, the miners of Gard forced the reinstatement of 60 of those who had been sacked for going on strike. The Dodge workers of Noisy-le-Sec, after a work stoppage, obtained the immediate reinstatement of two workers who had been dismissed for having taken part in the strike on February 12. Four pointsmen at the Gare de Lyon (Railway Station) were reinstated, thanks to the action of all the railwaymen. At the Wesper Firm in Bezons, after a stoppage, the workers forced the management to take back a worker who had been sacked because *he had brought the workers out on strike on February* 12. At General Motors, the factory under American management, the whole personnel went on strike for two weeks against the dismissals and the fight is continuing in other forms inside the factory.

Thus the French working class raised the political ban which the government tried to enforce against the traditional commemoration of the February days of 1934. In the first phase of the struggle, the workers of many factories overcame the fascist character of this provocation by going on strike. In the second phase, they effectively opposed the reprisals taken by the government and supported the victims of arbitrary government action with an exemplary solidarity, characterised not only by generous support of the workers of the factories concerned and elsewhere, but also by the active devotion of men and women usually far from the working class movement and the most varied outlooks.

They have proved that, if unity is broad enough and the fighting spirit strong enough, it is possible to prevent dismissals.

Understanding that the banning of an anti-fascist demonstration is the first step on the road to fascism, they have proved that it is also possible to defeat the government and employers on this ground.

Léon Debusscher.

U.S.A.: Unity Gets Results

THE "Left wing" unions continue to seek labour unity in America. The latest example is the support given by the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union to the striking AFL hotel workers in Hawaii, resulting in a 21½ cents an hour increase for the strikers.

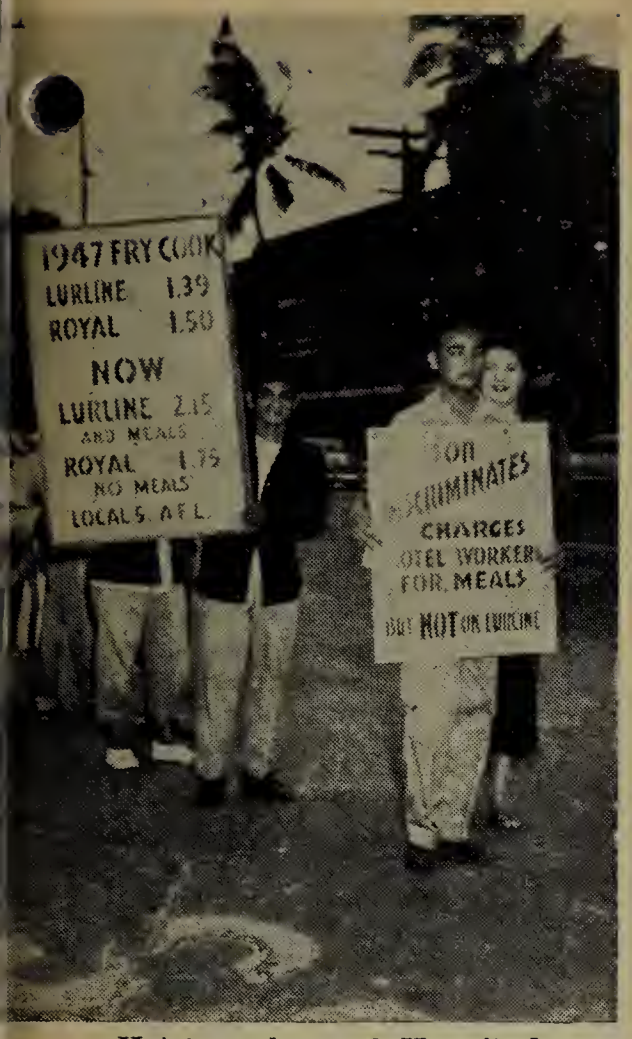
In contrast is the lack of support the AFL hotel workers are receiving from other AFL unions, including their own international union.

MCS has held meetings in Hawaii in support of the hotel strike; members of the MCS crew of the luxury liner *Lurline,* owned, as are the three hotels being struck, by the Matson Navigation Company, held a solidarity demonstration in front of the ship and pier as the 750 passengers were embarking.

The AFL hotel workers called on ILWU Regional Director Jack Hall to act as mediator in negotiations with the company and the ILWU assisted greatly in working out a settlement.

The reason for these workers going to the independent unions for support is not difficult to see. Their own international president ordered them not to strike, despite intolerable wages and conditions far below those on the mainland. And wages for mainland hotel workers are *less* than the MCS has negotiated for its cooks on the *Lurline* from this same Matson company and on other companies' luxury liners. An under-chef on the *Lurline* receives *over* $100 *a month more* than an under-chef in a first-class San Francisco hotel. This is because that union has had officers who have made a career of "red-baiting." MCS has correctly fought and beaten this union-busting device.

The leadership of the AFL musicians and building trades workers organised strike breakers to cross



Hotel workers of Hawaii demonstrate for wage increases.

the hotel strikers' picketlines. Andy Cummings, orchestra leader, *was expelled from the Musicians' Union when he refused to go through the line* because, he said, "I'm a working man."

Art Rutledge, the hotel workers' leader and also a member of the Musicians' Local Union, was suspended and fined $1,000 by the Musicians' Union president because the hotel workers picketed the Musicians' Hall in protest against the scabbing action.

Harry Lundeberg, head of the AFL Sailors' Union of the Pacific, promised to "support" the strike but his assistant in Honolulu, who is also head of the AFL Labour Council, got the Council to approve the musicians' union's scabbing.

The MCS first assisted the hotel and restaurant workers to organise in 1946. Although the AFL had never made any previous attempt to organise these workers, they immediately objected to MCS organising them. In order to further unity, MCS, after winning the workers in many hospitals, hotels and restaurants to their union, got out of that field, but they started militant unionism in the Hawaiian hotels owned by Matson Navigation Company.

When MCS wired the Hotel Workers that "Ours is a common enemy, Matson," the Navigation Company objected, but to no avail. Both the MCS members and the hotel strikers knew their common enemy, and are now working a 7½ hour day with a health plan for themselves and their families, with food-handlers getting their meals free and other gains.

HUGH BRYSON, *President, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards.*

An American Trade Union Brands American Troops In France

WORLD Trade Union Movement has on several occasions mentioned the militant actitivy of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (United States), whose president, Hugh Bryson, has sent us the following information:

This progressive union, which knows how to fight in unity, which overcomes all differences of opinions or race for the interests of its members, is also animated by a profound spirit of international solidarity.

Our readers are aware that American military forces stationed in France attacked on March 18 a column of strikers in the town of Melun, not far from Paris. An American lorry, driven by a corporal, charged the demonstrators and killed one of them, a metalworker named Gadois.

This criminal aggression committed by Americans conducting themselves as though in a conquered country has aroused deep indignation in France. The slogan "Send the Americans home" has become more and more general throughout the country.

The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, branding the action of the American military forces in France, has sent the following telegram to President Truman:

"We have been informed by French Confederation of Labour that Alfred Gadois, striking trade unionist, was run down and killed by American soldiers during a strikers' demonstration at Melun, France. If so, we demand you issue public apology and as Commander in Chief, put an end to this type of strikebreaking and brutality."

The union also sent the following telegram to the French CGT:

"The members of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards send their condolences to the family of Brother Gadois and to

On March 18, a lorry of the American occupation army driven by Corporal Zerafoss attacked a procession of French strikers in Melun, crushing a worker, Alfred Gadois, against a wall.

BELOW: **A workers' delegation gathers at the spot at which Gadois was killed.**

the members of the CGT on the loss of our brother.

"We condemn the strikebreaking action of the American troops, and we have published appropriate protests here in the United States.

"Long live the CGT.

"Long live international unity and solidarity.

"Greetings."

HUGH BRYSON, *President of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards.*

Spain: We Must Rescue the "Barcelona 34" From the Executioners' Hands!

AFTER the monstrous murder of Beloyannis and his comrades, the fearful gaze of democrats the whole world over is again turned towards Spain. Franco, the Spanish executioner, is preparing to commit another crime. The lives of Lopez Raimundo and his 26 comrades, the leaders of the great general strike of Barcelona last spring, are in danger.

The trial of these anti-Franco heroes is now taking place *in camera* and under conditions of the greatest secrecy before the Special Military Tribunal of Barcelona. There can be no doubt of the fate Franco has in mind for these patriots. Nevertheless, the extraordinary breadth of the campaign in Spain and throughout the world can and must force Franco to retreat. The workers will rally in unity inside their factories to express more strongly than ever their indignation and their determination to put an end to these fascist crimes.

Some weeks ago these heroes of the Spanish people sent, from the depths of their prison, a written message from which we quote a few extracts:

"On the occasion of the first anniversary of the glorious Barcelona strikes, we send our fraternal greetings to the workers of the different peoples of Spain, to all Spaniards who reject the Franco Government's policy of war and poverty and who aspire to an independent and democratic Spain.

"We particularly greet the workers and anti-fascists of Barcelona who, on March 12 and 13, 1951, came forward as the authentic spokesmen of the peoples of Spain *against the Franco regime for bread, peace and the Republic . . .*

"We proclaim our recognition of all these who, in the country or outside, demonstrated their sympathy with us; to them we reaffirm our decision to continue the struggle without pause for the overthrow of the Franco regime, for the triumph of the Republic, for peace and the independence of Spain, for a prosperous and democratic life for all Spaniards."

The moving simplicity of this message cannot fail to affect all democrats of the world. Without losing a moment, protest, demonstrate your solidarity, send messages and telegrams to the Special Military Tribunal, Rambla Sta Monica, 26 bis, Barcelona.

P. A.

Contribution of WFTU Delegate in the Consultative Commission for Non-Manual Workers (ILO)

THE World Federation of Trade Unions was represented by Brothers Pierre Delon and G. Rizzo at the meeting of the Consultative Commission for Non-Manual Workers called in Geneva by the International Labour Office from February 18 to March 1.

There were two questions on the agenda: the right of the artist and executant; health in commerce and offices.

Pierre Delon stated that the WFTU would support all actions which could improve the situation of the workers, pointing out, however, that their own united action permits them to achieve their demands speedily, while questions often remain on the agenda of the ILO for twenty years.

He demanded that the next session should discuss: the daily and weekly rest periods of employees, pensions, and industrial training, for all this is being sacrificed to military expenditure in the capitalist countries He insisted that the principle of equal pay for equal work should be applied everywhere. Our brother stressed the injustice suffered by women, youth and the colonial workers, who are victims of shameful repression.

Replying to the calumnies of the representative of Chiang Kai-shek, he revealed the progress achieved in People's China.

Finally, he demanded that cultural exchanges should take place between all countries, and appealed to all workers' organisations to unite in defence of peace.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

Trade Union Budget

The trade union budget for 1952 has been ratified. It shows the remarkable progress of the economy of the U.S.S.R. and the continuous increase in the well-being of the people.

Receipts have increased by 16.4 per cent., and the expenditure of the trade union organisations has also increased considerably. This year even greater sums are set aside in the trade union budget to meet the cultural needs of the workers and mass cultural work.

The trade unions have a very wide sphere of activity. They control 8,000 clubs, houses and palaces of culture, 90,000 red corners, more than 9,000 libraries and a large number of holiday centres, stadiums, curative establishments, alpine camps and ski resorts.

The Soviet trade unions carry on a great work of organisation and of socialist emulation to fulfil the State plans. They publicise methods of increasing production and ensure the development of technical knowledge among the workers. They also develop the study of scientific and political questions and bring the latest cultural knowledge to wide masses of workers.

It goes without saying that this tremendous work would be impossible without a solid material basis. This basis is provided by the trade union budget, which grows in size from year to year. This year more than 78 per cent. of the budget is devoted to the living and cultural needs of the workers. In particular, subsidies for mass cultural work have been increased by 21 per cent. Of this amount, 25 per cent. goes to physical culture and sport, 8.5 per cent. for material help to members of the trade unions, 37.8 per cent. for education of trade union cadres. At the same time, administrative and organisational expenses have again been reduced.

The basis of the budget, the main source of income of the trade unions, comes from membership dues. The year 1951 has been marked by new successes of Soviet economy. This has brought an increase in the number of workers, increases in nominal and real wages, which have resulted in an increase in the amount paid in membership dues.

The 1952 budget creates the conditions for a greater improvement in cultural services and in the life of the workers, for the consolidation and development of trade union administration.

Trud (Moscow), 27.2.52.

WEST GERMANY

The Drain of Remilitarisation

For 12,000 million marks it would be possible to build 800,000 apartments at a cost of 15,000 marks each. Each of these apartments, provided with all comforts, could house a family of four persons in excellent conditions. This would mean 3,200,000 people housed in the 800,000 apartments, so that the sum which is called 'contribution to defence' could provide each year a modern and comfortable home for three million two hundred thousand people. This is equal to the total population of the towns of Aix-la-Chapelle, Dusseldorf, Duisburg, Essen, Cologne, Dortmund and Wupperthal. In other terms, homes could be provided every year for 24 towns of the size of Aix-la-Chapelle. Given the housing needs of the whole of the Federal Republic at about five million apartments, these needs could be fulfilled within six years.

No one would then have to hang on any longer in converted shelters, cellars, barracks, or under the ruins. There would no longer be any need for families of 8 or more people to crowd into one room. There would be no more refugees or homeless young couples. The housing offices would disappear, as there would be no more expulsions or requisitions to be carried out, and their staff could take part in productive work.

If the 12,000 millions in question were put into building, this would be of infinitely greater benefit to the economy than expenditure on armament. It is evident that an annual expenditure of 12,000 millions on armaments decreases to that extent the chances of creating tolerable social conditions, and that we shall have to renounce for an immeasurable time the satisfaction of our most urgent needs.

Aachener Nachrichten, 14.3.52.

ITALY

Letters of Exchange for 160,000 Million Lire Not Honoured

The Christian-Democratic regime will pass into the post-war period as a regime of misfortune: unhonoured bills, sales orders, exodus of capital, consumers forced to abstain from purchasing, record unemployment only exceeded by Japan.

Figures are more eloquent than words. According to statistics which have filtered through from the offices of the main bank, the number of bills of exchange which were not honoured throughout Italy in 1951 was over 4 millions, representing a total sum of about 160,000 million lire. These figures will not appear to be exaggerated if they are compared with those published by the Central Institute of Statistics for October 31, 1950 and 1951.

January-October 1951: The number of bills unhonoured was 3,554,047, to a total sum of 133,556 million.

January-October 1950: The number of bills unhonoured was 2,778,227 to a total sum of 106,083 million.

As far as the city of Rome is concerned, we shall confine ourselves to saying that more than 30,000 bills of exchange remain unhonoured every month, corresponding to a total sum of more than a thousand million lire. These are figures which need no comment. We have arrived at a point at which only unhonoured bills of over 20,000 lire are registered in the files and archives of the banks in order that these archives should not be overcrowded.

There is a continual increase in the number of bankruptcies. Here are the figures relating to the first ten months of 1951 compared with the same period of 1950: 1951, 6,178 bankruptcies with liabilities of 6,078 million. 1950, 5,103 bankruptcies with liabilities of 2,477 million.

The deficit in our balance of trade doubled in 1951. It increased from 153,300 million in 1950 to 305,800 million in 1951. As for the amount of money in circulation, we shall merely say that in this respect Italy, in 1951, has beaten all records since 1861. The amount of paper money in circulation on December 31, 1951, was 1,300 thousand million. Since

1946, that is to say since de Gasperi has been in power, the circulation of paper money has increased by at least 700,000 million, which means that it has more than doubled, while at the same time the number of unemployed (official and unofficial) has risen to more than 4 million.

It is with this disastrous balance that the Christian-Democratic regime will present itself during the elections to the judgement of Italians.

Avanti, 14.3.52.

CUBA

General Batista and Reactionary Trade Union Leaders Embrace

The daily press gave great prominence to the interview which took place in the Presidential Palace between the head of the *de facto* government of Fulgencio Batista, and the most outstandingly reactionary official C.T.C. leaders to whom Batista immediately handed over the Workers' Palace.

This fact showed the great mass of the people the true character of the government and the base opportunism and treachery of Mujal and the other reactionary leaders.

These adventurers went to the Presidential Palace to express their gratitude for being maintained, as a result of despotism and violence, in their posts in the official trade unions, in the Pensions Administration which they robbed to line their own pockets, in workers' Maternity Welfare and in all those posts which, in their hands, mean salaries and bribes.

These adventurers went to the Palace to ask for the continuation of the fascist system of compulsory dues payment, and the discrimination practised by the Ministry of Labour against trade unions which are not under the leadership of the adventurers and traitors. They asked for the continuation of arbitrary dismissals, political persecutions and the scandalous rackets like that of overall insurance, verbal plans for cheap housing and the plan to mortgage the Workers' Palace.

They did not go to the Palace, as the workers would have done, in a dignified manner, maintaining their opposition to a *coup d'état* and to demand:

—equal democratic rights for all workers,
—freedom and guarantees for the Ariguanabo workers and for the leaders imprisoned in the interior of the country,
—the satisfaction of the food workers' demands,
—increases in wages, salaries and pensions of not less than 30 per cent.,
—unemployment allowance of 80 pesos a month,
—a ban on the loading of sugar in ports other than those normally used and on the loading of sugar in bulk,
—the immediate payment of the money due in respect of paid holidays,
—the restitution of monies stolen from the Pensions Fund and the stabilisation of pensions,
—price reduction on the articles of prime necessity, of rents, etc.

Those are workers' demands and not the demands of adventurers and traitors in the service of the imperialists.

The new government, which calls itself revolutionary, led by General Batista who, on several occasions, condemned the division of the working class and promised to re-establish the workers' democratic right to elect their trade union leaders, this new government, born of a *coup d'état,* has accepted all the demands of the adventurers and traitors. It has cynically joined with the latter to oust the workers from their local trade union premises by force and to hand these over to Mujal's gangs.

At a single blow, the *de facto* government has destroyed the naive illusions of some of the honest and sincere leaders of the Workers' Bloc and the mass of the workers in the P.A.U. (General Batista's Political Party).

Once more, our warnings to the workers have been confirmed.

Once more, we state that the workers, whatever their political or trade union affiliations, must fight for working class unity, for trade union democracy, for the right to organise freely and to be free to elect their trade union leaders, against arbitrary dismissals, for wage, salary and pension increases, for the demands of each category of worker.

We appeal to the workers to forge this unity on the job. We ask the worker supporters of unity and the workers deceived by the traitor leaders to join together in the closest unity as class brothers, to elect, democratically, the true leaders of our trade unions, federations and the C.T.C., to fight for their demands, their rights, the well-being and salvation of the country, for the re-establishment of the Constitution and general elections before September.

Lazaro Pena in
Noticias de Hoy (Havana),
16.3.52.

CHILE

An End to Political Persecution!

As a result of the unanimous demonstration of public opinion, the four journalists, Rafael Fuentes, Hernan Millas, Oscar Lanas and Rafael Otero, have been released. They had been prosecuted by the Gonzalo Videla government under the fascist law dealing with the "defence of democracy," a law which all patriots desire repealed.

But in the Iquique prison, eleven trade union leaders, honest workers whose only "crime" is that they deserved the confidence of their workmates, are coming up for trial, charged under the same fascist law. The workers from the Nebraska mines had presented their list of economic demands conforming as far as possible to the legal provisions in force; but an unscrupulous official, a provincial labour inspector, under orders from the powerful nitrate companies, Tarapaca and Antofagasta, directed by Osvaldo de Castro, took it upon himself to shelve the list of demands. Faced with the dilemma, to fight or die of starvation with wages which bought less every day, the workers went on strike, making use of an inalienable right. In revenge, a charge was drawn up against the trade union leaders.

The Minister of Labour pretended that, in spite of the flagrant abuses of this charge, nothing could be done for the accused. "The decision rested with the courts." The case of the Santiago journalists, however, demonstrates that action is always possible. The government is directly responsible for the imprisonment of these workers since it supports the charge and refuses to withdraw it.

Further, the prisons of Chile are filled with sincere and completely honest patriots sentenced under the same fascist law. The health of some of these patriots is seriously undermined and their further stay in prison may cost them their lives.

Just when the campaign for the restoration of civil liberties and the repeal of the fascist law on the "defence of democracy" is developing with a new and irresistible spirit, it is imperative that we win, without delay, by the mobilisation of all organisations and leading patriots, the release of countless innocent prisoners who are victims of political persecution.

Democracia
(Santiago de Chile),
10.3.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

April 2

MEXICO—Eight thousand workers of the Mexican Telephone Company go on-strike to demand a wage increase. The Mexican government declares that the strike is "illegal" and lets loose a wave of persecution and dismissals against the telephone employees.

UNITED STATES—Thirty thousand employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company go on strike for a wage increase.

U.S.S.R.—Joseph Stalin's reply to a group of American journalists is made public.

April 3

UNITED STATES — Sixty leading trade unionists belonging to C.I.O., A.F.L. and independent unions issue an appeal in Los Angeles for participation in a Trade Union Action Conference for Peace which is to be held on April 12.

MOROCCO — Spanish and French armed forces arrive in Tangier for the joint suppression of the Moroccan liberation movement.

U.S.S.R.—The International Economic Conference opens in Moscow with 471 delegates representing 49 countries.

ITALY — Sixty thousand industrial workers of the Rome region strike for a 15 per cent. wage increase.

—Demonstrations take place throughout the country in protest against the murder of Beloyannis and his comrades.

FRANCE — Seven thousand metalworkers in Nantes belonging to different trade union organisations (C.G.T., C.F.T.C., F.O.) take part in complete unity in an afternoon work stoppage. A procession of demonstrators goes to the trade fair which is being opened and, using loud-speakers, make their demands known.

April 4

SAAR—Sixty thousand miners strike for 24 hours for a 15 per cent wage increase.

HUNGARY—The Hungarian workers celebrate the 7th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Army.

ITALY—Sixty thousand workers in the printing industry belonging to all trade union organisations strike for higher wages and better working conditions.

—Thirty thousand metalworkers of the provinces of Bologna, Modena and Alexandria go on a two-hour strike for a 15 per cent. wage increase.

MALAYA—According to news items in the international press British planes are carrying out chemical destruction of plants and crops in the liberated regions of Malaya.

April 5

GREAT BRITAIN — A Government White Paper states that the United Kingdom incurred a deficit in the external balance of payments amounting to £521 million in 1951, as compared with a surplus of £244 million in 1950. At the Moscow International Economic Conference, on the same day, the U.S.S.R. offers Great Britain contracts to the value of £200 million.

POLAND—An agreement is signed in Warsaw between the Soviet Government and the Government of the Polish People's Republic for the building in Warsaw by the Soviet Union of a great Palace of Culture of 28 to 30 storeys.

WESTERN GERMANY—A result of war preparation: a boiler for the production of chlorine explodes in Walsum because of inadequate protective measures. Seven workers are killed and 240 injured or overcome by fumes. An explosion in a powder-magazine in Ohringen kills and injures several workers.

April 6

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA — Thousands of Africans, Indians and Cape Coloured peoples attend meetings in all the main centres of South Africa and declare their support for the plan of action adopted by the joint committee of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Franchise Committee of Coloured Peoples against racial oppression.

UNITED STATES—Mr. Sykes, Chairman of the House of Representatives' Appropriations Sub-committee admits by implication American bacteriological crimes in Korea, declaring in the House that, "the means of delivering germs to enemy territory are simple and involve equipment of the type with which the services are already well stocked . . . such as the containers used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets."

April 7

NORTHERN RHODESIA—An order of deportation is pronounced against Simon Zukas, leading member of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress.

UNITED STATES—In Akron, the "rubber capital," the 12,000 "Goodrich" workers are still on strike. Five thousand four hundred "Goodyear" workers strike for two days for an increase in piecework rates, and 3,000 "Firestone" workers stop work to demand the reinstatement of eight trade union militants dismissed for having led an "illegal" strike.

—Sixty-eight thousand telephone company employees begin their strike in 43 States for a wage increase of from 19 to 23 cents an hour. Within a few days the strike will involve 300,000 telephone employees.

April 8

UNITED STATES—A few hours before the scheduled strike of 650,000 steelworkers, Truman orders the seizure of the steel plants. Philip Murray, President of the United Steelworkers of America, declares that his members will agree to work for the government. He thus betrays once more the interests of the American workers by breaking their strike movement.

AUSTRALIA—Twenty-seven thousand waterside workers start a 24-hour strike for the increase of their wage

margins and ban overtime work until their claim is met.

WESTERN GERMANY—Two hundred delegates representing 60,000 workers of the Munster region declare for united action and for the defence of the workers' living conditions.

FRANCE—Grenoble metal workers stop work during the morning at the call of all the trade union organisations—C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and F.O.—to protest against the refusal of the employers to discuss their demands.

April 9

GREAT BRITAIN—The number of unemployed on March 17 is declared as 433,000.

U.S.S.R.—V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, makes an important speech at the International Economic Conference in which he declares that to carry out Soviet trade orders would give work for 3 years to from 1½ to 2 million workers.

TUNISIA—A complete 24-hour strike takes place in the souks (small shops) of Medina Arab quarter in Tunis to protest against the possibility of the formation of a government by the French puppet Baccouche and against the state of siege which has been in existence for 14 years (established on April 9, 1938, and never since lifted). The Moorish cafes are closed despite police pressure.
—The last remaining Arab-language daily paper, "Es Nadah" ceases publication.

GOLD COAST — Railway engine drivers and firemen strike for a wage increase.

WESTERN GERMANY — A conference is held at München-Gladbach, attended by 450 delegates and over 200 guests. An appeal is sent to the governments and parliaments of Bonn and the German Democratic Republic demanding the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty and the holding of free elections under the control of the four powers.

April 10

DENMARK—A meeting of leading personalities from the Scandinavian countries is held in Copenhagen against the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

RUMANIA—The first Teachers' Congress of the Rumanian People's Republic brings together 700 delegates representing over 70,000 teachers.

April 11

MALAYA—The British High Commissioner, General Templer, forbids the 4,000 inhabitants of Sungei Pelek, Selangor Province, to leave their village between 2 p.m. and 10 a.m. and their homes between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. The rice ration is reduced by one-third.

April 12

AUSTRIA—The International Conference for the Defence of Children opens in Vienna, attended by more than 500 delegates representing 64 countries.

U.S.S.R.—The International Economic Conference ends with the formation of an International Economic Committee and the adoption of an appeal to the United Nations. During the Conference many business deals have been concluded or are being concluded.

FRANCE—Tramwaymen strike for 8 hours in all the main towns for their demands. Brest tramwaymen return to work after a month's strike, having obtained a wage increase of from 8.5 to 10 per cent.

TUNISIA—The shopkeepers and artisans of the souks (small shops) strike in protest against the Baccouche government, imposed by the French Government, while the popular will continues to express itself vigorously under all forms.

JAPAN—Seven hundred and fifty thousand Japanese workers hold a 24-hour strike in protest against the "law against subversive activities," which restricts freedom of speech and press and limits trade union rights. In addition, two and a half million workers take part in a temporary stoppage as a sign of protest.

April 13

EGYPT—Prime Minister Hilaly Pasha postpones the general election indefinitely.

April 14

— Youth of many countries celebrate a day of international solidarity with the Spanish youth, fighting against the Franco regime.

UNITED STATES — The striking workers of the Bell Telephone Company win a wage increase.

April 15

CHILE—In spite of repression and the state of siege, 10,000 workers of the saltpetre mines have continued their strike for 50 days. Twenty thousand teachers are also on strike for a salary increase.

JAPAN — The American occupation authorities officially authorise the manufacture of military aircraft.

AUSTRALIA—Sixty thousand five hundred Sydney waterside workers stage a 24-hour strike in support of their grievance concerning the manning of ships during holidays.

GREAT BRITAIN — Representatives of 350,000 shopworkers overwhelmingly demand a reduction in the arms programme. At their annual conference, the delegates of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers also request an investigation of germ warfare in Korea and the banning of terror weapons.

ITALY—In the first victory in the fight of the metal workers for a 15 per cent wage increase, workers of 18 enterprises spread over 12 provinces win an increase of from 10 to 15 per cent.

— Fiat workers in Turin, who have been forced to work short time for a year, win a bonus of 12,000 lire.

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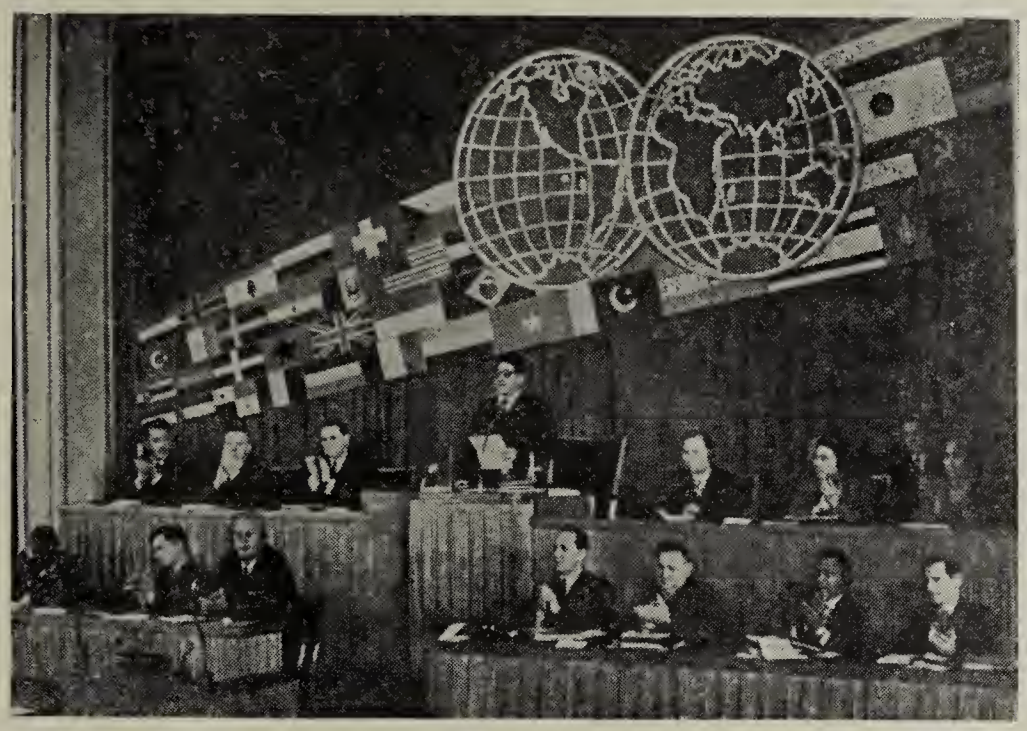

UNITY
on the march

Report of the meeting of the General Council
of the World Federation of Trade Unions
Berlin, November 1951

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

MAY 16—31, 1952 ★ No. 10

THE I.L.O. AND AN "INADEQUATE GRIEVANCE"

Louis Saillant

MINE-MILL WOMEN ORGANISE BACKING FOR UNION STRUGGLES

Dorothy McDonald

TRADE UNION EDUCATION IN FRANCE

Marc Piolot

Defence of the Children • Sudanese Trade Unionists Fight for Better Conditions • Venezuela under the U.S. Heel • An Australian Visits the New Rumania • War Budgets and Poverty • W.F.T.U. Protests on Tunis and Morocco May Day Ban • Hungary Builds Peaceful Socialist Economy • Spotlight on Japan, Britain, Italy, Tanganyika, Nigeria

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The workers of the world demand that the immense sums now being devoted to the production of armaments be used for raising the living standards of the people, for their welfare and their cultural development.

Declaration to the Sixth Session of the United Nations' General Assembly (W.F.T.U. General Council, Berlin, November 21, 1951.)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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MOVEMENT

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IN DEFENCE OF
TRADE UNION RIGHTS—

An "Inadequate" Grievance

IN October 1949 there was a dispute between the management of the Associated Foundries of Modena (Italy) and the entire staff of that industrial establishment.

The dispute arose over piece-rate payment methods. The staff trade union opposed the methods of intensive super-exploitation which the management wished to impose.

In December of that year the management locked out the whole staff and dismissed some of them.

After exhausting the legal means of conciliation without attaining any result, the trade union organisations declared a strike on January 9, 1950. During a protest meeting, the police intervened in a brutal manner, and then opened fire on the workers' demonstration. Nine workers were killed.

This event, a further sad episode in the history of working class struggles, aroused general indignation far beyond the frontiers of Italy. The World Federation of Trade Unions, denouncing this attack on the right of striking workers to demonstrate, a normal form of trade union activity, lodged a complaint with the United Nations Economic and Social Council. The outright violation of trade union rights and the murder of workers was the basis of the W.F.T.U.'s petition to the United Nations.

This complaint was supported by many messages of solidarity to the Italian workers from trade union organisations of most countries of the world.

Why was this complaint made to the United Nations?

It will be remembered that the World Federation of Trade Unions has, since 1947, proposed to the United Nations that measures be taken to ensure respect for its Charter in all countries and under all circumstances.

With this aim in view, and taking cognizance of the increasingly flagrant violations of trade union rights in many capitalist and colonial countries, the World Federation of Trade Unions proposed to the Economic and Social Council that it assume an active role in the protection of the economic and social rights of the workers.

A number of governments, particularly those of the United States, Great Britain and France, then began an insidious form of agitation against the proposals of the trade union organisations. For its part, the leadership of the bureaucratic

apparatus of the International Labour Office in Geneva kept on publishing declarations by so-called experts on trade union protection. This was a safety-valve for the governments, who did not want to protect the workers and their trade unions, but to protect themselves against the workers' demands and against trade union action. The I.L.O. was thus brought in to take sides with the reactionary governments against the demands of the trade unions and of the W.F.T.U.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE workers fighting to defend their rights, including trade union rights, are forced into open opposition against the governments and the public authorities of the capitalist and colonial countries.

That is an old-established fact.

The legality of trade union rights has secured government acceptance only as a result of stirring mass actions. In many countries the workers have succeeded in forcing the recognition of the right to hold meetings, to demonstrate and to organise after long years of bitter and often bloody struggles.

Many examples show, throughout the history of the working class movement, that governments and employers have never willingly acceded to the demands of the workers.

The progress made in trade unionism in the latter part of the nineteenth century and since the beginning of the twentieth century is the result of a long and persistent fight by the working class.

When intervening in the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1947 to protect and even to extend the workers' gains in trade unionism, the World Federation of Trade Unions did not expect that it would be otherwise. Every gain made by the working class is the product of its collective efforts. Its exploiters do not recognise, even partially, the rights it demands without resistance.

But after the second world war there was the question of undertaking useful activity to obtain new rights, while consolidating the rights attained and extending them to new countries.

Taking into account the following statement in the preamble to the United Nations' Charter :

" We peoples of the United Nations, determined . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom . . ." the W.F.T.U. considered that the United Nations should effectively take measures to further social progress and permit of better living conditions.

Expressing the needs of the working peoples, the World Federation of Trade Unions decided : " to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples " (United Nations' Charter).

In doing this, the W.F.T.U. wished to show that *" We peoples of the United Nations "* should not mean " We exploiters of the peoples."

But since then the actions of the capitalist governments represented in the Economic and Social Council have revealed their choice between the two formulæ. Interventions by the governments of capitalist countries in trade union affairs became increasingly numerous. Instead of settling social conflicts, they made them sharper. These government interventions helped to show more clearly the political character of working class struggles for the protection of trade union rights, for the guarantee of those rights, or, in certain countries, for the recognition or legal establishment of those rights.

The fight for trade union rights, for the protection of trade union organisations, is a political struggle interesting the workers as a whole, and the

workers are becoming more and more aware of this fact. They are increasingly discerning the political and economic reasons for the interventions and the role of the capitalist state in trade union questions.

It is still necessary to make these ideas, which are clearly evident to us, known to the workers. Governments, employers, and also certain trade union leaders, whose fate is linked to these governments and employers, make numerous attempts to hide from certain sections of the workers the real content of day-to-day political and social facts. It is the role of the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated organisations to fight against this obscurantist propaganda.

☆ ☆ ☆

WHAT happened following the serious events of Modena is particularly significant in this respect.

The majority of the United Nations Economic and Social Council agreed to forward the W.F.T.U. complaint to the International Labour Office. The I.L.O. Governing Body dealt, in its manner, with the W.F.T.U.'s complaint against the Italian government at its 118th session, in March 1952 . . . . two years later!

We have said constantly throughout the past five years that the International Labour Office should correct its policy and modify its structure so that the workers could have some faith in it.

We have said since 1947 that transferring to the I.L.O. questions with which the United Nations Economic and Social Council should deal, inevitably leads to the burial of the workers' petitions. We have repeated that the I.L.O. is not capable of dealing with the legitimate demands and protests of the workers.

The manner in which the I.L.O. decided the Modena affair in March confirms our opinion and that of the workers. The I.L.O. Governing Body, in fact, decided that the murder of nine striking workers in January 1950, demonstrating for their right to work, could not be considered *as an impediment placed upon trade union freedom as such.*

How many workers have to be killed for these gentlemen of the I.L.O. to consider that the massacre of a strikers' demonstration is an impediment to trade union freedom and to trade union rights?

Since the protest meeting called by the workers' trade unions had been authorised by the public authorities, since the employers had been able freely to lock out their employees and the employees were able freely to call a strike—this is evidence, said the I.L.O., that trade union freedom was respected.

They add that "*the only grievance put forward by the complainant* (the W.F.T.U.) *is that bloody reprisals had been taken against workers in the legitimate exercise of a trade union right.*"

The workers were free to be murdered, thus everything is all right for the I.L.O.

The only grievance of the W.F.T.U., the murder of nine workers by Italian policemen, is not a sufficient grievance for these gentlemen of the I.L.O.

The I.L.O. Governing Body thus decided that the case did not merit a more extensive examination because the W.F.T.U. did not bring proofs which were *sufficient to justify* a complete examination of its protest.

Must the trade unions exhume the nine corpses and present them as exhibits in the cosy atmosphere of the Geneva Palace? The "symbolic trade union delegates," members of the I.L.O. Governing Body, all of them leaders of the I.C.F.T.U., sought to treat the W.F.T.U. protest with contempt. They are not indignant at the murder of the nine workers. They are indignant at the fact that the W.F.T.U. should have disturbed the calm of their outrageous deliberations.

The workers must understand from that why the I.C.F.T.U. leaders, in their last meeting in Brussels a few weeks ago, decided to place obstructions in the way of W.F.T.U. representation at I.L.O. conferences. They do not want disturbing witnesses to their scandalous collusion with the government and employer representatives which absolve those responsible for the murder of workers.

This fact deserves to be quoted and discussed in all trade union organisations of all kinds, so that the workers may be informed of it.

☆ ☆ ☆

THIS example had to be given to show once more that in defence of their trade union rights the workers must rely first and foremost upon themselves.

Are trade union rights being challenged or threatened in many countries or not? Is there a danger or not? The W.F.T.U. warns the workers against all threats directed against the trade unions.

We are witnessing many attacks upon the right to meet, the right to demonstrate and the right for trade unions to function normally and act legitimately in the interests of the workers.

For example, this year the workers in Tunisia and Morocco have been deprived of the right to respond to the May Day appeal of their trade union organisations. They have been forbidden to organise their customary popular demonstrations.

Our Brother Jesus Parias, active militant of the Oil Workers' Union in Venezuela, has, for long months, been in a foul prison because he was, and continues to be, the best defender of the rights of the Venezuelan workers and of their trade unions.

Shady measures are at present being adopted in France and Italy to try to reduce the influence of the C.G.T. and the C.G.I.L.

On April 27, the Italian government withdrew Brother Di Vittorio's passport to prevent him from carrying out his functions as President of the W.F.T.U.

In Japan, the Yoshida government has drawn up regressive and anti-trade union legislation against which millions of workers have formed an effective common front.

This is not a complete list of cases, or of all the facts at our disposal showing that a real threat to the trade union rights of the workers exists in many countries.

We must draw up a wide plan of action which will allow the workers to defend their trade unions.

We must establish the conditions for strengthening and developing our trade union organisations. In this, *once more, the united action of the mass of the workers must play an essential role.* To protect trade union organisations against the attacks being made upon them necessitates the existence of a broad common front of all trade union organisations, a united front of all working men and women.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau has decided to make the development of the present workers' struggles and the defence of trade union rights the main item on the agenda of its next meeting on June 9.

It must be understood by this that the World Federation of Trade Unions is not disposed to allow the present attacks on the workers' rights to take place without an internationally organised reply. The World Federation of Trade Unions is determined to bring international working class solidarity into full play. Its efforts will be joined to those of the workers acting for the full exercise of trade union rights, for the development of the trade unions, which are the common property of all workers.

LOUIS SAILLANT

Trade Union Education—

The Experience of the French C.G.T.

By MARK PIOLOT
Secretary of the C.G.T. Education Commission.

AT its last national Congress in June 1951, the General Confederation of Labour laid stress on the scope of trade union education in the following terms:

"In the present and future great working class united struggles for peace, well-being and freedom, men and women militants, at every level, have heavy responsibilities and heavy tasks, and in these battles they are revealing themselves in thousands as new forces tempered in action. Continuous trade union education is necessary to help them acquire and develop a knowledge of the principles essential for the understanding and the achievement of their responsibilities and their tasks.

"In opposition to war preparation, poverty, the fascisation of the country, and through the practical experience of struggles and of unity, hundreds of thousands of men and women workers are becoming increasingly conscious of the value of organisation, of the power of unity and of the outcome of the class struggles. Trade union education is vital in order to raise still higher the class consciousness of the necessity for complete unity, of the necessity for great economic struggles and for a broader fight for peace and the reconquest of national independence."

In the spirit of this resolution considerable efforts have been made during the last few years by a number of national trade union federations, departmental Trades Councils[1] and trade unions. By various means, these organisations have succeeded in spreading among many militants and thousands of workers knowledge of the principles of militant action.

* * *

WHEN the correct policy for any aspect of work is defined, success finally depends on the organisational methods adopted to carry it out.

We have therefore applied ourselves to elaborating, developing and perfecting these organisational methods.

Taking note of past experiences, we have urged trade union organisations to organise lectures at regular intervals for the mass of the workers, evening schools for militants based on trade unions and local Trades Councils[2], study sessions (evening, half-day, and day schools) and permanent one week schools based on the departmental Trades Councils.

The Confederal leadership, for its part, opened a central school in May 1950, with courses lasting usually about one month.

Experience has shown that trade union education, by these methods, is quite easily achieved and quite effective. It would be as well, however, to examine this question more closely, taking note of mistakes and deficiencies together with the way in which these have been corrected.

Mass Lectures

Mass lectures are preferably organised in or near the factories at the end of the day's work.

Dealing with a current subject or with questions of immediate topical interest, they gather to-

[1] Organisations which cover all trade unions in a Department, a French administrative unit.

[2] Organisations which cover all the trade unionists in one locality.

gether a reasonably large number of workers—organised and unorganised—but it is certainly true that more intensive propaganda before each lecture (notices posted up in the factories, appeals in the trade union press, leaflets, etc.), would increase audiences still more.

We have had to abandon the system of a "series of lectures," that is, 5 or 6 lectures linked together and held at regular intervals. This system, in fact, does not permit those attending to keep sufficiently abreast with current events and a great deal of interest is thus lost; in addition, a close examination of attendances has shown that, in general, only about 20% of those attending followed the course of lectures right through, the others coming occasionally when possible or when their interest was aroused by this or that lecture and not by others.

Results were better when we adopted the system of periodic lectures open to all with each lecture complete in itself.

Evening Schools

Hundreds of evening schools are organised for rank and file militants in the factories and localities. This is the form of education in which the trade union organisations and especially the Trades Councils are most actively engaged at present.

The practical tasks of our militants in this period of sharp struggles are so great and so absorbing that evening courses of long duration, six months or a year, for example, lose a good number of their students.

Evening courses held at present are therefore of short duration, with a programme of 5 or 6 sessions. They do not last more than a month and a half with weekly sessions.

It is evident that such a programme is far from providing militants with all the necessary instruction; that is why these preliminary courses are followed, after an interval of several weeks, by other schools, also of short duration, and with a complementary programme.

This system enables continuous education to be maintained with a better application and, what is far from being a negligible point, it enables militants to carry on their practical activity while they are studying.

One-Week Residential Schools and the C.G.T. Central Schools

The residential schools represent a higher stage of trade union education.

The results obtained there are greater since the militants are removed from their factories and their activities in order to devote themselves entirely to study under the constant direction of experienced militants.

The organisation of such schools presents many problems: premises, lodgings, the provision of militants to act as teachers, etc., but the principal difficulty lies in getting time off from the factories for students.

Though somewhat easier to obtain time off for the one-week schools, for schools of longer duration it obviously is more complicated, as for example, for the one-month central school. Someone must be found to replace temporarily the militant in his trade union duties so that the movement will not suffer from his absence. It is also necessary, and this is the most difficult point, to get the employer's approval of the temporary absence. The employers and the State-employer, in fact, put every possible obstacle in the way: either they try to prevent him leaving by threats of dismissal or severe penalties or they take advantage of his "absence" to dismiss him.

The workers must be warned and mobilised to ensure leave of absence for their representative and to protect him in his absence for, in the long run, it is only pressure from the mass of the workers which can make the employers give way. Thus, men and women workers of a Pas de Calais factory demonstrated outside the manager's office and stopped work for a quarter of an hour to force the employer to allow their trade union secretary to attend the central school.

It is not enough to obtain time off for a militant to attend the school, but it is also necessary to guarantee his future activity and to develop his sense of responsibility towards the task entrusted to him by his workmates. That is why trade union organisations organise collections, socials, etc., in the section in which their candidate is active in order to raise a "study scholarship" for him financed by the workers.

In this way, surrounded by the solicitude of his workmates and friends, the militant makes every effort in his studies and on his return from the school his trade union activity is intensified and improved. In addition, the "study scholarship" helps to place the militants under the protection of the mass of the workers.

Organisation of Individual Studies

All these educational efforts, evening courses, lectures and residential schools, would be in vain if our militants did not continue their ideological development through continuing self-study.

In order to assist, direct and supervise individual study our organisations hold periodic study sessions or study circles.

The length of these sessions varies according to the subjects taken and the number of students: an evening, a half day, or a whole day's study.

The subject for study is announced from 2 to 3 weeks in advance and the general outline indicated as well as recommended reading material.

Thus prepared by their personal study, the students bring to the study session their observations, knowledge and experience following a short presentation of the question.

One of the most responsible militants draws the theoretical and practical conclusions from the discussions.

Precisely because it is thus guided and controlled, individual study by the militants is developing in our movement. It has not yet reached the proportions we desire, but it is incontestable that great progress has been achieved and we shall advance still further.

* * *

THE putting into practice of correct organisational forms of education is necessary but the determining factor is the orientation of this work, the content of the instruction to be disseminated.

This is the kernel of the question.

In the present period among the principal concerns of the workers in France, and consequently the militant C.G.T. workers, is the disturbing question of war or peace, the fight for national independence,

CENTRE: **This beautiful pavilion, surrounded by green lawns, is the Central School of the C.G.T.** ABOVE: **A group of active trade unionists studying at the school.** BELOW: **Photograph taken during one of the courses.**

against poverty, unemployment, against the redoubled attacks on democratic liberties and social gains.

To be of use our trade union education must deal with these matters; it must tackle all these subjects to make them clear to the workers. These are also the same questions occupying the attention of our C.G.T. trade union organisations, and this is precisely why the C.G.T. is a mass organisation embracing 80% of the organised wage-earners and enjoying the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the workers.

At the present time, our men and women militants have many varied tasks and heavy responsibilities. Trade union education, to be of value, must therefore assist them to gain an even better understanding of the need for these tasks and enable them better to assume their responsibilities. It must, therefore, not only meet the general problems of the working class, but also the many requirements of the worker militants at all levels.

That is why we take such care in drawing up our programmes, whether they are for lectures, evening schools, study circles, or full-time courses.

In our evening schools, at the primary level, we deal with the following:

—the economic and social conditions of the workers;

—their struggle for their economic and social demands;

—the active fight of the trade unions for peace;

—the fight for the achievement of working class unity;

—organisational questions.

At the Secondary level for our militants we deal with the following:

—the factory trade union branch;

—rights and duties of shop stewards;

—factory committees;

—the defence and organisation of women and young workers, North African workers in France, etc.;

—the World Federation of Trade Unions.

* * *

Experience has shown that such a programme at present corresponds to the interests and essential needs of the workers and factory militants. We could give numerous examples such as the textile factory in Lyons, where the trade union organised a mass lecture denouncing capitalist "productivity" at a time when the employer was trying by various means to increase the exploitation of the men and women workers in his establishment, or the example of the Ford plant at Poissy where, during a strike, the trade union branch drew a large number of workers to a lecture on "The capitalist State in France,'" on the day after there had been police violence against strike pickets.

* * *

TO have real trade union education, it is not sufficient, however, to choose carefully the subjects for study dealing with the concerns and tasks of the trade union movement; it is equally important that each of these subjects be correctly handled.

A correct treatment of the subjects selected for study means giving them a correct content corresponding faithfully to the orientation of the trade union movement. In fact, the C.G.T. defends the workers' interests on a number of problems. It expresses a reasoned opinion on each problem based on principle and on experience of struggles; it provides action slogans taking care to serve the interests of the working class and the people of France. Our C.G.T. trade union education thus has to pose the problems on which the C.G.T. has taken a stand and to deal with them in line with C.G.T. policy.

When dealing with the problem of war and peace, for example, we analyse the rôle played by American imperialism and its different plans for war preparation (Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, Schuman Plan, etc.); we show that it is in the capitalist world that the warmongers must be sought, and that the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies by their very nature are pillars of peace. We thus take a stand in our trade union education not by virtue of particular principles of trade union education and independent of the policy of the C.G.T., but because it is the policy of the C.G.T. Starting from this basis, we proceed to a deeper examination of questions to bring out clearly the present tasks arising from them and also to foresee their development.

Our education is therefore an integral part of the activity and life of the C.G.T. Its study curricula and the content of its instruction correspond scrupulously to the policy of our trade union movement as it is defined democratically in our regular meetings.

Under such conditions the work of education must be placed under the sole direction of the trade union organisations. They can, in certain cases, call on outside help, but without in any way departing from their rôle of leadership. That is the method followed in the C.G.T.

Under such conditions the theoretical bases of C.G.T. trade union education are clearly indicated: the theoretical works of the French and international working class, resolutions of our congresses, the reports of our leaders such as Benoit Frachon and Alain Le Léap, the resolutions and reports of the W.F.T.U.

When dealing with working class unity, for example, we deal with it in the light of the classics of the working class movement and our best material is the various speeches of our General Secretary, Benoit Frachon, the C.G.T. resolutions on the question, the resolutions and reports of the W.F.T.U. (especially the report of Louis Saillant, General Secretary, and the resolution of the July, 1951, W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, laying down the general conditions for the achievement of the unity of the workers as well as the speeches and resolutions of the W.F.T.U. General Council of November, 1951). What is true of unity is also true of any other problem: peace, struggle for economic demands, organisational questions, etc. In fact, for all these problems, the meetings of the C.G.T. and the W.F.T.U. furnish us with an abundance of material.

Who will thus make the best educators, and the best "teachers" of our trade union education, if not the militant workers themselves, who apply theory in achieving their tasks and verifying them? It is thus our militant workers who, above all, direct and animate our schools at all levels. For example, in our central school, the C.G.T. Secretaries conduct most of the courses and, in the C.G.T. leadership, our Brother Gaston Monmousseau, honoured militant of the French working class movement, is directly responsible for the work of trade union education.

In practice, therefore, we not only give a correct content to our education, but we also relate our instruction to life, to the rich experience of all workers' struggles,

to the whole French and international working class movement.

If we have had and will have considerable success, it is because of our method of work.

* * *

IT is quite evident that our achievements in trade union education could not be followed by the organisations in other capitalist or colonial countries without change. And, of course, problems are quite different in the Socialist world, where the workers, being in power, have other tasks and other means of action. The French working class, like the entire French nation, has its own characteristic traits which are appropriate to it; it has developed in a way appropriate to the particular conditions of our country; it fights to-day with slogans, organisational forms, and methods of action, which take into account our national characteristics. Our educational work is fashioned in this mould. One could not entirely fashion from this mould the trade union education of other movements.

Conditions in the other capitalist countries, as in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, are different, and trade union education in these countries, though they may have some similarities with our system, must necessarily have some differences in form, in ways of expression and often in content.

In our opinion, however, our experience permits some valuable lessons to be drawn for many organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U.:

1. Firstly, the necessity of trade union education to raise the ideological level of workers and militants, to strengthen the will and capacity for struggle of the working class; the importance of aid from the trade union organisations to its militants at all levels and especially in the factories, where the main struggle is waged against the employers. Trade union education, in fact, helps the militants to work better, to see the complex problems of today more clearly, and to develop their initiative.

Above all, it is of prime importance to convince the militants themselves of this need for trade union education, for it must be recognised that a certain number—continually decreasing — neglect this form of activity to a certain extent, because they attribute an exaggerated importance to "practice" which they mistakenly oppose to "theory"; that is, they still do not know the real aims of trade union education, its programmes and its content.

2. It brings out the close and indispensable link between the content of trade union education and the policy of the trade union movement. If it fulfils this condition, trade union education really serves the movement.

The preamble of the W.F.T.U. Constitution, its resolutions and reports furnish trade union education with a starting point suitable for all the affiliated organisations which it is necessary to adapt to the particular conditions of each country.

3. A final conclusion is necessary from the point of view of the organisation of the work: that of promoting a sufficiently wide variety of conditions of the workers and militants and thus giving each one at least the possibility of taking part in some form of study.

* * *

TO conclude this survey dealing with the experience of the French C.G.T. in the field of trade union education, we hope sincerely that militants in other organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. will also share their experiences.

We are certain that we could draw some very useful lessons from them.

PROTEST AGAINST THE BANNING OF MAY DAY DEMONSTRATIONS IN TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

THE World Confederation of Trade Unions has learned with deep indignation of the new arbitrary act of the French Colonialist Government forbidding the traditional May First demonstrations in Tunisia and Morocco.

The millions of workers who will take effective part in the popular May Day ceremonies or demonstrations in their respective countries on May First will think of their brothers in Morocco and Tunisia whom an imperialist Government wishes to prevent from demonstrating publicly their firm resolve to obtain better living conditions and to win their national independence.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is convinced that the workers of Tunisia and Morocco will know how to reply to this attack on Trade union rights by strengthening their unity and their trade unions.

It assures them of the active and fraternal solidarity of its 80 million members, who will have the opportunity on May First of making this solidarity effective by calling upon all the workers of the world to proclaim their confidence in the final victory of the workers of Tunisia and Morocco.

LOUIS SAILLANT.

April 30th, 1952.

French C.G.T. Protest

THE Bureau of the French C.G.T. has published a communiqué protesting against the banning of the May Day demonstrations in Morocco and Tunisia. The Confederal Bureau renews its assurance of the fraternal solidarity of the working class and people of France with the workers and the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco in their fight for independence and peace, and against poverty and repression.

It calls upon all workers to associate the demands of the colonial peoples with the slogans of the French working class during the May Day demonstrations.

TO DEFEND Our Children

by
MARY WOLFARD

THE International Conference in Defence of Children was a remarkable conference in that seldom do we see gathered in one hall and united for one purpose so many men and women from so many countries, of so many points of view and so many professions. It was equally remarkable to see representatives from the peoples' organisations of the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Conference was held in Vienna's Musikverein, where over 500 delegates from 64 countries spent five loaded days from April 12 making and listening to speeches, holding ardent multi-language discussions in the fortunately long intervals, and considering and voting on the resolutions.

It would be difficult to say whether delegates got more out of listening to the formal speeches—many of which gave shocking accounts of children's lives in colonial countries—or from the informal between-session talks when British teachers button-holed their Australian counterparts, and victims of colonial repression in different parts of the world compared their living standards with those of their brothers in the world where man rules himself.

The main work of the Conference began in plenary session with the presenting of four general reports on peace, health, education and cultural influences, followed by discussion and contributions from the floor. It broke up on the third day into commissions to consider specific questions, and reunited on the last day to vote on the resolutions.

The aim of the Conference is best summed up in the slogan "Let us defend the Life, Health and Education of our Children in a World at Peace." The attitude of the delegates was excellently put by Professor Gustav Moned, formerly Director General of Secondary Education in France, when he said: "We all feel like fathers and mothers at the sight of a child that suffers and is hungry, or of a child that smiles." This last statement is the key to understanding the origin of the great determination shown by this very broad conference to overcome political and philosophical differences so that resolutions once hammered out might be unanimously adopted and that delegations might return to their countries united and able to carry out the many facets of work in defence of children.

Peace All-Important

THE dominating theme in the conference was the necessity for peace without which even the physical safety of children cannot be secured. And given peace, that is, constructive peace and not a mere highly-armed truce, the enormous expenditure at present being poured down the drain for armaments and maintaining armed services can at once

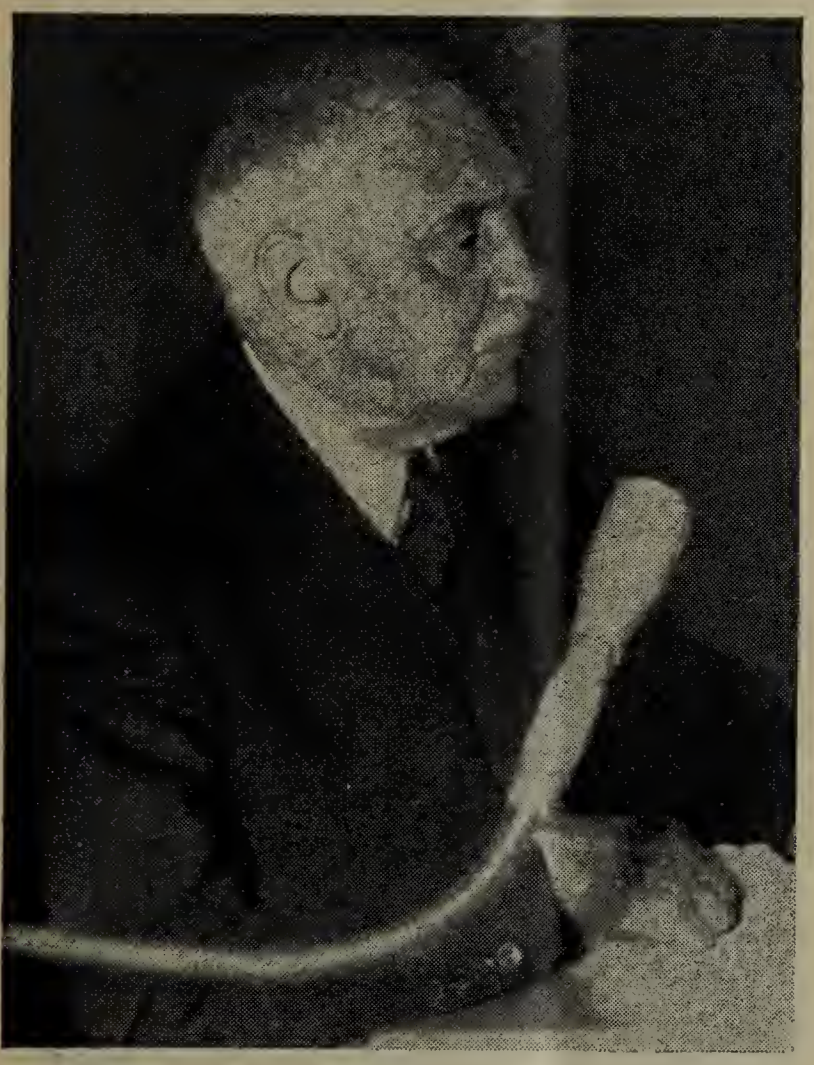
be spent on such valuable things as our children's present and future well-being.

Talk of peace turned to talk of the American aggressors whom many delegates characterised as the children's greatest enemy. The speech which really hit hardest at American war-making was that of Mrs. Kim En Sou of Korea. Several listeners were in tears at her terrible account of the effects of war on the Korean children killed in air raids, trampled to death by the enemy, lost and frightened and crying over the dead bodies of their parents. She spoke of the vile atrocities committed against children of which their mothers were enforced spectators. She denounced the bacteriological warfare at present being carried on against the Korean and Chinese peoples and called on everyone, in the name of the Korean mothers, to demand the cessation of bacteriological warfare and the bringing to trial and punishment of the criminal perpetrators. The applause which greeted this speech was an unmistakable demonstration of the world-wide solidarity and sympathy for the Korean people.

The delegates from the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies, China and the German Democratic Republic where children are regarded as the nation's most precious capital, were able to speak of schemes already accomplished and of their ability still further to improve the lot of their children. To give just a few examples, the Rumanians were able to boast of their numerous creches, the Czechs of their splendid children's homes and the Hungarians of their many cultural facilities for children.

The best way to get the feel of this conference is to talk to some of the delegates, to see what kind of people they are and what they hope will be the results of the conference.

Prof. Gustave Monod, the distinguished French educationalist who presented a report on the need for peace, said, "Buildings are being put up for our youth but they are military barracks."

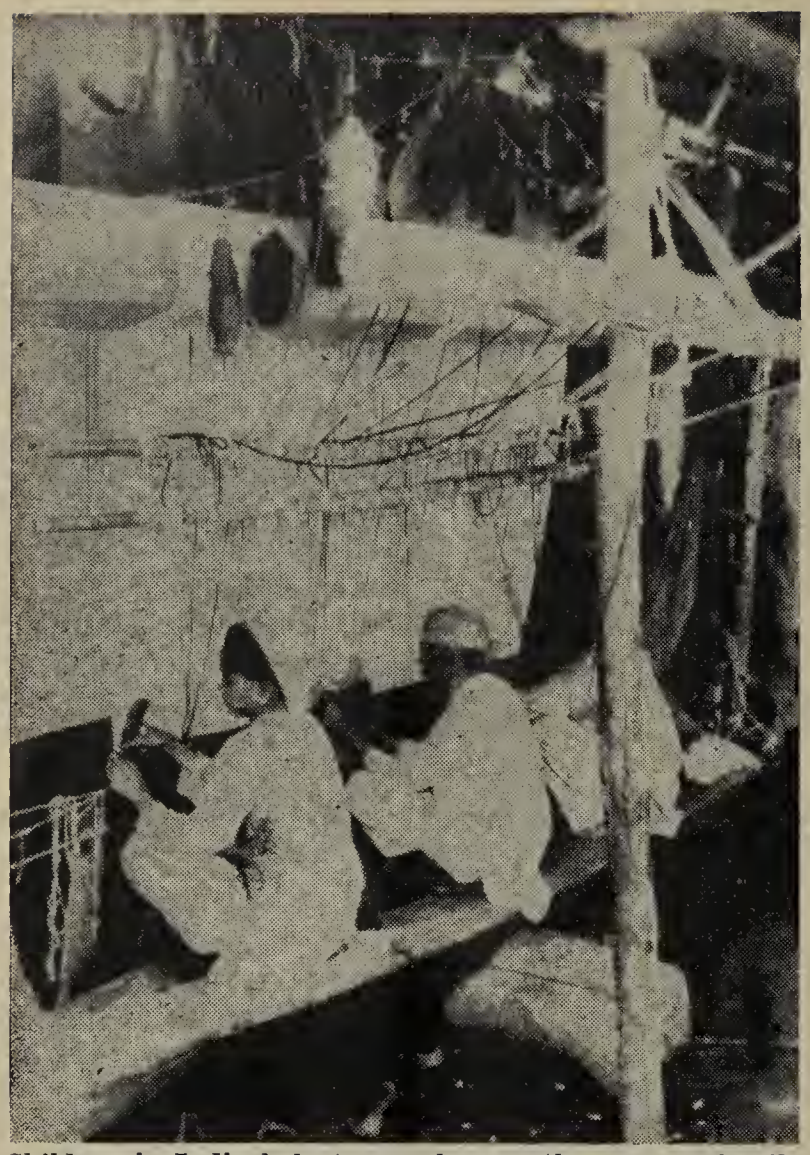


Canadian Condemns Comics

WILLIAM WILKINSON, a bricklayer of Vancouver on the Pacific coast of Canada gave an interview to *World Trade Union Movement*. This white-haired 69-year-old trade union militant had travelled across two continents and an ocean to be present at what he considered to be an exceedingly important international conference.

He thinks that comic books and films are two of the worst influences in American social life today. "For instance," he said, "our local newspaper prints 210,000 copies a day. Every week-day there are 4 sheets of comics and in the Saturday-Sunday edition there are 36 sheets. *Thus in a comparatively small*

RIGHT: General view of the Conference. Among the many distinguished people on the platform is Monica Felton (Great Britain) who was recently awarded a Stalin Peace Prize.



Children in India help to supplement the meagre family earnings. Here young boys at Agra in India are weaving carpets. They are paid 2 annas (2¼ pence) for every thousand knots made.

community, just under 12 *million sheets of comics are distributed every week by one newspaper alone.* They have a tremendous hold. The kids see the old man reading the comics and demand them for themselves. They play shooting and war all the time.

"What we need are schools that cater for children's imagination and energy and more sports."

William Wilkinson emphasised that in Canada it was often difficult to give children a decent start in life owing to a lack of cash. Money wages are high, but prices are higher. "When I came to Toronto in 1911, I was paid 50 cents an hour. Today, in Vancouver, the rate is $2.10 an hour, but in 1911 I could buy 3 lbs. of steak for 25 cents or 6 lbs. for an hour's work. Today, with steak at 90 cents a lb. I'd have to work more than two and a half hours for my 6 lbs. Wages never catch up."

Unemployment Hits Children

RINA PICCOLATO was with the Italian delegation. Since 1947 she has led the Italian General Confederation of Labour's National Women's Committee. This woman has spent her whole life fighting for the benefit of the Italian people. Under the fascist regime she worked in an underground organisation until the war when she went to work at the Partisan H.Q., where she held the rank of Captain. She is used to danger and has been arrested many times.

Rina Piccolato told *World Trade Union Movement* that the C.G.I.L. fully realised the importance of happy healthy children to the community. "Family life is undergoing a difficult period in Italy today with two million workers totally unemployed and more than two million on part-time. Wages are low, particularly in Sicily, which is also notorious for the employment of child labour.

"The C.G.I.L. welcomes the opportunity presented by this world platform to denounce child labour and the situation in which the Italian mother and her child find themselves.

"We have a law in Italy making various provisions protecting expectant mothers, but it is not applied. We must fight for its full application.

"The C.G.I.L. is fighting against unemployment and poverty which is the chief cause of illness among children. We are fighting for peace and against war production and thus for better living conditions."

Some of the organised workers in Bologna have already decided to organise committees for the protection of the workers' children. They are particularly keen to see that adequate creches and children's holiday camps are organised. The C.G.I.L. was very happy to see such enterprise and is encouraging its emulation throughout the country.

Italian children in Naples have nowhere but the streets to play in, and nothing better to do than to play cards.

Happy children from Kirghistan (U.S.S.R.) spend a summer holiday at one of the holiday homes in the mountains.

No Schools for Africans

ANDRE NYOB of the Cameroons presented still another point of view to *World Trade Union Movement*. This French African delegate was particularly interested in securing better educational facilities for African children because he feels that so long as African children are deprived of schooling, so long will they be kept out of skilled jobs and be ill-equipped to fight against racial discrimination. This 29 year old secretary of the Cameroon's People's Union said that "Africans aren't given a chance to bring their families up properly." There are only three trade schools in the country, two of which are privately owned. There are less than a thousand students turned out each year so that the majority of Africans in the French Cameroons remain unskilled workers at wages of from two to three shillings a day. Even an African chauffeur gets only three shillings a day, while a European doing the same work gets 12 to 16 shillings a day plus allowances.

"So our children work," Andre Nyob went on. "There are practically no schools and you find children only nine years old doing heavy work. But we are fighting back. We had numerous strikes in the last few months. There was a successful textile strike which resulted in the signing of the *first collective agreement in the country*. New trade unions are being set up every day, but we are short of cadres. If any whites help us they are immediately sent back to France.

"We are a peasant people with very few big landowners, but the Bank of Indo-China (supported by the threats of the French government) has recently acquired over 100,000 acres of land from the peasants which it is turning over to rubber plantations.

"We have no real medical school. We turn out only 20 or 30 nurses a year for a population of 3 million Africans and there are only 3 African doctors.

"We must fight for adequate housing for our peasants who today live in unfurnished damp one-room bamboo huts through which come wind and rain, and are inhabited by families with five or six children."

They are Still Dying

THE point stressed by the Japanese delegate, Takako Matsumoto, when interviewed, was the need for peace. This young Tokyo textile worker was herself a child when the last war broke out and was still in her teens when atom bombs fell on Japan.

"Japanese children were the first victims of atom bombing. Thousands were killed and are *still dying* as a result of the raids on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Their unhappiness today is a direct outcome of the policies which have culminated in the shameful so-called peace and security treaties.

"Since the conclusion of these treaties, Japan has openly become a military base particularly for bacteriological warfare; as long as this state of affairs continues, the Japanese people feel responsible for the fate of the Korean and Chinese children.

"The remilitarisation of Japan is a great threat to the rest of Asia. The fight for the protection of children is a link in the chain of the overall fight for the protection of mankind from war, poverty, ignorance and disease.

"When I get back to Japan, I, with the other Japanese delegates, will start a campaign in every factory, in every town and village protesting against the use of bacteriological warfare. We Japanese must face our responsibility in this matter. We must fight for peace."

Australian Slums

THE Australian delegate who talked to *W.T.U.M.* was very concerned over the effect of bad housing and poverty on children and family life. Thirty-three year old Les Flood went to work as a child. At only 13 years of age, he was compelled to do repetition work in a factory to help keep his widowed mother and the rest of the family. He drifted from one blind alley job to another until he was lucky enough to get himself apprenticed as a welder at the age of 18 at 32s. a week. He had to play in a dance band at night in order to live.

On housing and the conditions in which the less fortunate young Australians live, he said: "I come from the Sydney slums. A lot of people think there aren't any slums in Australia, but *in Sydney alone there are ten thousand acres of them.* You can see the results in the infant mortality figures. In Australia, as a whole, the infantile mortality rate is 24 per thousand live births. In the best Sydney suburbs, it is as low as 14 per thousand. Where we live it is 67 *per thousand.* Ninety per cent of Sydney tuberculosis cases come from my area. There are 1½ million homeless and badly housed people in Australia today. *That is one quarter of the whole population.*

"You can see the effects of poverty in the schools too. No matter how good a poor kid is at school, the chances are four out of five that he'll finish up with an unskilled job."

These are the sort of people who drew up the resolutions at this conference. People who really have experience of the sufferings of children in capitalist and colonial society today.

These are the people who say:

"Let us demand that an important part of budgets should be set aside for the social and cultural needs of children instead of being devoted to armaments.

"To safeguard our children, let us use all our strength to re-establish and consolidate peace between men.

"Let us demand the condemnation and the banning of the horrible crime of mass murder of children by atomic and bacteriological weapons.

"Let us proclaim the right of the colonial peoples to free themselves from the oppression which is stifling them and sacrificing their children.

"It depends on you whether our sons and daughters shall live, whether our children and our children's children shall be happy. Peace and the well-being of children are inseparable."

WAR BUDGET AND THE PEOPLES' POVERTY

THE American Congress, between June 1950 and October 1951, authorised nearly 100,000 million dollars for military expenditure for the coming years; military expenditure in the Western European countries for 1952 is estimated at more than 12,000 million dollars which is 50% more than in 1951 and 80% more than in 1950.

By way of comparison we must remember that the annual national income of the countries of Asia (China excluded) for 805 million inhabitants was 46,000 million dollars in 1950; that of South America for 107 million inhabitants, 18,000 million, and that of Africa, for 198 million inhabitants, 14,000 million dollars. **Thus, the expenditure listed in the preceding paragraph exceeds by 40% the total national income of 1,110 million people in three continents.**

And now ask yourself two questions:

1—Could not the living standards of the masses of the people be considerable improved were these colossal sums to be used for life-giving projects?

2—Can those who swallow such fabulous sums for works of death want anything else but war?

Therefore! Fight for disarmament!

IN CANADA AND THE U.S.A.

Mine-Mill Women Organise Backing for Union's Struggles

By DOROTHY McDONALD
Chairman, Mine-Mill Women's Auxiliaries

● This article describes the activities of the women's auxiliaries of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (international because it has local branches in both Canada and the United States) in support of Mine-Mill's struggles against employers and against the raiding tactics of the right-wing leaders of the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.).

Women's auxiliaries to trade unions, quite common in the U.S.A. and Canada, are organisations parallel to the union branches for the wives of trade union members. In addition to being members of the auxiliaries, wives who work themselves will, of course, be regular members of the trade union in the industry in which they work. In many trade unions they are primarily social organisations, but in some, such as Mine-Mill, they also play an important role in the struggles of the union, as this article shows.

For several years, even before the expulsion of Mine-Mill from C.I.O., the C.I.O. Steelworkers' Union had been raiding Mine-Mill, that is, trying to induce workers to leave Mine-Mill branches and join the Steelworkers' Union. When the C.I.O. expelled Mine-Mill two years ago these raids were intensified, becoming official C.I.O. policy to try to destroy this and other progressive unions which had been expelled for refusing to follow C.I.O. policy of support for the Truman war program.

Raids take the form of sending a team of high-paid organisers with plenty of money from C.I.O. and steelworkers' treasuries into an area where workers belong to Mine-Mill. There they undertake a high-pressure propaganda campaign with leaflets, meetings, radio talks, personal talks with workers and their families, accompanied by red-baiting propaganda, lies, fraud, and sometimes bribery, threats, and violence. After inducing a number of workers to sign membership cards in the Steelworkers' Union, a request is made to the government Labor Board for an official election among the plant's employees to try to have the steel union certified as the workers' collective bargaining agent and Mine-Mill eliminated from the plant. Because of the solidarity of Mine-Mill members and the women these campaigns have been unsuccessful.

MUCH has been written at various times about the struggles and achievements of the International Union of Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers, or "Mine-Mill" as most of our members call it. Not too much publicity has been given to the part the women of Mine-Mill have played in these struggles, or to their aims and ambitions.

Ten years ago, Kirkland Lake (Ontario) was much in the news, because Mine-Mill Local 240 had called a simultaneous community-wide strike against the operators of nine gold mines. This came after unsuccessful attempts of Local 240 to secure better wages, working conditions and union recognition.

At that time, the Mine-Mill Auxiliary in Kirkland Lake was headed by Clara Simpson, an attractive Scottish-born woman of frail appearance. That frail exterior was deceptive. Because Clara proved to be a dynamo of energy whose courage never flagged during that bitter struggle which lasted three months.

When the strike commenced, the Auxiliary in Kirkland Lake comprised 68 members. During the struggle it grew by leaps and bounds until there were 312. The women were active on ALL the strike fronts and there were plenty of fronts. First of all there was the "coffee-kitchen" where coffee and tea, and (if we were lucky) sandwiches were prepared for the men on picket duty at nine mines and in the wood yard where the men were cutting the wood needed by the strikers' families.

There were the women who staffed the strike benefit office from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. each day, and

sometimes those same women left the office to go directly on the "coffee shift" for another four hours.

There was a super entertainment committee which provided the strikers with excellent concerts, plays, etc., all free and all made up of local talent. There were the Auxiliary members who were registered nurses and as such went into the homes of strikers where there was illness and also cared for the mothers and the many new babies born during the strike. This was a herculean task since about 4,500 miners were on strike.

There was a special committee set up to handle the distribution of Christmas cheer which comprised such items as turkeys, plum puddings, Christmas cakes, toys and clothing. There was the strike sewing centre where clothing was repaired, cut down and remade and distributed to needy families.

There were, in short, a thousand and one things for our busy hands to do and somehow those things got done. We had help, of course, from all over Canada and the United States in the form of funds, shoes, and food.

Mine-Mill Auxiliary members bring hot coffee to the pickets during the Noranda strike.

We Don't Back Down

During all this time we had to contend with a vicious labour-baiting newspaper, and about three hundred Provincial Police who had been especially imported to intimidate the strikers and their families and to do a job for the mine owners. They didn't scare us; we backed down for nobody.

After the strike in Kirkland Lake, Mine-Mill organisers went into Sudbury (Ontario) to get the nickel miners organised. These organisers were subjected to brutal intimidation by the goons of the International Nickel Company, but they did not give up. The fact was that the long-suffering miners of that district were anxious to become organised. With the organisation of Mine-Mill Local 598 came also the organisation of the women's Auxiliary No. 117.

Today, Local 598 Mine-Mill is the largest trade union Local in Canada with a membership of nearly 17,000. The Auxiliary to that Local is also the largest Auxiliary within Mine-Mill and also the most active. They are active in EVERY phase of community life and have established a tremendous prestige all over this province.

The plant which refines the ore from Sudbury (Ontario) is located in Port Colborne. The workers in this refinery were under Mine-Mill contract and bargained jointly with Local 598 in Sudbury in their negotiations with the International Nickel Company. This was the situation when the raids by the Steel Union started in Port Colborne.

Members of Auxiliary No. 206 sewing clothes during the Carlsbad potash strike.

Women Stop Raiders

In April 1949, I went into Port Colborne to organise an Auxiliary to Local 637. The women there realised that the welfare of the union was at stake and that their standard of living would certainly suffer unless they came through victoriously. They immediately started to raise funds to assist Local 637 in fighting the raiders.

At the height of the campaign Port Colborne was full of Steel goons. Mine-Mill was fighting with every means at its command. The women helped in house-to-house canvassing to convince the workers that raiding helped no one except the boss. They helped to make up leaflets, and they also distributed these leaflets at the refinery gates in the early mornings.

During all this time Mine-Mill had only two International Representatives in Port Colborne and at a most crucial time one of them turned traitor and went over to the raiding forces. Steel had at that time *twenty-two paid organisers in that town* and made a last desperate attempt to overthrow Mine-Mill. Here the women showed they could do a job by following those Steel goons and stopping them from calling on Mine-Mill people in an effort to get them to vote for Steel.

Auxiliary No. 136 of Port Colborne deserves a special badge for courage in the field of battle. The President of Local 627, Mike Kopinak, told me, "We never would have won that fight if it hadn't been for the strong support we got from the women."

Another strike that was much in the news was that of the giant copper and gold mine at Noranda (Quebec). It lasted nearly three months through the coldest winter in Northern Quebec. Ladies' Auxiliary No. 125 (Rouyn-Noranda) had about 25 members at the beginning of that strike. They immediately called for volunteers amongst the wives of the union members to help in the task of serving coffee, making sandwiches, soup, etc. The response was excellent and the Auxiliary was able to serve lunch to the picket line every three hours, or once on each shift. Each 24 hours all through the strike, seven days a week, Christmas Day and all, 650 men were served lunch. The attendance was good right up to the last; the women never missed a shift with the soup, sandwiches and coffee and the men were tremendously proud of them.

It was the *presence* of the women that helped maintain the morale of the men during that struggle.

In addition to the everlasting "coffee patrol" as they called it, although it was more food than coffee, they looked after the needy cases among union members. They issued an appeal for clothing from the rest of the labor movement, and clothes started coming immediately, box after box.

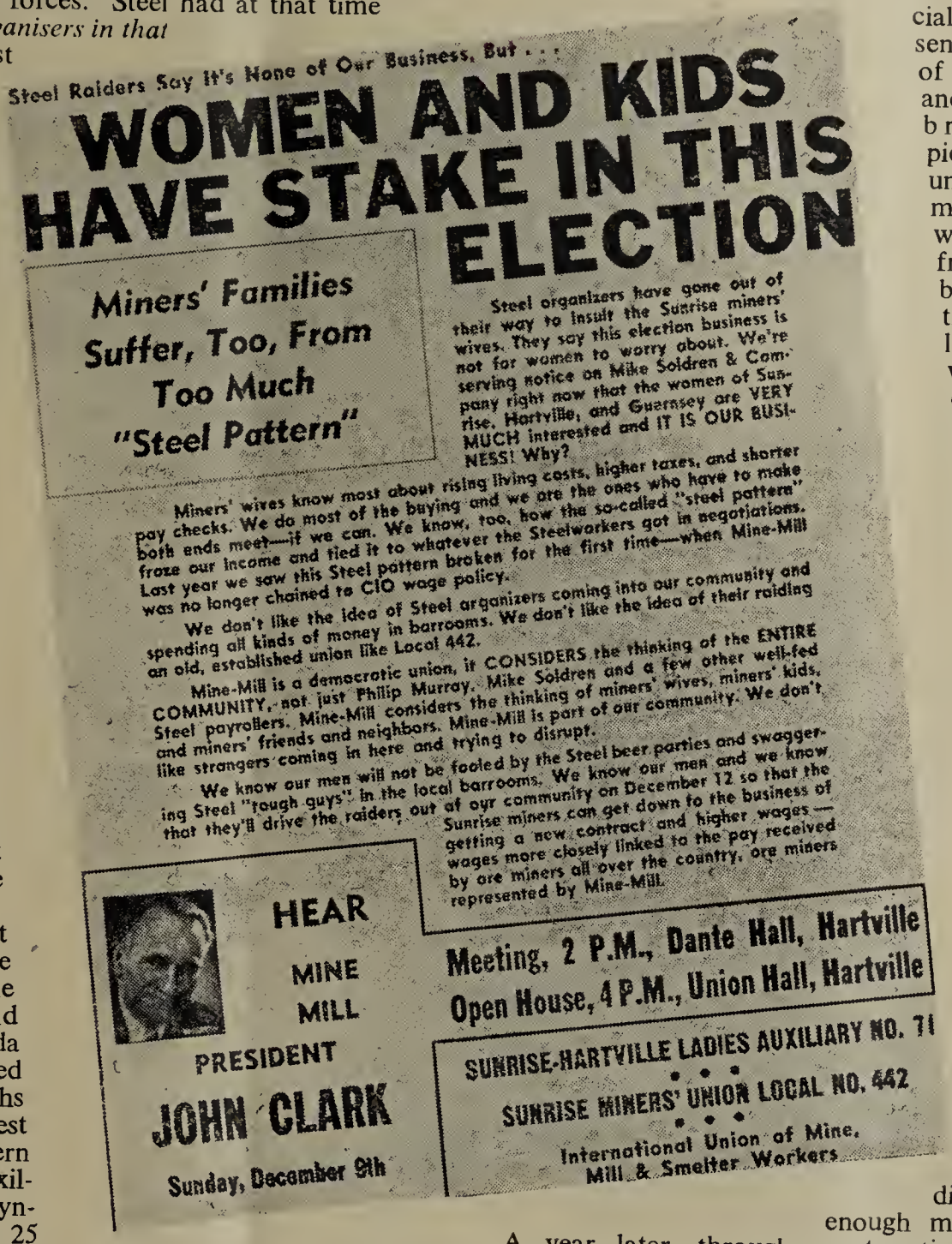
Then there was the matter of providing a cheerful Christmas for the families of the striking miners. The Auxiliary issued an appeal for either money or toys and the union set up a shop to repair and renovate toys.

The Quebec Provincial Police had been sent in at the request of the Noranda Mine, and were hell-bent on breaking up that picket line, so the union had to provide mass pickets. The women went to the front of the lines, but the police turned the tear-gas on the lines, including women and children. These women refused to budge, however, being led by their fiery little President, Coughlin. The battle was won.

Timmins (Ontario) Auxiliary No. 128 to Local 241 Mine - Mill have been active in every phase of the Auxiliary program since their organisation in 1944. When the raiding Steelworkers attempted to smash Local 241 by stealing all the furnishings and finances, it was the Auxiliary which came to the immediate rescue, with enough money to carry on. A year later, through court action, Local 241 was successful in getting the properties returned.

The favourite task of this Auxiliary was to take the early morning leaflet shift. This meant distributing Local 241 and Auxiliary 128 leaflets at all the city bus stops down town, from 5.30 to 6.45 a.m. One morning we even had the satisfaction of chasing the steel raiders off the corners. They had appeared with their leaflets after we got there, but they didn't stay more than five minutes.

This Auxiliary was active in raising funds for the striking Canadian Seamen's Union, for the Autoworkers, in fact for every major strike in and outside



Steel Raiders Say It's None of Our Business, But . . .

WOMEN AND KIDS HAVE STAKE IN THIS ELECTION

Miners' Families Suffer, Too, From Too Much "Steel Pattern"

Steel organizers have gone out of their way to insult the Sunrise miners' wives. They say this election business is not for women to worry about. We're serving notice on Mike Soldren & Company right now that the women of Sunrise, Hartville, and Guernsey are VERY MUCH interested and IT IS OUR BUSINESS! Why?

Miners' wives know most about rising living costs, higher taxes, and shorter pay checks. We do most of the buying and we are the ones who have to make both ends meet—if we can. We know, too, how the so-called "steel pattern" froze our income and tied it to whatever the Steelworkers got in negotiations. Last year we saw this Steel pattern broken for the first time—when Mine-Mill was no longer chained to CIO wage policy.

We don't like the idea of Steel organizers coming into our community and spending all kinds of money in barrooms. We don't like the idea of their raiding an old, established union like Local 442.

Mine-Mill is a democratic union, it CONSIDERS the thinking of the ENTIRE COMMUNITY, not just Philip Murray, Mike Soldren and a few other well-fed Steel payrollers. Mine-Mill considers the thinking of miners' wives, miners' kids, and miners' friends and neighbors. Mine-Mill is part of our community. We don't like strangers coming in here and trying to disrupt.

We know our men will not be fooled by the Steel beer parties and swaggering Steel "tough guys" in the local barrooms. We know our men and we know that they'll drive the raiders out of our community on December 12 so that the Sunrise miners can get down to the business of getting a new contract and higher wages—wages more closely linked to the pay received by ore miners all over the country, ore miners represented by Mine-Mill.

HEAR

MINE MILL PRESIDENT

JOHN CLARK

Sunday, December 9th

Meeting, 2 P.M., Dante Hall, Hartville

Open House, 4 P.M., Union Hall, Hartville

SUNRISE-HARTVILLE LADIES AUXILIARY NO. 71

SUNRISE MINERS' UNION LOCAL NO. 442

International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers

Inset—A typical leaflet distributed by a Mine-Mill Ladies' Auxiliary.

of Mine-Mill. They set up a strike kitchen in their hall during the strike of the beverage room waiters. The Auxiliary fed the men and walked their picket lines with them too.

The American Zinc Strike, which started at East St. Louis (Illinois) ran for thirteen weeks. Fairmont Smelter Workers' Local 82, who called this strike, organised their Ladies Auxiliary in one morning in about two hours and got twenty-two members.

The reason for the haste in organising was that a "back to work" movement was slated for that day, with the opposition using twenty-two of their women to spearhead the move. They marched to the headquarters of Local 82 with the intent of wrecking the place and then crossing the picket lines and entering the plant, but the Fairmont Smelter Workers' Auxiliary, armed with the necessary implements of war and placards, met the opposition women in front of strike headquarters and broke up the opposition move after about one hour of keeping them surrounded and telling them what was good for them. The strike was about seven months old at that time, and no doubt would have been broken that day had it not been for the militant spirit of those women.

On February 9, 1950, when the raiding Steelworkers' Union struck in their "blitz" attack on Local 480, Trail (British Columbia), there was no branch of the Mine-Mill Auxiliary in existence there. There had been for many years an Auxiliary at Rossland, which is up the mountain from Trail, and after my arrival in Trail on February 20, twelve women signified their desire to form a Trail and District Auxiliary which would include Rossland, and later Castlegar and Kinnaird.

Company gun-men attack the Empire Zinc picket line (note the bulging pocket, containing a tear-gas bomb, of the man at the rear of the automobile).

Gun-men of the Empire Zinc Company, wearing "deputy sheriff" badges, attack the women pickets.

I have never seen anything like the way Local 480 and Auxiliary No. 131 rallied and pitched into that fight to beat the raiders. The women helped by their radio broadcasts once a week with scripts written by themselves. They also wrote and distributed bulletins at the plant gates from time to time.

They sent strong protests to the government on the release of the Nazi General Kurt Meyer, on the decertification of the Canadian Seamen's Union and on the amendment to the Citizenship Act.

In November 1949, Mine-Mill Local 415 at Carlsbad, (New Mexico) went out on strike. These Potash miners had a newly chartered Ladies' Auxiliary (No. 206), to give them complete support.

The women were active on all the strike fronts, which is typical of a Mine-Mill Auxiliary. They issued an appeal for financial aid which soon started pouring in, making a good Christmas for the strikers' children. They also made toys and sewed gifts in their own sewing room for the strikers' families. Christmas dinner that year was served in the Union to all the strikers and their families by the Auxiliary members.

The Auxiliary membership grew quite large during the strike and they have been doing a splendid job ever since that time. They have sent protests to government officials on the McCarran Act, and have wired the office of Wage Stab-

iliser Nathan Feinsinger, in an effort at breaking through the wage freeze.

Manning the Picket Line

The Empire Zinc strike at Bayard (New Mexico) has just ended successfully after a year-and-a-half struggle.

The courage and determination of these workers and their families during this long hard year and a half is something for labor history as are the heroic actions and achievements of Auxiliary No. 209 at Bayard. The first nine months of the strike were rather uneventful, with the company refusing to meet any of the reasonable demands of the union and indeed refusing to bargain.

In June, things began to move fast. The company announcing that they were reopening the plant, recruited scabs, and hired company-paid "sheriff's deputies" to escort them to work. Violence flared up on the picket lines which were at this time manned by the striking men. A State court injunction restraining picketing was obtained by the company. Wives of the strikers and wives of other members of Local 890 then took over the picketing and have valiantly carried on to the end in spite of being subjected to brutal intimidation by these "sheriff's deputies." Some of them, together with their young children, were thrown into jail and kept for hours without food. When released, they went right back to the picket lines. In spite of about 91 court cases in the various municipal, county and State courts, the strikers held firm, and their unity has brought final victory.

These are the most important struggles which Mine-Mill has passed through during the past decade. There were many lesser fights, but ALL of them were important too.

The women of Kellogg and Hailey (Idaho), the women of Sunrise-Hartville (Wyoming), or Rodeo and Selby (California) all backed their men-folk to the hilt when it came to a showdown with the companies on the raiders.

We know that as long as we remain solidly united, nothing can do us any real harm and we are steadily working toward a goal of drawing into the struggles of the workers all members of the workers' families.

The Right Way to Help the Peoples of Under-developed Countries

A COMPLETE modern steel combine, with blast furnaces, coking plant, steel works and rolling mills, possessing a productive capacity of a million tons annually costs about 300 to 350 million dollars. None of the countries at present considered under-developed possesses such a factory. An engineering factory of 1,000 workers for the production of machine tools costs about 10 million dollars, a textile machine factory costs about 6 to 7 million dollars, and a factory of the same size for the production of ordinary agricultural machinery (ploughs, harvesters, harrows) about 2½ to 3 million dollars. The construction of such factories could raise very considerably the living standards of entire regions.

It should be noted that aircraft carriers now in construction cost from 90 to 220 million dollars each.

Just calculate! How many factories for peaceful production could be built to raise the living standards of the peoples of the under-developed countries!

And what a crime it is to construct, instead, engines of death . . . to be used later to exterminate the peoples!

The Sudan Workers' Federation Shows the Way To Freedom and Well-being

• **By A SUDANESE TRADE UNIONIST**

AS we go to Press we have received information on the new wave of repression let loose against the Sudan Workers' Federation. The following telegram was immediately sent by the World Federation of Trade Unions:

"In the name of 80 million organised workers throughout the world, the World Federation of Trade Unions protests against the mass arrests of trade union leaders in the Sudan, the arbitrary seizure of the headquarters of your Federation, and the banning of the May Day demonstrations.

"These arbitrary measures reveal once more the kind of democracy which the imperialists are bringing to the subjugated peoples.

"We greet the heroic Sudanese workers, fighting for their legitimate rights, for the liberation of the Sudanese people from the yoke of British imperialism, for peace and freedom.

"We are certain that the struggle of the Sudanese workers and the international solidarity of the working class will succeed in freeing Brothers Salam and Shafei and the other militant workers from the hands of the imperialists.

"LOUIS SAILLANT, General Secretary, 2.5.52."

We Fight for Better Conditions

THE Sudanese trade union movement dates from 1947, when the Sudan Railway Workers at Atbara organised to establish a genuine trade union organisation. The management of the Sudan Railways, backed by the central government, stubbornly opposed this. To enforce their will, the railwaymen staged a powerful demonstration from the workshops to the manager's office. Though they were fiercely attacked by the police, the demonstrators succeeded in forcing their way into the manager's office, where they presented their demand for trade union recognition.

Faced with this strong united front of railway workers, the government was forced to open negotiations with them, but did their best to drag these out and to damp down the spirit of the workers. In reply to these tactics, the workers went on strike for 33 days until the government yielded and recognised the railwaymen's trade union. In this way the Sudanese labour movement was born.

Trade Unions Our Right

The victory of the railwaymen inspired other sections of government workers, as well as those employed by the big foreign enterprises, to put forward similar demands for trade union recognition. Throughout 1947 and 1948, the Sudanese workers fought for the right to form trade unions. Their very experience of the monopolies' terrible exploitation and of government repression compelled the workers to come to the conclusion that only through united trade union action could they fight to improve their conditions. Thus the fight for trade union recognition was the main immediate task in this period.

Government reaction to the ensuing widespread struggle was violent. Realising that it was no longer possible to stop the development of trade unionism, the government tried to manoeuvre, allowing trade unions to function on a limited basis. With this aim in mind, it introduced a *Trade Union Law* in 1948 which denied the Sudanese workers the right to strike

and refused them the elementary right of uniting their various trade unions into a central trade union organisation.

The government hoped that this *Trade Union Law* would result in splitting the growing trade union movement into a number of scattered organisations, isolated from each other, possessing no legal weapons of struggle, and thus compelled to negotiate with their respective employers in a virtually unarmed condition. It was also intended by the government that this *Trade Union Law* would divide government employees from the rest of the workers, and thus prevent the solid united action of the entire organised working class.

Despite these government intrigues, the fight for trade union recognition and for the right to form a trade union federation went from strength to strength. In defiance of the government, representatives of all the trade union organisations came together in a Preliminary Workers' Congress. This body set itself the task of conducting a struggle for the right to establish a Sudan Workers' Federation and to force through genuine trade union legislation safeguarding the free development of the Sudanese labour movement.

In support of this campaign, the Preparatory Congress decided to call a one-day protest strike, which was successfully carried out on March 15, 1949 by all the Sudanese trade unions, thus demonstrating to the government the united determination of the workers to obtain satisfaction.

Despite government action in dissolving the Workers' Congress, this body continued to organise the struggle for a centralised Trade Union Federation and in support of the general economic demands of the workers. The entire body of Sudanese workers stood solidly and unitedly behind their Federation, responding readily to all its decisions. In March 1950, in response to the Federation's call, the Sudanese workers successfully carried through a three-day strike; a further successful three-day strike was carried out in August 1950. These strikes clearly revealed the determination of the Sudanese workers to win the right to establish a legal Federation and to organise in support of their general economic demands.

Faced with this united determination and resolve of the workers, the imperialist government was eventually compelled to retreat and accede to the workers' demand for a legal Sudan Workers' Federation which was eventually formed on November 15, 1950.

Since then, the Federation has grown into the powerful united voice of the entire Sudanese working class, representing 54 trade union organisations with a total membership of 180,000. It embraces every registered trade union organisation in the Sudan and includes both government and non-government workers. Only a few workers in southern Sudan, and one or two other isolated areas, remain unorganised.

The Constitution of the Federation clearly shows the progressive character of the Sudanese trade union movement. It states that the Federation stands for the united action of the Sudanese workers in the struggle for the betterment of their social and econ-

★

Sudanese workers in a mill unpacking raw cotton for ginning.

★

Workers handling cotton for export in Port Sudan.

omic conditions. It envisages the participation of the Sudanese workers, through their Federation, in the shaping of the future of their country. The structure of the Federation is entirely democratic from top to bottom, all leading committees being subject to periodic election, and regular congresses of a representative character being held every year.

"Trade Union Adviser" Exposed

Since its formation, the Federation has been correctly championing the workers' cause, despite the intrigues and fierce repression of the imperialist government. This latter has persistently tried to wreck the solidarity and unity of the trade union movement. To assist them in their nefarious work, they have employed the services of a British trade union adviser, David Newman.

It is the experience of the Sudanese workers that, ever since his arrival, Newman has consistently backed the Sudan Government and the employers against the workers, and has pursued a policy of disruption in an endeavour to break the solidarity of the workers' ranks. He has always opposed strikes, despite the successes registered by the Sudanese workers through striking. Instead, he has endeavoured all the time to persuade the workers' leaders to conduct semi-secret back-door negotiations. Inspired by a desire to assist the government and the employers, he has done his best to prevent the Sudanese workers gaining political enlightenment and has supported the government's ban on the holding of evening classes conducted for rank and file trade unionists by leading members of the Federation. Newman is also opposed to the Federation participating, together with other democratic organisations, in the Sudanese liberation struggle against imperialism.

This trade union adviser, however, has had little success, thanks to the firm stand of the Federation's leaders who have completely exposed his rôle. No wonder, therefore, that on many public occasions the Sudanese workers have booed him and told him to go home!

Federation Leads Workers' Struggle

Under the leadership of their Federation the fight of the Sudanese workers goes on. In support of the demand for shorter working hours and an all-round 75 per cent wage increase to meet the increased cost of living, a successful one-day strike was held on March 17 1951; a second three-day strike was held in May 1951 and a third one of four days at the end of September 1951. All these strikes were supported by the whole Sudan trade union movement. Since then a number of strikes have been carried through with the participation of all Sudanese workers.

The Sudan Workers' Federation does not limit its activities to defending the day-to-day economic interests of the workers but, with the full realisation that there can be no radical change in the conditions of the Sudanese workers until independence has been won from British imperialism, the Federation is playing a leading rôle in the national liberation movement. In its statements and publications, the Federation consistently points out the necessity for political struggle by the workers against imperialism, and stresses the leading rôle that the workers must play in the national anti-imperialist front. A statement issued by the Executive Committee, taking a stand in favour of the abrogation of the 1899 Agreements, says firmly:

> "We are opposed to any co-operation with imperialism. Our case with imperialism is one

> of emnity and therefore it does not accept bargains and collaboration. . . . The Federation which leads the workers in their daily struggle for their demands now sets before them the way in which they will lead the workers, together with other categories of the people, to get rid of imperialism and realise fully their demands."

In fulfilment of this aim, the Federation has given active support to the University Students' strikes early in 1951, as well as to the peasants' protest movement. It has also responded to the appeal of the Sudanese police who recently went on strike in order to win trade union recognition. Federation leaders play a leading part in the Sudanese Peace Movement, and its members sit on the Peace Committees. The Federation has also launched a big campaign of public political discussion nights in most Sudanese towns.

In an endeavour to crush this growing movement, the imperialist government has imposed sentences of two years' imprisonment on both the Chairman, Salam, and the Secretary, Shafei. The workers have demonstrated their support for their imprisoned leaders by once again electing them to the leadership of the Federation.

I.C.F.T.U. Leaders Embarrassed

Since its birth, the Sudan Workers' Federation has recognised the importance of unity and solidarity with the international working class movement, despite the endeavours of the Sudan government to prevent all contact between the Sudanese workers and the workers of other lands. This same imperialist government, however, has done everything possible to facilitate the work of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders and to drive the Sudanese workers into their camp. Fadl Beshir, a taxi owner nominated by the Governor General as representative of the Sudanese workers in the Legislative Assembly, has frequently been sent to I.C.F.T.U. meetings. Recently, a delegation of the I.C.F.T.U., on the invitation of the imperialist Sudanese Government, through its lackey Fadl Beshir, arrived in the Sudan. The Sudanese workers thoroughly exposed them. This was simple. When the I.C.F.T.U. proposed a secret indoor meeting, the workers merely suggested that the I.C.F.T.U. representative should hold a *public* meeting with the Federation, attended by rank and file workers and by Press representatives. This proposition was too much for the I.C.F.T.U. representatives. To have their policies and activities dragged out into the light of day, to be criticised and discussed by the workers themselves, was more than they could stand. Their only response to this perfectly natural invitation was to leave hastily.

To help develop the international outlook of the Sudanese workers, the Federation published a special May Day pamphlet in 1951, which stressed the importance of May Day and drew attention to the necessity of the workers of the Sudan establishing close links with the international working class movement. To develop solidarity with Egyptian workers greetings telegrams were sent to the Egyptian workers on May Day, and an Egyptian workers' delegation was invited to the December 17, 1951 Sudanese Workers' Congress. These actions are symbolic of the growing unity of the Sudanese and Egyptian workers in the struggle against their common enemy, imperialism.

The December 1951 conference of the Sudan Workers' Federation marked an important stage in the advance of the Sudan trade union movement. The Federation decided to establish closer relations with the W.F.T.U., to give full support to the Egyptian workers and people in their struggle for national liberation, and pledged that the Sudan Workers' Federation would resist with the Egyptian workers "the conspiracies of imperialist nations," headed by the United States, to exert pressure on Egypt. The conference also decided to send delegates to the Peace Conference of the Middle and Near East and North Africa.

Finally, the conference adopted a clear programme of economic and social demands around which it will be possible to develop a united struggle of the whole working class.

VENEZUELA—

A Country Under the Heel of American Imperialism

By DOMINGO GOMEZ

THE economic and political submission of Venezuela to imperialism increases day by day. The military dictatorship which governs the country and which has suppressed the most elementary democratic liberties has contributed to strengthening the conditions of dependence to the point of practically converting the country into an American colony. This appears more evident as the American imperialist plans of aggression and war preparations develop.

Imperialist Penetration

Imperialist penetration is constantly increasing, reaching proportions never known in the past. United States financial investments in Venezuela are more than $2,500 million. Out of the $428 million invested by the United States in Latin America during 1948, $245 million were invested exclusively in this country.

Venezuela is the second country in the world in oil production and the first in oil exports. Its proved reserves are 10,000 million barrels. Oil concessions controlled by foreign monopolies extend over more than 15,800,000 acres, of which 79.61 per cent. belong to North American companies, and the rest to Anglo-Dutch companies. The Creole Petroleum Company, subsidiary of the Standard Oil Corporation of the Rockefeller trust, accounts for 55 per cent. of the total output.

The economy of Venezuela is based on oil which dominates and determines the whole national policy. It will suffice to mention certain facts which prove this statement. Oil represents 97 per cent. of the country's total exports. In August 1951, out of the $35.87 million representing the income of the country, $34.94 million came from oil, $0.80 million from cocoa and $0.13 million from other products. Income derived directly or indirectly from oil constitutes 72 per cent. of the total fiscal income of the country.

Besides oil, Venezuela possesses enormous iron ore reserves of excellent quality. The deposits at Cerro Bolivar, the concession for which was given to the United States Steel Corporation, are estimated at 500 million tons of a particularly rich ore. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, also of North America, controls 64.7 per cent. of the iron ore concessions.

But in spite of the fact that oil is preponderant in the economy of Venezuela, only 3.3 per cent. of the active population is engaged in the extraction of oil and other minerals, while 51.2 per cent. work in agriculture, 16.7 per cent. in manufacturing industries, and 5.1 per cent. in transport.[1]

A Trade Monopoly and a Police State

The United States has established a virtual trade monopoly over the country. Of total imports, 78.32 per cent. come from North America, which absorbs 50 per cent. of the oil exports, 85 per cent. of coffee, and 75 per cent. of cocoa, these last two being the next most important exports of the country.

American manufactured goods enter almost completely duty free. They flood the markets, speed the undermining of national industry, aggravate unemployment and ruin the countryside. The so-called trade agreement between the United States and Venezuela still further accentuates this economic subordination.

The recent military agreement signed between the

[1]The economically active population of Venezuela, according to the official census of 1941, was 1,240,682 out of 3,951,371. The present population is estimated at 4,400,000.

governments of the two countries applying the decisions of the Washington Foreign Ministers Conference, places the Venezuelan army entirely at the disposal of the American armed forces.

The military budget which in 1938 was 39 million bolivars[2] rose in 1951 to 196 million, while the allocation for the Industrial Corporation, the state organ set up to encourage the development of a national economy, has been reduced by more than 60 per cent.

To these military expenditure figures must be added a further sum of 500 million bolivars (more than $160 million) for the construction of strategic roads, for the formation of assault troops (National Guard) comprising more than 8,000 men, for a regular army of 40,000, and for the maintenance of a 3,000-man Gestapo (National Security Police), trained and directed by the American F.B.I. costing 30 million bolivars annually, not to mention the 10,000 men in the militarised municipal police forces.

These facts prove irrefutably the domination of American imperialism over the economic life and the military-police regime which dominates the country, making Venezuela exclusively into an oil producer and a reserve of strategic minerals for U.S. plans for war and aggression.

Savage Exploitation of the Workers

The workers in the oil industry are subjected to terrible conditions of exploitation. Under the military dictatorship, there is no freedom for trade union organisation, particularly for the workers in this industry, whose trade union organisations have been almost completely disbanded and their funds confiscated by the government.

In addition to the National Guard and the regular army, which carry out a regime of terror in the oilfields, the imperialist companies have their own private police, paid and organised by them. This police force is used against the workers to crush any attempt at resistance.

The cost of living has leaped to enormous heights during the last few years. According to official figures published by the Central Bank of Venezuela (which by no means show the whole truth), the cost of living, with 100 as the index for 1938, rose in September 1951 to 173.9 and the indices of food products and clothing reached 205.8 and 250.5 respectively.

The oil workers are obliged to buy consumption goods from the "comisariatos," the only stores in the oilfields, which have an exclusive and absolute monopoly. If we add to this the rationalisation imposed by the companies, the growing unemployment and the generally low level of living standards as a consequence of inflation caused by the war economy, we can begin to have an idea of the very serious situation in which the Venezuelan workers find themselves.

To better appreciate the system of rationalisation adopted by the companies and the speed-up to which the workers are subjected, it will be sufficient to point out the following facts:

In 1948 there were 65,000 workers and office employees whose daily output was 1,300,000 barrels. Today the number of workers is 40,000 and production has risen to 1,700,000 barrels per day.

The net profit of each company per worker in 1938 was 22,310.05 bolivars, approximately 7,000 dollars. In 1951 this sum was doubled, the oil trusts having made more than 500 million dollars in declared profits.

[2]The bolivar is the national currency of Venezuela. One dollar equals approximately 3.35 bolivars at the current rate of exchange.

United May Day demonstration in Caracas. Workers parade under the banners of the W.F.T.U. and C.T.A.L. demanding better living conditions and respect of their trade union rights.

Petroleum is the principle wealth of Venezuela. Its exploitation is entirely in the hands of the American imperialists. Our photo shows the Lagunilla oil field, the richest in the country.

Working Class Division Facilitated Military Seizure of Power

In November, 1948, the Romulo Gallegos government was overthrown following a military *coup d'état* in which Colonel Adams, head of the American military mission in Caracas, directly intervened.

Even though the mass of the people were ready to support the constitutional government against the reactionary *coup d'état,* the right-wing of the Democratic Action Party, a party composed of elements from different social classes influenced by that section of the bourgeoisie conciliatory to imperialism, and which exerts a great deal of influence among the workers, made no attempt at resistance and the government docilely gave in to the militarists.

Formerly, in order to be in the good graces of imperialism, and particularly of the oil trusts, the leaders of this party encouraged working class division. Their trade union leaders were in contact with the splitters of the American Federation of Labour and became the mouthpiece of the I.C.F.T.U. in the trade union movement of Venezuela.

In obedience to the orders of their chief, Romulo Betancourt, the right-wing trade union leaders, members of the party then in power, split the working class and expelled the staunchest, most proved and most capable leaders from the National Federation of Oil Workers at the same time as they expelled a large number of unified trade unions.

By means of this division, by the concessions which the government offered to the oil trusts at the time of the discussion in 1947 on collective agreements, and by forcing through a three-year agreement favourable to the employers, the reactionary wing of the Democratic Action Party expected to recover the support of the American monopolies, and in particular of the Creole Petroleum Company.

Any kind of democratic government, no matter how servile, represented an obstacle to imperialism, which was seeking to develop its war plans and its colonisation of the country in order to be able to extend still further its grip on the wealth and the mineral resources of the country. That is why, when the decision for a *coup d'etat* had been made on a high level by the American government, all the concessions offered by the leaders of the Democratic Action Party to the American oil companies were of no avail.

The Military Junta took power without encountering the slightest resistance from the constitutional government which, on the contrary, did everything possible to prevent any action by the mass of the population.

The military dictatorship immediately banned all democratic parties, imposed a censorship on communication, press and radio, ordered the dissolution of the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (C.T.V.) and a large number of trade unions, banned public meetings and unleashed a wave of repression, filling the prisons with thousands of political and social prisoners.

The working class split organised by Malave Villalba and other right-wing trade union leaders of the Democratic Action Party, who are today members of the I.C.F.T.U. and the O.R.I.T. (Inter-American Regional Labour Organisation), not only facilitated the overthrow of the constitutional government, but allowed the repression of the trade union movement, the stifling of civil liberties, and gave free sway to the anti-working class measures of persecution and the arrest of trade union leaders, including some members of the Democratic Action Party.

The Oil Workers Fight Back

In extremely difficult conditions of illegality and repression, and after a long period of preparation, during which the workers formed rank and file committees, and an intensive campaign of propaganda and mobilisation had taken place under the leadership of the Unified Trade Union Committee of Oil Workers (COSUTRAPET), a general strike took place in the oil industry in May 1950.

The workers demanded a wage increase, an end to dismissals, an improvement in the grading system of the workers, the regulation of the "comisariatos," freedom for trade union organisation in the oilfields, and a number of other demands.

This action by the oil workers was proof of their firm will to rebuild their unity and to fight for the restoration of democratic freedoms and trade union rights, which had been suppressed by the Military Junta.

The general strike, which lasted ten days, was drowned in blood by the government, and thousands of workers were imprisoned, among them the most popular leader of the oil workers, Jesus Farias, who is still in solitary confinement without having been brought before any court. Oil workers' trade unions which still retained their legal status were dissolved. Hundreds of workers were dismissed and the oilfields were occupied by the military. A new wave of terror swept across the country.

But the oil workers have not allowed themselves to be defeated. In spite of this setback, about a year later, when the collective agreements should have expired, in February and March 1951, they regrouped their forces and prepared to wage a new battle.

Drawing on past experience, and under pressure from the mass of the workers, the various trade union sections drew up draft collective agreements which included all the essential demands that formed the basis of the May 1950 strike.

The government attempted to force the workers to negotiate separately on their lists of demands, but the powerful desire of the workers for unity forced the setting

up of a United Collective Agreement Committee and the drawing up of a united list of demands which formed the basis of all-inclusive discussions in Caracas between this Committee and the managements of the various enterprises.

In the course of these discussions, the trusts refused to meet the workers' demands, limiting themselves to offering at first an increase of 0.35 bolivars, which they agreed later to raise to 2 bolivars.

Fearing a general strike, the Military Junta found itself obliged to manœuvre, and on April 9, 1951, it issued a decree establishing "provisional working regulations" in the oil industry.

By virtue of this decree, the basic wage was increased by 2 bolivars, and there was a general increase in all wages by from 10 to 15 per cent. Further, paid holidays were increased from 22 to 25 working days per year. However, stability of employment was not ensured, nor was the demand for the revision of the grading system granted. Neither did the decree grant the right of re-organisation of the trade unions which had previously been dissolved.

The military dictatorship attempted to paralyse the will to unity of the workers and their desire to re-organise their trade unions. On the one hand it granted certain relatively important economic improvements, and on the other hand it prevented the legal existence of the trade unions and introduced fascist measures of anti-working class repression.

In spite of the terror and repression, the basis on which the military dictatorship rests is becoming more and more precarious. The internal crisis with which the regime is struggling makes its position even more shaky.

The mass movement is tending to grow and develop, as was shown by the peace demonstration on May Day, 1951, in the Federal District, the recent struggles of the "Sivenca" metalworkers, the strike of rubber workers employed by the imperialist enterprise Royal Venezolana S.A., the actions of the agricultural workers employed on the estates of the Moran District (El Tocuyo) and the struggles of the crews of the oil-tankers in Zulia, most of which actions were victorious.

The Workers Seek Unity

The oil workers, like all the workers of the country, have learned in the course of these battles and by their own experience that only on the basis of united action at the place of work, and without regard to difference of political or religious views or of trade union affiliation, is it possible to defeat the powerful foreign enterprises which control and dominate the economic and political life of Venezuela.

The primary and most urgent task is that of fighting for unity of action at the bottom and for trade union unity on an industrial, regional and national basis, by combatting all forms of sectarianism which stand in the way and which hinder and prevent the unity of all workers in the fight for their common interests.

It is necessary to awaken in the workers confidence in their own strength, in their own methods of struggle, and to fight against opportunist tendencies of passivity, as also against the adventurism which seeks to condition all trade union activity to changes in the national situation brought about by "*coups d'état*" or by political manœuvres. These trends are based on a failure to understand that only mass action and unity between the workers and other democratic forces can bring about fundamental changes in the country.

The re-organisation of the trade union movement of Venezuela in the present difficult conditions demands a persevering and continuous effort to regroup the forces of the working class on the basis of their most elementary demands, in the oilfields, in the factories and at all places of work.

All legal possibilities, no matter how limited they may be, must be utilised, including action within the trade unions set up by the managements or the government, carrying on a fight within these trade unions for action on demands which could unite all the workers and bring them into activity.

Another of the fundamental tasks of the trade union movement is the organisation of the agricultural workers who represent the most numerous and most exploited section of the working class and the giving of support to the peasant struggles. A clear and precise direction for this work is given by the resolutions and programme of demands adopted by the Regional Conference of Latin-American Agriculture (Mexico—May 1951).

The fight for the economic demands of the workers must be closely linked with the fight for democratic and trade union rights, the right of assembly, association, free speech, freedom of the press, the right to strike and demonstrate, and for the release of Jesus Farias, as well as all leaders and other political and social prisoners.

The trade union movement of Venezuela, which today is divided and dispersed, must gather its forces together through united action and reconstruct trade union unity on the basis of the widest internal democracy, respect for all opinions and class independence.

It is necessary to put an end to the parallelism which still exists between weak trade unions, a situation perpetuating this division so harmful to the working class movement in general. To end this state of affairs, the correct recommendations of the W.F.T.U. and the C.T.A.L. must be applied. These are: one trade union in each enterprise, one federation for each branch of industry, and one national centre on the national level.

The fight for the economic and social demands of the workers and the restoration of civil liberties are inseparably linked with the fight for peace and for national independence, against the growing penetration of imperialism, for the winning back of the country's natural wealth now in the hands of foreign monopolies, for agrarian reform and the distribution of the land among the peasants, for a profound transformation of the national economy in order to put it entirely at the service of the workers and people of Venezuela.

The poverty of a worker's home in Venezuela. The kitchen consists of an open fire in this dilapidated room where there is neither cooking stove nor chimney.

An Australian Visits the New Rumania

• By JOHN MALOS, Scientific Worker

"HAVE you ever worn a muzzle? It is a wire net which covers your mouth. It is wired like a sieve. You can breathe through it. You can even spit through it, if you like, but you can't possibly put a single grape into your mouth. Stanescu, the notary, explained to the peasants: the boyar has reckoned out carefully. If each of the four or five hundred grape-pickers ate one single grape, the boyar would lose four or five hundred grapes a day. The loss would be tremendous, no mistake." This quotation from Zaharia Stanescu's novel *Barefoot* gives some indication of the life lived by the Rumanian peasant in the early years of this century.

But the basis on which the indescribable poverty and ignorance of Rumanian towns and villages rested —a backward feudal society—has been destroyed. It was destroyed when, with the Red Army chasing the fascists, the people overthrew the puppet-dictator Antonescu on August 23, 1944, and formed a government in which National Peasants, Socialists, Communists and Liberals were represented. The building of the new Rumania began from this date.

My sixteen-day stay in the Rumanian Peoples' Republic took place as a member of an Australian delegation invited by the Union of Working Youth of Rumania. In visits to Bucharest, its outlying districts and Stalin City, I saw factories, workers' clubs, flats, clinics, holiday resorts, apprentice schools, institutes of higher learning, creches, a new children's hospital, another for tuberculosis treatment and research, museums, the National Art Gallery, a collective farm, the Pioneers' Palace, and the new newspaper, magazine and book publishing house Casa Scanteia. We also attended many cultural performances. In the course of these visits we met workers, farmers, scientists, teachers, directors of institutes, students and young workers, children, and members of the Permanent Peace Committee.

WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS CONTINUALLY IMPROVE

In Bucharest, we visited a cotton spinning mill built fifteen years ago by British capital. In 1950, as part of its responsibility towards its members, the factory trade union had an air-conditioning plant installed, as dust in the mill was a danger to health.

Cotton growing, although possible in the Rumanian climate, was previously undeveloped, and supplies of raw cotton had to be imported. Today cotton culture is rapidly developing, while in the meantime sufficient supplies of raw cotton to keep the mills operating are being imported from the U.S.S.R. Attached to the Grivita Rosie Railway Works are a workers' health sanatorium, four children's creches and an extensive workers' club. In the sanatorium tired workers who need quiet, care or special diet can take their meals and spend their evenings and nights. They thus have constantly at their disposal, free, all necessary medical care, diet applicable to their case, an atmosphere of rest and solicitude. Excellent results come from the principle that prevention is better than cure.

The creche takes care of children up to the age of seven years between the working hours of 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. A doctor, nurses, attendants and educational assistants staff the creche, where the children play, eat, sleep, and receive elementary education in such things as hygiene and community spirit.

The club assists in raising the cultural level of the workers. Here they can discuss their problems with those who are more experienced, use the well-stocked library (50,000 volumes), work in a theatre group, rehearse in the club's orchestra, play chess, assist in sport organisation and take part in many other club activities, as, for example, the organisation of children's circles or educational conferences for parents.

In Stalin City, I was able to visit a worker, Constantin Stefanescu, and his wife. Their apartment consisted of a bedroom, dining room, kitchen and bathroom, while other apartments in the same building for couples with children contained two bedrooms. Rent amounted to 9.1% of Constantin's wage, he being a skilled worker. To his wage must be added that of his wife, who is a cashier in a State store. Constantin Stefanescu and his wife have all their meals at home, which absorbs less than 50% of their income. It should be noted, however, that they can, if they wish, have their meals in the well-equipped factory canteen where the price for a month for a midday meal is about 10% of an average worker's monthly wage.

The Labour Code of the Rumanian Peoples' Republic states: "Medical care of employed persons and their non-wage earning family members is incumbent upon the Ministry of Health." In addition to this basic provision, there is a growing network of holiday and health resorts at the disposal of the workers for nominal payments. Thus Constantin Stefanescu and his wife were able comfortably to save enough money every month for clothes, furniture, books and other requirements—about one-third of their wages—without having to worry about their holiday expenses. Their flat was well-furnished, with a full bedroom suite and upholstered chairs in the dining room. A very large kitchen dresser was well-stocked with good china and glassware, and there was an abundance of food on the table.

This flat was typical of apartments in nine new buildings, each containing 36 two-bedroom flats and 9 one-bedroom flats.

NEW WORLD FOR THE YOUTH

The once-muzzled peasants now own their own farmland and are encouraged to form co-operatives. It is emphasised that a peasant's decision to join a collective must be completely voluntary.

The "Lenin's Way" collective farm which we visited was formed on August 7, 1949. In the first year, the normal yield of the individual farms was doubled, and thus the peasants were shown by results the superiority of collective working. This particular co-operative now has its own film projector, has organised sport, developed a cultural group which took part in the competitions held in Bucharest during our visit, and was able to boast that 20 of its younger members were attending high school. Further, a dispensary was under construction, a special doctor was to be attached to the village, and electricity would soon be supplied.

The drive against illiteracy is a major task of the Five-Year Plan for 1951-1955. In 1944 there were 4,000,000 illiterates in Rumania. The Plan provides for the complete wiping out of illiteracy, and already in its first year much has been achieved in this direction.

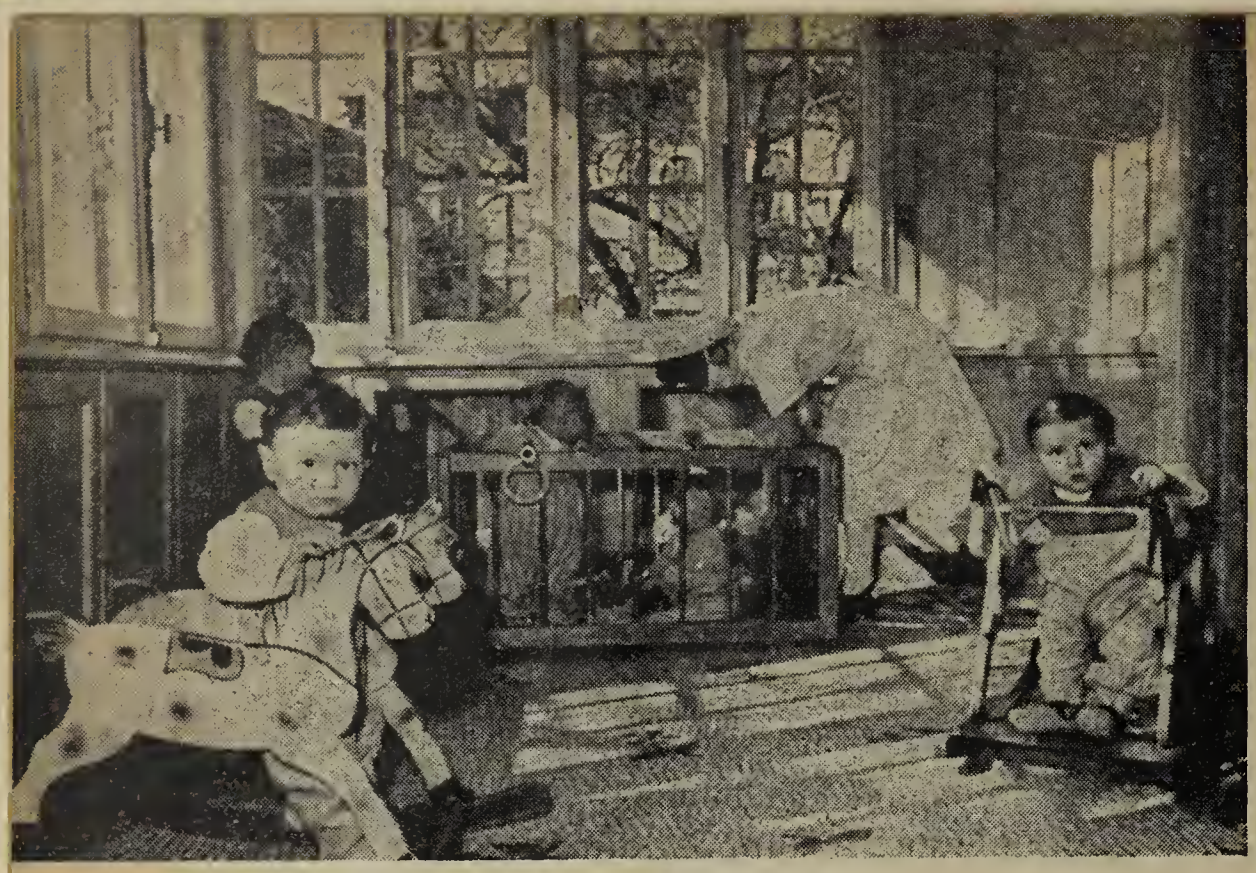
While in Bucharest I stayed at the Young Pioneers' Palace, formerly one of ex-king Carol's 156 palaces. There are 600,000 youngsters between the ages of nine and fifteen in the Young Pioneers' organisation. In the Palace, there is provision for 52 different fields of activity such as music, theatre, gardening, dancing, drawing, operation of lathes, model aeroplanes, motor cars, joinery and electro-technology. Particular attributes of children can thus be developed in their favourite occupations after regular school hours.

As part of the drive to build industry, apprentice training is taking place on an extensive scale. In Stalin City, we visited the special apprentice school providing for the training of 1,500 apprentices in the metal trades. Here boys of thirteen to sixteen years, from all parts of the country, receive, besides industrial training, a good general education, board, clothing, pocket money and other necessities free. In another city, girls receive similar training. Three times a year these apprentices spend holidays at home.

In Bucharest we met professors and students of the Institute of Planning and Economic Science which provides facilities for 4,300 students, the majority of whom hold scholarships ranging up to 5,000 lei per month. Half the students are girls. They are all guaranteed suitable employment on graduation.

Higher education is organised in Universities, Technical Institutes or Polytechnics. The technical institutes are connected with the various Ministries. The one which we saw was training railway engineers and technicians. Here were many leading workers receiving monetary scholarships in addition to their normal wages, and this continued throughout their studies.

In Rumania all the national groups such as German, Hungarian, Macedonian, Tartar and others are provided with facilities to study in their national language.



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In beautiful modern creches the smallest Rumanian citizens develop freely.

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Travelling libraries criss-cross the country bringing culture to the most distant villages.

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The protection of public health is one of the important concerns of Peoples' Rumania. Our photo shows an operating room in the Institute of Tuberculosis in Bucharest.

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DESIRE FOR PEACE THE BASIS OF PROGRESS

The most striking feature about the country is the supreme confidence of the people in the future. The newspapers, radio, discussions and lectures reflect the active participation of the whole population in the 1951-1955 Five-Year Plan.

Already tractors and electrical plant are being manufactured in Rumania for the first time. The volume of Rumania's industrial production in 1951 was 28.7 per cent higher than in 1950, and the 1952 plan provides for a 24.5 per cent increase in industrial production over 1951.

The enormous Casa Scaneia publishing house, sections of which are already in operation, will be fully completed next year. The new Agricultural and Livestock Institute on the outskirts of Bucharest is also well on the way to completion, as is also the Danube-Black Sea Canal.[1] New construction projects could be seen wherever we travelled. There is a ten-year plan (1951-1960) for the electrification of the country. In 1950 the available power was 600,000 kilowatts, but the plan provides for 2,600,000 kw. in 1960. While we were travelling through the country transmission towers in process of erection testified to the drive being made.

With all this constructive effort we found among the Rumanian people a sincere desire for peace, which is also shown in the composition of the budget. Of the total expenditure in the 1952 budget, 70.1 per cent is assigned for the further expansion of the national economy and social cultural services, in the proportion of 52.6 per cent for the former and 17.5 per cent for the latter.

I have seen the beginnings of the new life in the Rumanian Peoples' Republic. It is a country rich in natural resources and fertility of land, a country with a strong and rich cultural heritage which is developing rapidly in new conditions of freedom. The greatest need of its people today is peace. Everywhere the people feel that the Great Powers can reach understanding to prevent a third world war. They express the desire to trade with the Western Powers as a solution to many of the problems, both economic and political, existing in the world today and as a means of preserving world peace.

My visit has awakened in me a very great interest in the country and I left with a strong feeling of lasting friendship for its people.

[1] See the article by Gheorghe Bratu in **World Trade Union Movement** No. 15 (December 20, 1950).

In Peoples' Hungary

BUILDING A PEACEFUL SOCIALIST ECONOMY

EVERY DAY:

- **120 new workers' dwellings are built, with two rooms, balcony, kitchen, bathroom, hot and cold running water.**
- **352 complete sets of modern furniture are manufactured which will comfortably furnish the workers' apartments.**
- **51 motor cycles are manufactured at a price within the reach of the workers and payable in 24 monthly instalments.**
- **18 more tractors and threshing machines or combine-harvesters are produced to lighten the hard work of the peasants.**
- **The achievement of the plan in industry alone provides 346 new jobs.**

EVERY MONTH:

- **6 new factories are finished, ready for production.**
- **4 new tractor stations are put into service. In these the peasants find agricultural machinery, technical advice, and the help they require.**
- **37 new stadiums, swimming baths, sports grounds and houses of culture are constructed to develop sport and culture still further.**
- **25 villages are electrified; at the end of the Five-Year Plan every village will have electricity, radio, telephones, and cinemas.**
- **The number of places in creches and nurseries increases by 406.**
- **7,776 acres of new land are made fertile by irrigation and improvement.**

Petitions from Tanganyika

The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations receives from colonial territories "under trusteeship" many petitions in which the workers express their strong desire for improved living conditions, for liberty and independence and particularly for trade union rights.

Here are a few typical extracts from these petitions received from Tanganyika, which is under British trusteeship.

Petition from the African Cooks, Washermen and House Servants' Association, 31.10.51

"WE want to know, in these three Unions (a) The African Cooks, (b) The Dockyard Union, (c) The Uzarmo Union, which of these is against the rules in Tanganyika Territory?

"Those in the Commission, i.e. from the four parts of the world, when they meet each year, do they act according to word or to deeds . . . ?

"Why we Africans, our lands are been sold?

"Why we are driven from our original lands since our forefathers, and we are placed on hills, and the rich people take our lands?

"Why the graves of our forefathers are dug out?

"Why we are tied up round our loins like monkeys at the time house tax? . . .

"Why the costs are raised before we are informed, like Poll Tax, etc.? . . .

"Why Cooks, Dhobis and house servants, are not granted leaves, or off duties, or over times on Sundays and holidays? . . .

"Why we are not provided with places to sleep or posho or clothes when we are working for Europeans; we do not get any help from them even if you work for 29 or 30 years; you can be dismissed any time, and you cannot get any help from the C.D. or the Chief Secretary or the Labour Commissioner. Those are what we have to inform you, we have more in our minds. . . ."

Petition from the Chagga Cultural Association, 5.10.51

". . . THIS Association strongly objects to the Labour Utilisation Board and call for its dissolution. This Board, a government creation, is more of a slave market than a centralisation of manpower. Africans are recruited from all over the Territory by means which are far from being voluntary. These unfortunate Africans are transported as far from their homes as 800 miles in such a way that would make one's blood run cold. Cattle are better treated than these prospective labourers. Dr. Livingstone would turn in his grave were he to know how the inhabitants of the country he opened up in the '80's "for commerce and prosperity" are treated in the name of production. Government levies so much per head for labour recruited! This scheme has been so odious to humanity that even those for whom this Board was created have raised objection to its continuance and have called for its dissolution. . . ."

Petition from the African Association, Tanga Branch, 5.10.51

"THE African Association . . . has been pained to observe that the just claims of Africans were ignored. . . .

"It is an undisputed fact that the indigenous population of this country is in an extremely weak and miserable economic position, but no measures are contemplated by the Administering Authority with which to ease this grave situation. Economic development means the utilisation of all the natural resources and the development of the land agriculturally, etc., for the benefit of the natives therein. Such development embraces the light and heavy industry. It is very much regretted that the present existing industries in this country are in the hands of foreign capitalists, many of them having been encouraged by the Administering Authority. The sole purpose of these industries is to tap the resources of this country for rebuilding up the economic and military strength of Great Britain. In agriculture the Government does nothing to improve the primitive methods, and African local industry is not encouraged. . . .

"The African Association strongly condemns the practice of applying corporal punishment to Africans only. This is incompatible with the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is disgracing to know that the main argument for retaining this practice is that the Africans enjoy punishment and are not ashamed of it, and are backward. . . .

"The African Association would like to stress therefore that the vigilance of the Trusteeship Council over Trust Territories should be increased so as to effect rapid advancement of the Africans, politically, economically, educationally and socially within a specified period. The aim should be Self-Government of Africans by Africans for Africans."

Petition from the Government Employees' Association, 1.10.51

"THE African Government employees in Tanganyika today have the rate of pay fixed by the

Administering Authority but which is considered very inadequate. The rate is based on colour, *the whiter the better the pay*. . . .

"Finally, to be frank, we African workers have less means of securing our rights. We have been given over to the callousness of our employers and the greed of unrestrained competition so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay a yoke little better than slavery itself upon the masses of the poor Africans. We are deprived of ordinary necessities of life and of its moderate comforts on our present rates of pay. . . ."

The Government Employees' Association quotes the following wage figures:

Europeans—from 600 to 7,500 shillings per month.

Africans—from 15 to 500 shillings per month.

Minimum expenditure for food only—234 shillings per month.

It is thus clear: the African peoples want to cease living in the state of poverty and dependence in which the colonialists have forced them!

"Africa for the Africans!" This is the cry which is resounding from one end of this huge continent to the other.

And the many and powerful actions taking place here and there prove that the African peoples know that in the final analysis their independence and the improvement of their living conditions depends on *their united action*!

Fiasco for a Nigerian Government Stooge

ONE of the main post-war weapons of British imperialism in the colonies has been the development of so-called "Labour Advisers," "Trade Union Advisers," "Labour Officers" and other agents with similar fancy names. Under these guises has been built up a whole system of suppressing genuine trade unionism under the pretence of "assisting trade unionism." In colony after colony, these "advisers" are being exposed by the workers, and their real role made clear.

A recent example of this comes from Nigeria. At the end of January, the members of the Nigerian Coal Miners' Union, upon whom the government had recently imposed C. P. Morris as "Secretary" of the union, decided to march to Government Lodge to insist on the recognition of their President, J. A. Diewait, who had been "expelled" by Morris and a handful of his cronies. A 39-man delegation from the union's Working Committee accordingly marched to the Government Lodge, and demanded to see the Lt.-Governor of the Eastern Region. When this was not allowed, they left a petition containing their demands.

A group of Enugu miners, 1,500 of whom struck in 1949 for a daily basic wage of 5 shillings and 10 pence.

Next day, the demand was raised for a settlement of the matter by the taking of a plebiscite amongst the miners.

Two days later, to add weight to this demand, miners on the first shift at the Asata Mines struck for two hours. When the Underground Manager, Mr. T. Cox, pleaded with the men, asking them to return to work and to send their delegates to negotiate with the Colliery Management, the striking miners simply pointed out that their delegates wouldn't be recognised by the management anyway. Thereupon the Senior Labour Officer and the Collier Manager, seeing that there was no alternative, reluctantly agreed to take a plebiscite between Diewait and Morris.

The plebiscite was held at the Asata Mines the following day. Present to witness it were H. C. Adler, Senior Labour Officer, and R. Curry, Trade Union Officer, together with the Colliery Manager and other officials of the mines and the government.

The results of the plebiscite were hardly to the liking of the Colliery Management and the Labour and Trade Union Officers. Morris, their "goody-goody boy," (as the Nigerian workers call him), *received only one vote*. The miners' representative, Diewait, received 2,494.

Sam Woods.

General Strikes in Japan

A COMMITTEE set up by the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions (Sohyo) to fight anti-labour and anti-democratic laws recently called two twenty-four hour general strikes for April 12 and April 18.

These strikes took place and were supported by both the Labour-Farmer Party and the Communist Party. The first was supported 100 per cent by members of the All-Japan Metal Workers' Union, the All-Japan Automobile Industry Workers' Union and the Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Union. Other unions supported the strike to the extent of stop work meetings, demonstrations and so on. The second strike, Japan's biggest post-war stoppage, was much broader and it is estimated that 1½ million workers stopped work for 24 hours while over two million others held stop work meetings. Now the miners are threatening to strike.

These strikes are an extremely important indication of the mood of the Japanese workers and its effect on the right-wing labour leaders. Sohyo was originally set up by the American occupation authorities and the reactionary Japanese government. The militant rank and file have already refused to allow the U.S.-pressured leadership to steer Sohyo into the I.C.F.T.U. Now they are pushing them into strikes, against fascist laws, against a policy of reaction and war.

The strikes were in protest against the government's *Anti-Subversive Activities Bill* of which even the right-wing Tokyo *Yomiuri Shimbun* says " . . . a glance at the Bill shows that it will restrict ordinary speech and press activities and the labour movement. . . ."

On April 5, the Minister of Labour and the Director of the Attorney-General's office attempted unsuccessfully to have the strike called off. Later the government tried to avert the strike by promising to insert a provision that legitimate trade union activities would not be restricted. The trade union movement was unimpressed.

Such right-wing leaders as were willing to obey the government were disobeyed by their membership. Coal miners in Hokkaido and Ibaraki, for example, struck despite orders for a postponement from the National Federation of Coal Miners' Unions.

The labour movement sees this Bill as a revival of the ill-famed *Peace Preservation Law* which was one of the fascist regime's main weapons for crushing opposition.

The Japanese workers are closing their ranks against the ban on trade unions and democratic organisations in general, and for their liberty, the destruction of which threatens their living conditions and peace.

M.W.

A May Day of Unprecedented Scope

OVER 400 demonstrations took place in Japan on May First under the auspices of the General Council of Trade Unions. The most powerful was in Tokyo, which brought together hundreds of thousands of people. During the demonstrations, the workers accused the right-wing trade union leaders of not taking a sufficiently strong stand against the American occupiers, and they prevented an American right-wing Socialist leader, Norman Thomas, from addressing the crowd. The resolution which was adopted declared in part: "America is holding Japan in slavery and national humiliation."

The many placards carried by the workers were against a separate peace treaty, against rearmament, for national independence, for the expulsion of the American forces, working class unity for higher wages, an end to the law on "subversive activities." Unending shouts of "Americans go home!" echoed along the line of march.

The demonstrators burned many cars belonging to Americans and broke the windows of Ridgway's headquarters with stones. American sailors and police were thrown into the moat surrounding the Imperial Palace. For five hours the Japanese workers faced up to an extraordinary deployment of armed police. According to the latest news there are seven dead and 1,400 injured. This demonstration, which was of unprecedented scope and militancy, and which caused great panic and consternation in the camp of the warmongers, will find a place in the annals of the international working class movement. It is a striking expression of the mounting strength of the Japanese working class and people, more and more united in the fight for peace, well-being, independence and democracy.

British Railwaymen Send Greetings to Workers of All Lands

THE Locomotive Depot at Old Oak Common is the largest Motive Power Depot in the Western Region of the British Railways, and with the adjoining Carriage Sheds provides employment for about a thousand workers.

The importance of the Depot is to be found not only in the number of workers employed, but rather in the considerable influence wielded by these workers on matters affecting the nation's transport.

Like all men and women throughout the world, railwaymen at Old Oak Common possess a deep desire for peace and for friendship with other peoples.

They have a deep and human regard for life, which cannot allow the passive acceptance of the Churchill-Truman-Attlee policy of war, poverty and misery.

Railwaymen have many times taken the lead in the struggles of the British workers for their economic and social well-being.

This militancy was firmly expressed in October 1950, when, despite the attempts of the right-wing-dominated Trade Union Executive to damp down their rising indignation at the failure to inaugurate a National Pension Scheme, the Locomen at Old Oak Common stood out and threatened strike action when the employers tried to interfere with their existing Regional Superannuation Fund. By their action they not only defeated the attack and safeguarded their Pension Fund, but they also in the process exposed quite clearly the true character of the right-wing leadership.

In February 1951, the men at the Depot unitedly declared for strike action for a wage increase, and although their demands were satisfied, they still staged a most effective token strike to express their determination not to tolerate any reduction in their standard of living arising from the government's policy of rearmament and war. The struggle undertaken by the Old Oak Common men in defence of their wages, conditions and pensions was closely linked with the struggle against war and for the safeguarding of peace.

The sending of a delegate to Sheffield for the Second World Peace Congress—which took place in Warsaw after having been banned in Sheffield—showed a growing understanding of the need to go into action for peace.

Sponsored by the Locomotive-men's Trade Union Branch, nearly £20 was raised by collecting from the men on the job to send a delegate to the Congress. The report that the delegate brought back was of tremendous value and did much to promote an earnest desire among the men to learn more about those who, like ourselves, so ardently desire peace.

Through their respective trade union branches,[1] the fight for peace, trade union and democratic rights was consistently pursued. Those workers who belonged to the National Union of Railwaymen formulated and passed a resolution which afterwards became, by its acceptance at the Annual Conference, the policy of their union, declaring for international solidarity between all workers of the world.

In the branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, the struggle was also relentlessly waged, and in spite of purges and witch hunts, the fight for a policy of peace as union policy was never lost sight of. The agenda for this year's Annual Conference includes propositions which declare for peace, a reduction in armaments, a five power peace pact, the immediate ending of the war in Korea, and a call for world unity of the working class.

The obtaining of signatures within the Depot for the Five Power Peace Pact was seen by those campaigning as a priority task. A poster was made to show progress attained, also a page of horror pictures of the Korean war was effectively displayed around the war memorial where the campaign for signatures took place.

Six hundred and forty workers signed out of about 1,000 and money was collected for the British Peace Council.

But the campaign against war did not cease there. One locomotive driver visited a distant

[1]The workers in the Depot are organised in two trade unions: some in the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, others in the National Union of Railwaymen.

freight marshalling yard and collected the signatures of two-thirds of the workers employed there.

Since then a petition to all railway Members of Parliament against the spreading of the war to China received almost unanimous support from those approached, and over 300 signed in two hours.

Gaining confidence from such activity and a clearer understanding of the role of the right-wing leaders, the men at Old Oak Common are showing the way to action and are determined to win the railwaymen of Britain for a policy of struggle for the peoples' rights and the defence of peace.

At every stage of this long campaign the relationship between the immediate issues and the war drive of the right-wing labour leaders has been shown. Fearlessly, persistently and with never-ending patience, the militant workers are exposing, by unity in action, the policy of class collaboration of these leaders. Around this campaign there has been created an unbreakable unity of the majority of the railwaymen in the depot irrespective of grade or union.

Today the immediate task is the defeat of the Tory government. The savage cuts which it has imposed are not going unchallenged. The statements of such class collaborators as Tewson and Deakin, who call for amicable relations with the Tory government, are unacceptable to the men at Old Oak Common.

In face of the war policy of big business, supported by right-wing leaders of the Labour Party, we workers at Old Oak Common send fraternal greetings to the lovers of peace throughout the world.

In face of the splitting policy of the reactionary trade union leaders, we send out a message of peace and unity to workers of all lands.

We send comradely greetings to all transport workers everywhere —Forward to Peace and Socialism.

From a locomotive driver at Old Oak Common Railway Depot.

Magnificent Action of the Sicilian Sulphur Miners

WHEN speaking of Sicily, we are straight away reminded of the blue sea which bathes its shores, of the orange trees and fragrant jasmine which flourish there under the generous sun.

Many people know these natural beauties of Sicily. But how few are those who also know the terrible living and working conditions of the 10,000 sulphur miners for whom the sun and the fragrance of the jasmine brings no joy, who live in hovels, furnished with odds and ends which are furniture in name only.

The Sicilian miners receive lower wages than their workmates on the mainland and except in very rare instances, they are considered unskilled labourers. On the other hand, the industrialists are pushing super-exploitation to the extent of forcing a 16-hour day on them. It is the re-establishment of slavery in the middle of the twentieth century.

Statistics on work accidents, show in 1948: 800 accidents, of which 10 were fatal; in 1951: 2,977 accidents, 24 fatal. That means that in 1951 one Sicilian miner out of three was a victim of an accident at work.

The miners' fight against this state of affairs has been intensified during the past year. Under the leadership of their trade unions, the miners demanded a 20% wage increase, work for 1,400 unemployed and the revival and development of the sulphur industry.

While the workers were presenting their demands, the industrialists made an all-out attack on them and their trade unions: arbitrary penalties, the violation of the collective agreements and contracts in force, the dismissal of members of Shop Stewards committees and numerous measures which embittered the struggle were applied.

Towards the end of 1951, the miners took part in repeated strikes, outstanding among which was that directed against an unfavourable contract signed unilaterally by the C.I.S.L. (Christian Confederation).

At the beginning of January a powerful strike was launched which lasted 70 days, uniting all the miners, including those who are members of the breakaway unions.

For 70 days, about 10,000 miners received no pay, yet they resisted all attempts to corrupt them by the hundreds of employers' agents. By means of innumerable meetings, discussions and private conversations, the miners succeeded in making a large part of the Sicilian population understand the possibilities of economic revival which their struggle held out.

The shopkeepers of Caltanisetta, Enna, Agrigento and other places, sided with the miners and gave them credit. Twice the workers throughout Sicily stopped work to help the miners smash the stubbornness of the employers. Solidarity strikes were not limited to Sicily, for 55,000 workers of the Montecatini chemical trust, themselves engaged in a sharp fight for their demands, struck for 24 hours in support. In the same way the miners of the whole of Italy organised a simultaneous strike as a sign of solidarity with their brothers in Sicily.

Inter-trade union unity committees were set up in almost all the Sicilian sulphur production centres. Mayors and priests participated in these, giving the miners' struggle the character of a struggle for the revival of the whole of Sicily, for the common interests of wide sections of the working population.

There are many and varied ways

in which initiative was shown to strengthen the unity of the workers with other sections of the population and to relate wage demands to the necessity for industrial development and the revival of the island. Among these it is especially necessary to mention the "Conference for the revival of the Sicilian sulphur industry," where suggestions of a technical, financial, and social order were elaborated aimed at solving the crisis in this industry. The Conference suggestions were made known to the broadest and most varied sections of the population.

Thus the miners knew how to raise their struggle, at first strictly economic, to the level of a much broader struggle against the survivals of feudalism, against the monopoly of the Montecatini trust, for the modernisation of production processes, and for the development of a local sulphur processing industry in the interest of the four million inhabitants of Sicily.

For 70 days 10,000 miners fought against the industrialists, against the administration of the island, against the Mining Employers' Association, and against the regional and national leaders of the C.I.S.L. (Christians), who played the employers' game against the workers. Thus they wrote one of the most heroic pages of the post-war struggle of the Italian proletariat.

Sulphur mines, a scene of thirst and dust.

And victory was theirs. This victory of the Sicilian miners goes far beyond the scope of purely economic demands. It strengthened the trade union unity which the Sicilian industrialists, the C.I.S.L. and the government wanted to smash. The united trade union organisation of the Sicilian miners, right through the struggle, knew how to lead the broadest section of the population.

The Sicilian miners have achieved a victory not only for themselves but for their entire island and for all the miners of Italy.

M. Grassi.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

Soviet Spas

"Tomorrow I go to a spa. The government has granted me a free place at Kislovodsk. Thousands of people receive free places in the same way. It is the usual thing in our country where the government is constantly concerned with the health of the workers and the happiness of the people."

Thus spoke an ordinary Soviet worker, carpenter Fedor Polovinkin, of the Kama electrical power station. As a matter of fact, the trip to the spa or watering place has, for us, become quite the usual thing. Rest in a sanatorium, in the countryside or in a holiday resort, is the most characteristic phenomenon of the Soviet Union, where man is given the most attentive care.

Ensuring to all Soviet citizens the right to work, the Stalin Constitution also guarantees the right to rest. This right is assured by the institution of the 8-hour working day, by annual holidays on full pay, by the wide development of social insurance for workers and office employees at government expense, and by a vast network of health resorts or spas put at the disposal of the workers.

The Soviet government has put at the disposal of the workers an immense wealth of spas, a wealth possessed by no other country in the world: 350 spas, 2,000 sanatoria, situated in the best sections of the country for natural riches and excellent climate, catering each year for almost four million people. Last year almost 6,000 workers and office employees from the Kuznetz Metal Combine spent their holidays in the sanatoria of the Crimea, the Caucasus, Siberia and in the Urals!

Foreign worker delegations who have travelled around our country have spoken with admiration of the organisation of leisure for Soviet workers. This is what the Scottish miners said:

"When a Soviet miner takes his summer holiday for a month on full pay, he and his wife can go free of charge to a rest home, this being arranged through the trade unions.

"We stayed for some time in two of these rest homes and can sincerely say that they are ideal places for rest. They are built in a picturesque setting, the buildings themselves are magnificent, the food is good and every evening concerts and dances are organised. There is complete relaxation. We consider this to be a very great achievement."

The Soviet government has granted considerable sums for the building of sanatoria. Every year new sanatoria are opened in addition to rest homes, pioneer camps and holiday centres. This summer, sanatoria belonging to the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions will be opened in Odessa, Alushta, Theodosia and other regions of the country. More than 230 million roubles of this year's social security budget will be spent on the construction of new sanatoria. In the trade union sanatoria and rest homes alone, almost three million people have spent their vacations which were paid for by social security. One-fifth of the places in sanatoria and one-tenth of those in rest homes have been granted to the workers free of charge; the others, under very advantageous conditions.

The summer season in the health resorts approaches. The sanatoria are being put into good condition for the arrival of the workers. Premises are being repaired, medical appliances renewed, the beaches, gardens and parks are being made ready. A great deal is done to make things as comfortable as possible for the workers on holiday; sports grounds are prepared and new cinema apparatus installed. The sanatoria of the Russian Federation alone have received more than a million new books this year.

The staff of the "Metro" Sanatorium is busily preparing for the season. They are installing a sports field with volley and basket ball and croquet grounds. They are planting decorative shrubbery, bushes and flowers. The rooms are clean and comfortable. The medical service has been improved over last year. Only recently a group of workers arrived in the "30 Years of October" sanatorium in Alushta.

The Soviet people, builders of communism, work well; they must therefore also rest well. The task of the trade union organisations and the workers in the health resorts is to do everything they can to help people improve their health during their vacation, to gather new strength so that when they leave the sanatorium they can work with still greater energy for the benefit of their country.

Let us then give exemplary service so that the workers can benefit from their holidays.

Trud, 13.4.52.

FRANCE

End Bacteriological Warfare

We are convinced that the American war criminals have unleashed this atrocious action, at least by way of wide-scale experiments. The detailed accusations brought by high political, scientific and moral authorities, in the name of the Korean and Chinese peoples, in the name of their governments, as well as that of the Soviet Government, are supported by an increasing number of reports and documents concerning germ bombardments, the appearance of epidemics in the places subjected to bombardment or the results of laboratory examinations. These latest reports, drawn up by Chinese scientists of high standing, give an impression of complete sincerity, and mention negative as well as positive results. Unfortunately for the honour of humanity, the positive results are numerous.

The complete proofs of the crime are evidently in the vaults of the Pentagon, and it is highly improbable that Mr. Truman will give us the key. But whoever has the desire to do so may have, in any case, the proof of premeditation, for on this the criminals have made formal and repeated admissions. It is known that since 1942 a giant bacteriological research institution, built for war purposes, has been in operation at Camp Detrick, with branches elsewhere in North America. It is known that in 1945 the Japanese criminals who had already carried out germ warfare in

China, and whom the Americans had enabled to elude the Khabarovsk trial, were gathered there. It is known, through the Rosebury report, that a whole arsenal of contagious diseases has been studied there with a view to spreading them. It is known that many millions of dollars have been invested in the project. A spate of articles and speeches, publicised to intimate the world, have given details of all this, and continue shamelessly to do so today. For though the criminals prefer not to have their crime talked about, they wish to keep us under the threat of what they can commit. That is why only the American government and the Japanese government have not ratified the Geneva Convention of 1925 which banned the use of bacteriological weapons.

It would need less than that, under private penal law, for an accused to be convicted, particularly if the accused were known to be one addicted to playing with knives. However, the American government and High Command have shown more than once their disregard for the lives of human beings and the facility with which they carry out mass destruction of civil populations. They blotted out Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atomic bombs, to no purpose, on the eve of the armistice, solely to terrorise the world. They destroyed French towns by criminal zone bombardment without ever seeking to aim for objectives. In Korea they have committed atrocities against civilians which are in no way less frightful than those committed in our country by the Nazis.

The World Peace Council demands *that vigorous action be taken in order that persons guilty of having used the most cowardly and monstrous of weapons should be brought as criminals before competent tribunals.* And that would be merely justice.

Professor Marcel Prenant, biologist, in *L'Humanité,* 23.4.52.

SPAIN

Save Burgos Anti-Franco Prisoners from Deportation to the Sahara

The threat of death which has been hanging for such a long time over the sentenced anti-Franco political prisoners in the Burgos prison is daily becoming more acute, while there are signs that the traitor Franco's government is preparing to deport them to the hell of the Sahara.

We know that lists have been prepared for this purpose. We know that persecution within the prison against the prisoners has been accentuated, and that recently communication with their families, correspondence and the right to receive food, clothing and medical supplies from outside has been further restricted. We know that punishments are being increased.

There are more than 1,200 political prisoners in Burgos. More than 55 of them are *still* prisoners of the Spanish war, though the butcher Franco and his accomplices reiterate that "there are no political prisoners" in Spain, although there are tens of thousands of them; and that "there are no more prisoners of war," while thousands have been rotting for thirteen years behind the prison walls and the barbed wire of the concentration camps.

The prisoners are suffering from hunger, and they are subjected to the most cruel tortures. In recent times especially, their food consists almost entirely of a few raw potatoes. Their health is precarious as a result of their imprisonment, privation and ill-treatment. Further, in the prison infirmary, instead of the sick prisoners being cured, they are inoculated with other illnesses in order to hasten their physical liquidation. There have already been a number of such cases.

However, Franco considers that this procedure is not speedy enough. Inspired by his Yankee masters, he is planning to deport these prisoners to the Sahara, where the regime of forced labour, the climate and illness will precipitate the death of these courageous men who have sacrificed their lives and their freedom for peace and democracy.

We state that this is an American-inspired measure, for they are preparing to use the sick and physically weakened anti-Franco prisoners for the construction of military works aimed at transforming the Spanish Sahara into an American strategic base.

From the columns of *Mundo Obrero* we call upon all honest Spaniards to unite their efforts and to fight to prevent this crime from being committed against these courageous fighters of the anti-Franco and democratic cause.

We call upon all men of democratic conscience throughout the world to add their voices to those of the Spanish people to protest against the physical extermination of the Burgos political prisoners.

We must save the Burgos political prisoners from deportation to the Sahara.

We must save our brave brothers from certain death.

We must step up our protests still more to demand the liberation of the political prisoners who are rotting in Franco's prisons.

From the clandestine newspaper *Mundo Obrero,* organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Madrid), 1.2.52

BRAZIL

Abolish Trade Union Tax

By Decree No. 2377 of July 8, 1940, a day's pay every year is deducted from the wages of organised and unorganised workers for the upkeep of the trade unions. From that time the workers' organisations were transformed into sources of income for adventurers and careerists who began to live and to enrich themselves at the expense of the sweat of the working millions. The workers' money is misused by the governmental "trade union leaders" for their personal enjoyment and also in order to prevent the trade unions from having a life of their own, from being led by their authentic representatives or from becoming removed from the control of the Ministry of Labour or the influence of the employers.

It would be superfluous to repeat the scandals, the thefts and other shameful deeds committed in the trade unions and by the leaders of the Trade Union Tax Commission during the past twelve years. It would also be useless to hope for any measure being taken by the government or the Minister of Labour, both of which follow the same line, neither taking any account of the workers' demands.

It is in the government's interest to maintain, with the workers' own money, the corrupt trade unions which are under the leadership and control of the Ministerial bureaucracy and which have secret instructions especially directed against the trade union movement itself.

Only the unity of the workers and their mass movements will be able to stop the collection of the trade union tax. The fight against this tax is necessary in the struggle for trade union freedom, in the battle against the governmental bureaucracy, the adventurers and the workers' enemies. For this reason, the workers have the right to demand a discussion on the use to which the trade union tax is put, since it was instituted with the aim of supporting the social assistance services to trade unionists.

Some experiences of the fight against the trade union tax have been of a positive character during past years. In Sao Paolo, the fight in certain factories has forced the employers to pay from their own pockets what the workers refused to pay. Other employers have been forced to take up the fight against the Regional Labour Board, refusing to pay the tax due from their workers, claiming that their factories are not tax-collection offices. Long petitions covered with thousands of signatures have been sent from other factories to the government and the legislature.

Faced with this, the legislature and many deputies have been forced to admit that the trade union tax is

illegal, that it is an attack upon constitutional rights and that the workers are victims of the swindle supported by the government itself.

In the Federal District, the District Trades Council has now taken the initiative in sending to all the factories a document which already bears thousands of signatures, and which will be sent to the Chamber of Deputies, demanding the abolition of the trade union tax. A seaman's trade union has declared itself against the deduction of the tax, and several trade union leaders have adopted the same position.

The fight for the abolition of the tax must be intensified. It will be victorious in the degree to which it brings in the wide masses who will refuse to allow themselves to be robbed in this way.

Gazeta Sindical,
(Rio de Janeiro), 16.3.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

April 15

UNITED STATES.—The strike of telephone workers of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company ends with the workers receiving a wage increase of between $4 and $4.50 per week, averaging about 11.3 cents an hour.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The 350,000 strong Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers at its Annual Meeting in Margate rejects the government's arms policy and demands a slashing of the armaments programme.

April 16

AUSTRIA.—Forty delegates from seventeen countries attend the meeting of the Council of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and hear the report of the Inquiry Commission on war crimes committed in Korea by the United States' armed forces and on the use of bacteriological weapons in Korea and China, given by the chairman of the Commission, Professor Brandweiner. The Council adopts a resolution protesting against the use of bacteriological weapons in Korea and North China by the American armed forces, a resolution calling for the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and an appeal to the lawyers of the world, to the Security Council and to the United Nations' Disarmament Commission.

CHINA.—Price reductions take place on thousands of products in State department stores. In Shanghai the price cuts cover over 10,000 items and many stores report a 60 per cent. increase in sales. Cuts range from 2 to 40 per cent.

JAPAN.—A delayed report from Tokyo announces that on March 31 the President of the Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan sent a message to the World Peace Council protesting against bacteriological warfare in Korea.

UNITED STATES.—The Secretary of Commerce announces that he will deal directly with the steelworkers following the government's seizure of the steel mills.

ALGERIA.—The gas and electricity workers of the province of Algiers carry out a limited work stoppage to obtain wage parity with the gas and electricity workers of France.

April 17

ITALY.—About 200,000 metal workers of the provinces of Novara, Bergamo, Como, Lecco, Pavia, Mantua and Milan strike for two hours in protest against the persistent refusal of the employers to raise their wages.

JAPAN.—The newspaper "Dzanten Shimbun" reports that a violent epidemic of dysentery has broken out in Osaka. Doctors and scientists consider that it comes from bacteria which have never before been known in Japan and point out that the Haka Nippon Ziukodio Company which employs the workers attacked by the epidemic is using scrap-iron coming from South Korea. The newspaper points out that this epidemic is a consequence of bacteriological warfare carried on by the American forces in Korea.

MALAYA.—Simpang Ambat, a village of 216 people, including 80 children, has been uprooted by the British authorities and the villagers put behind barbed wire. People in the nearby village of Tanjong Malim, recently placed under a 22-hour daily curfew, have been fined fifty Straits dollars (£6), for going to their outside toilets.

ALGERIA. — Agricultural workers of the Ain Taya region in the Department of Algiers obtain a wage increase of 50 francs a day after a 24-hour strike.

BELGIUM.—As a consequence of steps taken by the F.G.T.B. and C.S.L. trade union centres under the pressure of demands expressed by the workers, the Joint Council (equal worker-employer representation) meets to examine the demands put forward: maintenance of the 50 centimes an hour bonus and the extra holidays granted by the government last October, for a period of six months and subsidised by the government. The employers' group categorically rejects the demands of the trade union organisations.

April 18

JAPAN. — Repeating their strike against the "Anti-Subversive Activities" Bill, one and a half million workers strike for 24 hours and another two million carry out token stoppages in the factories.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions decides to demand substantial wage increases for three million engineering workers. More than six million British workers are thus demanding wage increases.

April 19

HUNGARY.—The Central Office of Statistics publishes the results of the National Economic Plan for the first quarter of 1952. Industrial enterprises have fulfilled the plan by 101.7 per cent. and there has been a considerable increase in foodstuffs. Important achievements have been made in culture and social security.

WESTERN GERMANY. — The speedy conclusion of a peace treaty is demanded by a conference of dockers in Mannheim, a conference of Mannheim metal workers, and a conference of trade union delegates representing 50,000 trade unionists of Wuppertal.

— In spite of police violence, 250 workers of the Wienand Bocholt textile firm have continued their strike for 12 days for a wage increase, supported by the solidarity of the workers of many West German textile factories.

JAPAN.—The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) has filed an action against the government with the Tokyo District Court demanding the lifting of the ban on the use of the square fronting the Imperial Palace for the May Day demonstration.

KOREA.—An American prisoner of war reveals that when he was stationed in Hawaii in 1951 his unit was shown a "secret and confidential" training film which instructed them in how to use artillery shells "to spread disease in the enemy line." This film shows that as soon as the shell detonates "there is a big flock of insects swarming around . . . germ-ridden and able to spread dangerous diseases among the enemy."

UNITED STATES.—The telephone strike ends for all except a few categories of workers, with wage increases of 14.1 cents an hour plus extra benefits, which will bring the total to 31.1 cents an hour for 10,000 employees of Western Electric, manufacturing subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

April 20

SOVIET UNION.—The Central Office of Statistics of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. presents the balance of achievement of the National Economic Development Plan for the first quarter of 1952. The plan has been fulfilled in industry by 100.4 per cent., and has been exceeded in several important sectors. Overall production has increased by 16 per cent. as compared with the first quarter of 1951 and productivity by 10 per cent. The sale of goods in State shops and co-operatives has risen by 11 per cent.

CHINA.—The first three drilling machines ever constructed in China are completed. Based on a Soviet model, they can bore to the depth of about a thousand feet.

INDIA.—Hope of rescuing twenty miners trapped in the Champion Reef gold mine is abandoned.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — A National Women's Conference is held in Prague, reviewing the activities of Czechoslovak women over the past three years and indicating the new tasks for women in the building of socialism.

ITALY.—A conference against the rebirth of German militarism and for the peaceful unification of Germany is held in Ferrara. A resolution against the re-armament of Western Germany is adopted unanimously.

April 21

UNITED STATES. — President Adolph Brungs of the Commercial Telegraphers Union (A.F.L.), Western Union Division, charges that the Western Union Company, against whom 31,000 employees throughout the United States are on strike, is deliberately prolonging the strike.

HOLLAND.—The leadership of the United Trade Union Centre (Eenheidsvak Centrale), affiliated to the W.F.T.U., protests to the United Nations against the violation of trade union rights by the Dutch government, which has forbidden members of the organisation from holding any State office.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Committee of Young Metalworkers of Western Germany issues an appeal for the conclusion of a peace treaty and for the unity of Germany.

April 22

WESTERN GERMANY.—A conference of Nüremburg engineering trade union delegates decides to organise a unity demonstration for May Day, and demands that the Federal Committee of the D.G.B. act to defend the right of co-management. It also demands the intensification of the fight against compulsory military service and against the inclusion of Western Germany in the Atlantic system, and calls for a general wage increase.

FRANCE.—The Municipal Council of the large city of Lille (Communists, Socialists, M.R.P. and Gaullists) unanimously adopts a motion asking the government to increase trade with all countries and to raise unemployment benefits to 75 per cent. of the minimum guaranteed wage.

ITALY.—Applying the decision of the C.G.I.L. Executive Committee to intensify the struggle for wage increases, 200,000 metal workers of the provinces of Genoa, Venice, Gorizia, Padua, Monfalcone, Udina, Vicenza, Treviso, Rome, Naples, Taranto, Palermo, Cagliari and Crotona strike for one hour on April 22 and 23.

CHINA. — Two thousand workers have started work on the Yangtse River project. They are erecting a mechanised water regulation system which will eliminate the danger of floods over many thousands of acres of farmlands.

BOLIVIA.—The workers employed by the American mining trust American Smelting and refining Company in Corocoro, go on strike in support of their wage demands.

GUATEMALA.—The Labour Tribunal approves the wage increases demanded by the employees of the Guatemalan Electric Light Company.

April 23

GERMANY.—The European Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany launches an appeal for action against the inclusion of Western Germany in the Atlantic Pact, and for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The appeal concludes with the words "Long live the united action of the European working class in the fight against the remilitarisation of Germany! Long live May Day! Long Live Peace!"

SAAR.—Twenty-two thousand building workers strike for 24 hours in protest against the refusal to increase their wages by 20 per cent.

FRANCE.—The 1,100 workers of the Viscose factory in Grenoble, who have been on strike for a month for a wage increase and for the reinstatement of 70 workers arbitrarily dismissed, are attacked at 4 a.m. by police armed with clubs,

rifles and tear-gas bombs. Scores of workers are injured and 80 are arrested. Workers of several factories stop work in protest and several thousand attend a demonstration meeting.

DENMARK.—A conference of former resistance fighters and political prisoners in Copenhagen decides to form a committee against the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

GREAT BRITAIN.—African delegates from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland boycott the London conference organised for the Central Africa Federation, a weapon of racial and colonial domination in Africa.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—The Government Statistical Office publishes the results of the Economic Plan for the first quarter of 1952, which show that industrial production has increased by 18.6 per cent. as compared with the same period of 1951.

ALGERIA.—Oran dockers hold a one-hour strike in solidarity with the Tunisian people.

— During the week, the Oran dockers have refused to unload three ships destined for Viet-Nam. They have also refused to unload the Dhebel Amour, carrying a cargo of arms for the French Army in Tunisia which had to be routed via Algeria.

GUATEMALA.—Congress adopts 27 amendments to the Labour Code, for immediate enforcement, with important gains for the workers in old age pensions, overtime, holidays and several other questions.

JAPAN.—The Extraordinary Congress of the National Union of Mineworkers of Japan meets. The leadership of this trade union organisation had taken a stand against the participation of the miners in the mass strike of April 12 against the law for the prevention of "subversive activities". A powerful movement of discontent with the leadership is revealed in the Congress, and all the members of the central Executive Committee, headed by the leader of the union, Muto, are forced to resign. Muto announces that he is also giving up his position as President of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

— On April 17, the newspaper "Dzenten Shimbun" stated that certain reactionary trade union leaders, including Muto and Kotaki, General Secretary of the "Committee for Fighting Anti-labour Legislation," Sidzata, vice-President of the committee, Hosika and Kato, reactionary leaders of the state railway trade union, received 30 million yen from the government and the Mitsui trust on April 11 as a reward for their splitting activities.

April 24

POLAND. — The State Economic Planning Commission publishes the results of the National Economic Plan for the first quarter of 1952. The plan has been fulfilled in industry by 100.3 per cent., and has been well exceeded in building. Thirty-two new industrial enterprises have been completed. Important achievements in agriculture, transport, and trade have also been made.

WESTERN GERMANY. — Düsseldorf municipal transport employees strike for wage increases and against rearmament.

ITALY.—Journalists and workers of printing and publishing establishments strike for 24 hours for wage increases. No newspapers appear.

ALGERIA.—The colonial authorities have decided to deport to the Bérouaghia Prison the two trade union militants Medjoub Berrahou and Boumédienne, sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment following the strikes of agricultural workers last September in the Descartes region. The women of Oran gather on the railway line to prevent the departure of the prisoners, and force the Oran-Algiers train to stop.

BRAZIL. — Transport workers of Berlindia and Uberaba, in the state of Minas de Geraes, go on strike to protest against new taxes on transport.

UNITED STATES. — The Trade Union Action Committee for Peace in Los Angeles, California, calls for peace talks by the five great powers. The meeting is attended by 85 members of A.F.L. unions, 18 from C.I.O. unions and 49 from unaffiliated unions. A permanent Peace Committee is established.

April 25

RUMANIA.—The Central Statistical Office publishes the results of the National Economic Plan for the first quarter of 1952, which show that the plan has been fulfilled 102.4 per cent. in industry. The overall level of production has risen by 20.2 per cent. as compared with the first quarter of 1951.

ALGERIA. — Oran dockers demonstrate in support of the Tunisian people. Brewery workers in Algiers and miners in Beni-Saf and Nemours hold a 24-hour strike in support of the struggle of the Tunisian people.

UNITED STATES. — The telephone strike ends for the remaining 6,000 Western Electric employees, with wage increases of from 11 to 16 cents an hour for the company's sales personnel. The strike involved 77,000 telephone workers in 43 states and the District of Columbia.

April 26

WESTERN GERMANY.—The German Workers' Committee Against the Remilitarisation of Germany appeals to all German workers to take measures to protect the people, to safeguard peace, against the "general treaty," for the unity of Germany, for the conclusion of a peace treaty and the withdrawal of occupation troops.

CHILE. — Twelve thousand copper miners employed by the American Anaconda trust strike in support of their wage demands.

April 27

WESTERN GERMANY.—A conference in Bochum of more than 500 delegates appeals to the population to unite against remilitarisation. A regional council of 50 members is elected, including several militant trade unionists of the D.G.B.

ISRAEL.—Several thousand workers demonstrate in Tel Aviv to protest against the government's policy of famine and war and the steep increase in the prices of goods of prime necessity. The price index has risen by 37 points in two months.

SUDAN.—The Sudan Workers' Federation having proclaimed a strike to obtain the release of the President and vice-President of the Federation, arrested six months ago, the British Governor arrests 14 trade union leaders. The police have carried out illegal searches of the Federation headquarters. All demonstrations are forbidden up to May. 11.

VENEZUELA. — A unity committee composed of representatives of various trade union organisations of the Federal District issues an appeal to the workers to prepare a united May Day.

April 28

FRANCE. — The metal workers of Marseilles strike for 24 hours in solidarity with the locked-out workers of the La Ciotat shipyards

and in support of their demands—a 15 per cent. wage increase and the sliding scale.

WESTERN GERMANY. — Bremen dockers refuse to unload arms from the S.S. Kastor.
— The representatives of the 32,000 public service and municipal transport employees of Munich, as well as 6,000 shipbuilding workers of the "Deutsche Werft" in Hamburg, oppose the "general treaty" and the policy of betrayal of the Adenauer Government.

April 29

WESTERN GERMANY. — Three hundred and sixty-five delegates attending the Extraordinary Conference of the Trade Unions of Upper Bavaria demand the application of the decisions of the February conference of the Bavarian trade unions against re-militarisation.

TUNISIA. — Tunis dockers go on strike at the call of the U.S.T.T. and U.G.T.T. trade unions to protest against the banning of the May Day demonstrations.

UNITED STATES. — A Federal judge rules that President Truman's seizure of the steel mills is unconstitutional, and that the steel mills should be returned to their private owners. The United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.) renews its strike call.

April 30

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Statistical Commission publishes the results of the National Economic Plan for the first quarter of 1952, which show that the plan has been fulfilled 101.5 per cent. in industry. Industrial production has increased by 19 per cent. as compared with the first quarter of 1951.

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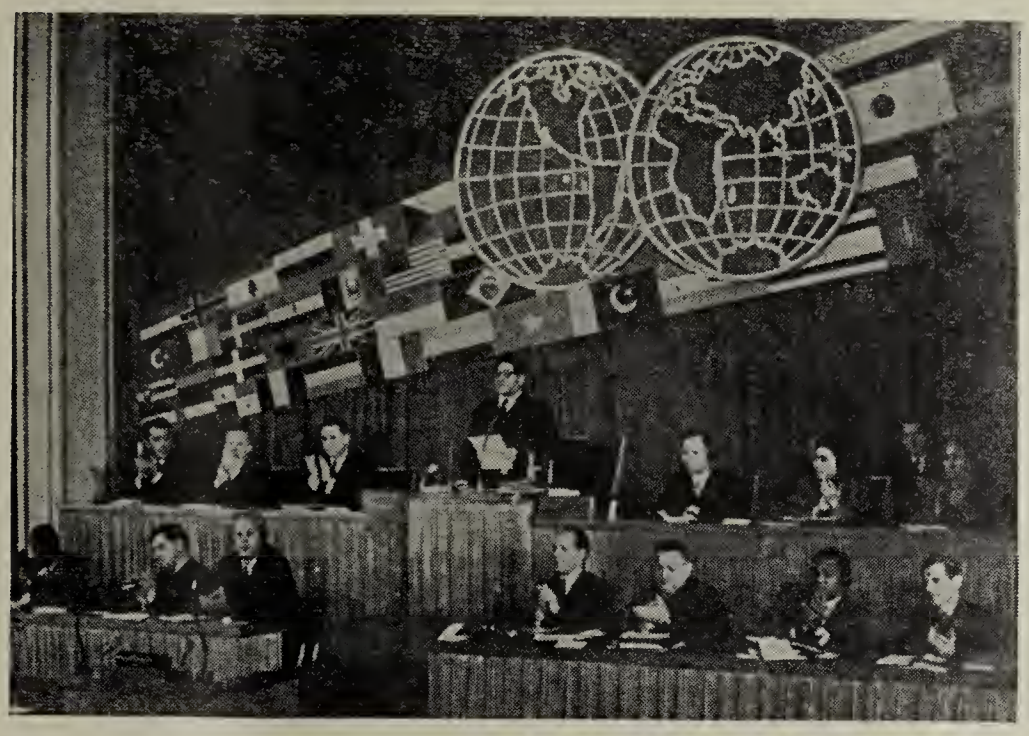

UNITY
on the march

Report of the meeting of the General Council
of the World Federation of Trade Unions
Berlin, November 1951

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON GERM WARFARE

The General Council recommends the Executive Bureau, the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) and all trade union organisations to carry on broad work of explanation among the workers and particularly to expose the true meaning of the policy of the reactionary forces and their agents in the ranks of the working class movement who are endeavouring to deceive the workers, to divert them from the struggle for their basic demands and to turn them by the fraud of class collaboration towards subjection to the interests of the capitalists.

Resolution on the Unity of the Workers in the Fight to Raise their Living Standards and Against the Economic and Social Consequences of War Preparations. (General Council, Berlin, November 21, 1951).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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DEMOCRACY IN TRADE UNION WORK

A TRADE union organisation is, by its character and origin, a mass democratic organisation. It is precisely here that the word democracy must fully correspond to the character of the organisation. A trade union would not be able to carry out its tasks successfully if it were not a mass organisation and if this organisation were not democratic.

The trade unions are a great school for the working class. They awaken the class consciousness of the workers; they help them to acquire their first experiences of organised struggle in defence of their interests, and they prepare the leading cadres of the working class. A well-organised mass trade union represents a tremendous force with which employers and capitalist governments must reckon.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the enemies of the working class strive by every means to prevent trade union organisations being set up. In those countries where the workers, after a long and difficult struggle, have succeeded in establishing their right to set up trade unions, their enemies employ every means to injure and weaken the trade unions, to change their character and aims, to transform the trade union organisations set up to protect the workers' interests into organs serving employers and reactionary governments. All kinds of politicians very often insinuate themselves into trade union organisations, seeking to use them to further their career. We find a particularly large number of this type of politician in the Latin American countries.

The surest and most effective way of combating such degeneration of the trade unions is to support and develop real trade union democracy. It can even be said that wherever the principles of democracy are observed and applied in the activity of the trade unions, the organisation is solid and in a position to protect the workers' interests.

THE participation of the members of a trade union in all the activities of their organisation is the first and most important indication of the democratic character of that organisation, of its health and strength.

It is only when hundreds and thousands of trade unionists show a willing and keen interest in their organisation, when they bring to it their proposals and desires, when they work in every way to strengthen and develop it, that the organisation can be truly considered as representing the workers' interests.

We meet with the opinion—in India, for example—that trade unions are only useful during strikes. As a consequence of this, trade union organisations are formed during the actual dispute; they develop their activity during the strike, and when the strike is over, their activity, in fact, ceases. This conception is entirely wrong and harmful. This kind of procedure makes it impossible to set up a powerful mass organisation really capable of defending the workers' interests. A trade union is not a temporary, but a permanent organisation, called upon to protect the workers' interests, to organise, to unite, to clarify, and to assist the workers in their daily struggle to satisfy their needs. That is why it is important for ordinary members of trade unions to show a continual interest in their organisation, and not only during disputes. Trade union members must be able to call on their organisation for help in the solution of the many vital questions which confront them; and it is the duty of the organisation to provide this help.

Mass participation in real trade union activity does not take place by itself; it requires constant and systematic work on the part of the leading trade union bodies. To ensure the participation of the mass of the workers in the activity of trade union organisations requires, at least :

a) that all the important questions concerning the life and activity of the trade union organisation be widely discussed at general meetings of the members; that the advice and proposals of ordinary trade unionists be taken into consideration and carefully examined; that the executive organs of the trade union organisation keep their members regularly informed of the work carried out and of the application of the workers' proposals;

b) that regular reports be given to members by their elected representatives; those in leading positions must not fear criticism and self-criticism, but on the contrary, develop it;

c) that the members systematically participate in the daily work of the trade union organisations. Depending upon the problems which the workers have to solve, commissions, circles or groups should be set up on a voluntary basis aimed at achieving the demands of the mass of the workers;

d) that the liaison between the trade union and the mass of trade unionists and non-unionists as well, be systematically organised at the place of work.

In the capitalist countries it is there, on the job, that the close link between the trade union and the mass of the workers is forged. It is there, through meetings on the job, in conversations from bench to bench, machine to machine—between the workers and the ordinary trade union militants (dues collectors, shop stewards, vendors of the trade union press, etc.), that the demands of the workers are revealed, that unity is brought about, and that the struggles which the trade union must lead are waged. It is there, through the experience which the mass of the workers themselves acquire when the trade union is their faithful interpreter and unfaltering guide, that trade union recruitment is carried on, that is, the organisation of ever-wider masses for increasingly decisive struggles;

e) that systematic work be carried out for the promotion and education of militants from among the trade union membership. They must be helped to improve their knowledge; experience acquired in the work must be passed on to them and regular meetings of militants must be held on the various aspects of trade union activity;

f) that continuous mass educational work be undertaken to raise the cultural, political and occupational level of trade unionists, without neglecting either the big or the small tasks. No " detail " should be neglected if that detail concerns the workers' interests.

The carrying out of these elementary and long-established rules will ensure the membership's constant participation in the trade union's activity. The workers will clearly see that the life of the trade union is closely linked with the life of the mass of the workers, that the organisation works for the masses and that the masses are carrying out the trade union's most important functions. Such methods of work will at the same time ensure a democratic solution to all questions.

★

METHODS of electing the leading trade union organs and their officials are a further indication of prime importance of the democratic character of the organisation.

No organisation which violates the rules of democracy in its procedure for electing its leading bodies can be democratic.

Article XVI of the Constitution of the Soviet trade unions stipulates that " all leading trade union bodies, as well as delegates to trade union conferences and congresses, are elected by secret ballot. In the election of the trade union bodies, members of trade unions have the right to nominate candidates, to recall and to criticise any of them.".

It is also stipulated in Article II that all members of a trade union have the right to participate in elections and to be elected to any trade union position, to trade union conferences and congresses; that they have the right to put forward to trade union organisations, questions and proposals concerning the improvement of trade union work; to criticise the activity of local and higher trade union bodies and their militants in meetings, in trade union conferences and congresses, as well as in the Press; to submit questions, requests and complaints to all leading trade union bodies; that they have the right to demand their personal participation each time a decision has to be taken by the trade union organisations on the activity or running of the organisation.

Trade union members in the Peoples' Democracies, China and the German Democratic Republic have similar rights.

Let us compare this situation with that existing in some organisations which boast to the world of their democratic character. It is well known that the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) is among those which make this boast. But here, for example, is Local 1181 of the International Longshoremen's Association (A.F.L.) which has not had a meeting for 28 years. Democracy is an unknown word in this trade union, whose President, Ryan, has been assured of his position for life by means of corruption and terror. To keep his power he does not hesitate to resort to notorious gangsters, who not only beat up, but sometimes even kill those who oppose the Ryan dictatorship. In many other unions affiliated to the A.F.L. the leaders maintain their positions with the help of gangs of armed men.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, affiliated to the A.F.L., has for a long time been in the hands of William Hutcheson, who through his power had, for all practical purposes, secured a life-time job as President. A few months ago Hutcheson decided to retire and appointed his own son as President of the union. There were no elections and no one asked ordinary members for their opinion. Thus the Hutcheson dynasty has been established in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

In A.F.L. and C.I.O. conventions a large number of delegates are not elected representatives of the trade union members, but officials in the pay of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. leaders.

In fact, the leading organs of the A.F.L. are nothing but an oligarchy composed of the leaders of the most powerful trade unions affiliated to the A.F.L. Many of them have never had anything in common with the working class. Thus, in 1934, a certain George Scalise was, with the help of the sinister Al Capone gang, appointed vice-President of the Building Service Employees International Union, and later became President of the same union. Although a notorious gangster himself, George Scalise, in his position as President of the union, was received by the American Federation of Labour as a member with the same rights as the whole oligarchy of A.F.L. leaders and had friendly relations with its President, William Green.

That is how the A.F.L. and C.I.O. treat "democracy."

A similar situation exists in the Argentine. All the officially recognised trade unions are in the hands of Peron's men.

In Brazil, a special decree of the Minister of Labour, dated April 4, 1952, forbids the workers from nominating for election candidates whose ideology "would not correspond with the national interests." Any man of common sense will understand that this vague formula can include any opinion whatsoever which does not rigorously conform with that of the reactionary government.

In England and the Scandinavian countries, as in the United States, the practice exists of the election for life of Secretaries of trade union organisations. Thus the trade union leader becomes completely independent of the members of his organisation. In fact, he is no longer an elected leader, but a dictator. In some cases, as for example, in New Zealand, the method of postal voting is used, which evidently excludes all secret voting, for the trade union boss is always able to check on who dares to vote against him. A worker who has the courage to do this may risk serious consequences.

In New Zealand membership of a trade union is not voluntary, but compulsory, which leaves the door wide open to absolute power for the bureaucrats.

These examples show that democracy cannot exist in organisations led by politicians who have appointed themselves, by gangsters, by men linked to the police and reactionary governments. Democracy cannot exist where trade union meetings are not held, where the voice of the membership is not heard, where the workers are cut off from any participation in the life of their organisations, where they are arbitrarily expelled from the trade union if they criticise its activity.

It is worth noting, however, that such anti-democratic practices are becoming more and more difficult, and are even becoming impossible for the agents whom the bourgeoisie has placed in the trade union movement in order to hold back, smash and betray the action of the working class.

In all countries, the working class is managing in an ever broader way to bring about real trade union democracy in the workshops, to impose in the workshops a real organisation of the working class, led by it and for it.

This usually results from joining the legitimate aspirations of the workers and their will to struggle, with the activity of the progressive militants within the reactionary trade unions around a broad policy of unity to fight for their demands and to systematically denounce the anti-democratic policy of the leaders.

More and more the mass movement is rallying against the policy of hunger and war, upsetting the calculations of those gentlemen. It is forcing them to change their attitude under the threat of definitely losing all influence.

The masses in movement are forcing the barriers arbitrarily built between the workers. They are forging unity, democratically, as is at present true in Chile, where militants of all viewpoints are setting up a great united, democratic trade union centre.

As against these anti-democratic or fascist-like trade unions, there exist in the capitalist countries great organisations which are truly democratic, which have not only the confidence of the organised workers, but of the whole working class and people and whose leaders are democratically elected.

This is true, for example, of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) and the French C.G.T.

A continuous effort is made in these organisations to ensure that this broad democracy holds sway among the rank and file, as at every level.

Continuous criticism and self-criticism is carried on, and encouraged, to ensure that the economic and political demands put forward by the trade union, from the most general to the most particular, are really the demands of the workers.

The most modest trade union cadres learn under the fire of criticism that demands are not just imagined, that the good trade union leader is one who knows how to guide the workers' struggles in the factories because he knows how to learn from them and to be attentive to their needs, including the very smallest; the good trade union leader is attentive to their desire for unity and educates himself by studying the manifold initiative of the workers in the course of their struggles.

This is why these organisations and their militants are real organisations and militants of the working class of these countries.

★

A PRIMARY question in determining the degree of democracy of trade union organisations is that of the source of their funds, methods of collecting dues, control of expenditure and the use to which this expenditure is put.

The question of financing trade unions is a political, and not a technical question. No trade union can be considered democratic unless its resources come from the contributions of the workers and office employees, and unless it gives a regular accounting of its expenditures to its members.

Practice shows that abuses in the administration of trade union funds are numerous in the capitalist and colonial countries. Elementary democratic rights, such as the voluntary payments of dues, are violated. Sometimes resort is made to the forced payment of dues through the factory pay-office. Thus, in Brazil, by virtue of government decree No. 2,377 of July 8, 1940, all workers, organised and unorganised, have to pay one day's pay a year for the upkeep of the governmental trade unions. The funds collected in this way, which are not dues correctly speaking, but rather taxes forced from the workers, amount to about 60 million cruzeiros a year. They are completely at the disposal of the trade union leaders appointed by

the government, and their use is never subjected to any form of control. A great many scandals have occurred during the 12 years since this decree was issued. The Press informs us that during the past 6 years more than 150 million cruzeiros have been squandered by the trade union leaders in banquets, journeys, excursions and other personal expenses. One of the best-known of these splitting leaders, Cavalcanti, President of the Confederation of Industrial Workers, has been accused of having received 8 million cruzeiros for the building of a home for workers, a home which has never been built .

A number of similar events have taken place in Cuba. As the workers refused to pay dues to the trade unions which had been taken over by the government, the trade union bosses made use of the police in order to collect the dues. Thousands of workers who refused to pay were sacked. In January 1951, the leaders of the governmental labour Confederation—which, let us say in passing, constitutes the main centre of activity of the I.C.F.T.U. in Latin America—asked the government to issue a decree making the payment of dues compulsory. However, the vigorous and unanimous protests of the workers (who refused to harvest the sugar cane) forced the government to retreat. Following this, after an alliance had been formed between the leaders of the governmental Confederation and the association of sugar planters, the employers agreed to pay to the breakaway trade union leaders 3,500,000 dollars a year out of their profits, which is about the sum the trade unions formerly received in dues.

It is clear that such trade unions and such trade union leaders cannot defend the workers' interests. They are merely organisations in the service of the employers and governments.

The situation is entirely different in the U.S.S.R., in China and in the Peoples' Democracies. The financial resources of the trade unions come from the monthly contributions, which amount to one percent of the worker's effective wage, from a single entry payment representing also one percent of the monthly wage, and from the income from cultural and sports institutions and various other services. The payment of dues is voluntary, and the collection is made by members who are made responsible for this job by the trade union organisations themselves.

Elected trade union bodies have the right to use the financial resources and the property of the trade unions, and they have the legal responsibility to safeguard them and to control expenditure. A control commission is elected by secret ballot at the time of election of trade union leaders by general assemblies and conferences of the members of the trade unions.

The financial policy of the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. consists of continually reducing the general expenses of the trade union apparatus, and of devoting an ever larger part of the resources to cultural and social services, to aiding the members, etc. These are truly democratic methods as far as the financial activities of the trade unions are concerned. They guarantee fully the principle of voluntary dues-payment as well as the control of expenditure by the members, with regular reports by the trade union organisations to their members.

The democratic trade union organisations of the capitalist countries carry on a similar practice.

The rate of trade union contribution is fixed by the members themselves. Their funds are administered and controlled by them through their elected representatives. They are used to support struggles, to maintain the trade union apparatus, and also for various social work and activities for the members. The permanent officials have a modest wage equal to that of a skilled worker.

TRADE union democracy does not rest exclusively on the three principles given above, but these principles are none the less the most important and characteristic, to a large degree, of the true status of a trade union organisation.

Regular and systematic participation of the members in the activity of their organisation, their complete freedom to elect and replace the responsible leaders and functionaries, the absolutely voluntary character of the dues-payment, the control of expenditure by the membership, such are the conditions to be fulfilled in order that trade union democracy be not an empty word.

The history of the trade union movement teaches that, whatever the manoeuvres of reactionary bodies, of agents of the bourgeoisie within the trade unions, in the final analysis the working class finishes by sweeping them away and imposing everywhere truly democratic trade union organisations, gathering together all workers, directed by them and for them.

The observation of the rules given above, to respect which an active struggle must be launched, will ensure the support of the members for all measures taken by trade union organisations and will guarantee as a consequence their healthy and vigorous development.

SERGEI ROSTOVSKY

APPEAL

from the World Federation of Trade Unions for the organisation of an International Day of Solidarity and Struggle for Peace on 25th June, 1952

The World Federation of Trade Unions issues a fervent appeal to the working men and women of the whole world to make June 25th 1952 *a great day of active international solidarity in favour of the heroic Korean people and for the defence of peace*

On that day, two years will have passed during which horrible sufferings have been imposed on the men, women and children of Korea by the American imperialists. The crimes, devastation and the misery which have accumulated in two years in Korea are even more odious in that the Washington Government continues to cover them with the United Nations' flag.

June 25th 1952 will also mark the second anniversary of the sublime resistance of the Korean people to the American invader.

On that day, throughout the world, working men and women will glory in the tenacity of their brothers and sisters of Korea, who have delivered a setback to the imperialist operation. In defending the independence of their land, the Korean people have given the example of the firmness and courage of the people put to the service of the nation, standing against the aggressors. Helped by the brave Chinese volunteers, supported by all peoples who are the natural enemies of national oppression, the Korean fighters have stirred throughout the world the general opposition of the peoples to imperialism and colonialism.

Not recoiling from the use of any methods, the American aggressors have used bacteriological weapons in Korea and in North-East China. They have dared to carry out this base deed, driven by the need for a military success and by their racist contempt for the Korean and Chinese peoples.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is of the opinion that, in expressing their full and complete solidarity with the Korean and Chinese peoples on June 25th 1952, the working men and women of the whole world will again make vigorous protests against those responsible for the use of bacteriological weapons. They will expose the game of those who seek directly or indirectly to cover up those responsible for this brutal war experiment by trying to sow doubt or to deny the crime.

The World Federation of Trade Unions advises all trade union organisations, affiliated or not, to use the best methods, those most appropriate to their national and local requirements, in the organisation of *the international day of June 25th* 1952.

It particularly recommends the passing of resolutions in the course of united gatherings at places of work, during which pledges of mass struggle for peace and independence of the peoples shall be taken by the men and women workers fraternally gathered together.

Working men and women of the whole world :

- Unite and meet together on the international day of solidarity, June 25th 1952.
- Demand the ending of the war in Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country.
- Force the unconditional banning of weapons of mass destruction, and the immediate bringing to trial of the criminals who have used bacteriological weapons on the Korean front and in North-East China.
- Develop boldly all mass initiatives, all peoples' initiatives, in order to strengthen by your untiring activity the world front of the defenders of peace.

THE W.F.T.U. DENOUNCES A PROVOCATION AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

THE W.F.T.U. is in a position to inform the trade union organisations and the workers of all countries of the defeat of several simultaneous attempts at provocation directed against the World Trade Union Organisation of the workers and against the trade unions which are affiliated to it or have friendly relations with it.

The W.F.T.U. Secretariat has discovered that, in the period between March 20th and April 1st, 1952, provocatory letters written in an obscure office have been sent from Vienna, with the aim of implicating the W.F.T.U. and deceiving the addressees. Some of these forgeries, typed on W.F.T.U. letter-head paper, were addressed to trade union organisations or individuals, particularly in Canada and the U.S.A., in order to distort the aims of the International Conference for the Defence of Children which took place in Vienna, Austria, in April, a conference in the organisation of which the W.F.T.U. was, in fact, not associated.

The W.F.T.U. Secretariat has discovered at the same time that this service of forgers and provocateurs was acting in liaison with the forces for the repression of working class organisations in certain countries, and in the pay of police in the service of American imperialism.

Thus, at the same time when a pseudo-trial was taking place in Manila, in the Philippines, against Brother Hernandez, President of the Congress of Labour Organisations of the Philippines, a provocative document was posted by the forgers on March 26th, 1952 in Vienna (Austria) for the purpose of helping the prosecution.

On March 30th, Brother Hernandez was sentenced to life imprisonment, without any proof having been brought by his accusers.

The W.F.T.U. indignantly protests against this sentence and demands its revision, while denouncing the fraudulent fabrication of the dossier which has been used in the trial against this working class militant. The forgery sent from Vienna to Manila proves that the American services have been working in Austria in order to bring about the sentencing in the Philippines of an honest representative of the workers.

All these acts bear the stamp of anti-Sovietism, and are only a repetition of the Hitlerian and fascist methods so well known in the vigilant working class movement.

The forgers are pursuing the aim of creating conditions which will permit the repression of trade union organisations to be broadened, particularly in countries such as the Philippines, dominated by American imperialism.

The use of the forged signature of the W.F.T.U. General Secretary at the bottom of these provocative documents, at a time when, in fact, Brother Louis Saillant was absent from the W.F.T.U. headquarters, proves that the provocateurs intend to attack the W.F.T.U. even in its leadership.

The W.F.T.U. has been able to thwart such manoeuvres, which expose publicly the infamous means used by the enemies of the international working class movement.

The W.F.T.U. informs world public opinion of these scandalous acts. It puts all trade union organisations and all working men and women of the world on guard against their renewal. It asks them to observe the greatest vigilance to eliminate the criminal attempts of the forgers and provocateurs in the pay of the instigators of war, of colonialist bandits and of dens of anti-working class police agents.

The low police methods employed in order to attack the W.F.T.U. prove how great is its authority among the mass of the world's workers.

The historic struggle of the oppressed and enslaved peoples will proceed with an ever greater spirit of growing working class solidarity, of mutual aid, without the provocation of the oppressors and instigators of war being able to prevent it.

In appealing to the vigilance of the workers, the W.F.T.U. asks them to unite together more closely, to strengthen the mass action of the proletariat, and thus to continue the forward march of the men and women workers of the world towards democracy, peace and human progress.

Vienna, May 7th, 1952.

May Day 1952

ABOVE: **Red Square in Moscow during the demonstration. Millions of Muscovites proclaimed their love of peace and the country which is building Communism.**

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RIGHT: **Tokyo workers forcefully resist police provocations.**

— THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD SAID "NO" TO WAR AND POVERTY

NEVER has a more forceful "NO" been given to the policy of poverty, unemployment and war of the imperialist governments, than on this memorable day of May First 1952. This "NO," uttered simultaneously by the workers in all parts of the world and in all languages, notified the promoters of the plot against peace that they will never be able to count upon the peoples anywhere except as indomitable enemies.

ABOVE: **Berlin youth parade in front of the reviewing stand in Marx-Engels Platz.**

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LEFT: **Rome demonstrators listen to the speeches of the C.G.I.L. leaders.**

The world-wide unanimity of this warning, transcending frontiers and oceans, political, trade union, religious and other differences, caused consternation in the councils of the warmongers.

The workers' "NO" threatens all aspects of their policy. It is a "NO" to the policy of rising prices and falling real wages, of reduction in social expenditure, of super-exploitation, and the accompanying limitation of democratic and trade union freedoms which is a necessary consequence of war preparation. It is a "NO" to the policy of national abdication pursued by the governments which have submitted to the American monopolists. It is a "NO" to the policy of colonial slavery carried on by all the imperialist countries under the yoke of Wall Street. It is a "NO" to remilitarisation for aggressive purposes, and a "NO" to the atom bomb and plague criminals.

In declaring themselves *against* all the aspects of this policy, the workers of the capitalist colonial and dependent countries, widely united, have declared themselves *for* a policy of peaceful co-existence between nations with different political, economic and social regimes, for a policy of economic construction and prosperity. It is this policy which is being tirelessly and calmly pursued by the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies, the Chinese People's Republic

LEFT: Paris workers demonstrating for their demands, for liberty and for peace.

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BELOW: Paris workers demonstrate their solidarity with the people of North Africa, the victims of colonial terror.

and the German Democratic Republic. And the peoples of these latter countries have themselves shown, in their huge celebrations of the workers' day of international solidarity, their determination to preserve world peace, and to continue to build prosperity in their own lands.

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May Day in Japan burst like a thunderbolt into the bloody dreams of Ridgway. Millions of workers had already been on strike against the legislation prepared by the Yoshida government on instructions from the American occupiers, for the purpose of suppressing the last vestige of their political and trade union rights. The First of May served notice on the occupier to clear out. And what notice!

In Tokyo alone, 400,000 workers went into the streets, demonstrating against their miserable living conditions, the result of the conversion of their country into a war and armaments' base for the Americans, demonstrating for peace in Korea and demanding, not fictitious, but real national independence and democracy. The Yoshida police used batons, arms, tear-gas and fire-hoses, causing a number of deaths and hundreds of wounded, and arresting over 200. The reply was unmistakable. The windows of Ridgway's headquarters, completely surrounded by the demonstrators, were shattered. American sailors were thrown into the moat surrounding the Imperial Palace, cars belonging to the occupation forces were overturned or burned.

On the First of May, the Japanese workers showed the imperialists of Wall Street that they will never accept as friends the authors of the atomic crime of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and that they will be able to oppose the new crimes which American imperialism is preparing on their national territory.

A sharp warning which will make the fomentors of war pause and think!

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THOUSANDS of miles away, in Berlin, another equally clear warning was given by the German people and the working class to the supporters of the Atlantic policy.

For seven hours, the crowd of Berlin workers and enthusiastic youth marched past the reviewing stand shouting slogans for a united, independent, democratic and peaceful Germany, and declaring their will to fight in unity for the conclusion of a real peace treaty and for general elections for the whole of Germany. Mingling with the workers, as an integral part of them, marched the formations of the People's Police. In spite of a triple police barrage and the mobilisation of the American Sixth Regiment, more than ten thousand patriots from the Western sector succeeded in reaching the Democratic sector of the city and taking part in the march.

This was paralleled by large demonstrations in the main centres of Western Germany, assuming a particularly large scale in the towns in which they were

The huge Rumanian demonstration.

organised on a unity basis, as in Stuttgart and Nuremberg, among other places.

"*The first movement in the great offensive against the violence done to the German people by the American and German warmongers.*" It was thus that Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic, speaking at Marx-Engels Platz, characterised this May Day. Long acclamations from the workers of the German Democratic Republic and Western Germany broke forth when he announced that, unless the conclusion of the war alliance prepared under the name of the "general treaty" by Adenauer and the Western Powers were prevented, the need would arise for the German Democratic Republic to organise its armed defence.

In preparing for May Day, and in order to give a striking patriotic demonstration for peace and prosperity, the workers of the German Democratic Republic declared themselves ready, by tens of thousands of individual and collective pledges, to give new impetus to the economic development of their country.

Thus, on this First of May, the German workers united across the artificial frontier which divides their country in order to demonstrate to the promoters of the war policy their refusal to be accomplices or instruments of the crime against humanity which they are preparing.

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IN France, May Day was celebrated by great demonstrations against the Pinay Government's policy ordered by Washington, a policy of wage freeze,

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A section of London workers arriving in Trafalgar Square.

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speed-up, slashing social gains, and handing over the national inheritance, piece by piece, to the American occupier. The Pinay Government is dragging on the criminal war against the Viet-Namese people, attempting to stifle by terror the aspirations of the peoples of North Africa for independence, and crushing the French workers under the burden of taxes and rising prices in order to pay for this policy.

With United Action Committees at their head, the workers called for satisfaction of their demands. But they also demonstrated against the American occupation, against war production, against the war in Viet-Nam, against colonial oppression, against bacteriological weapons.

Remembering the shameful provocation which the Paris police carried out during last year's demonstration against the Algerian workers, the French workers acclaimed thousands of their Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian comrades who marched with them, and protected them from any incident.

In Algeria itself, the Pinay Government had forbidden any demonstration on the First of May, but the Algerian people gave a forceful answer to this arbitrary colonial act.

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In Vienna, enthusiastic youth parade before the Parliament building, shouting peace slogans.

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In Oran alone, placed under a state of siege, twenty thousand demonstrated. The dockers, whose magnificent actions on behalf of the people of Viet-Nam are well known, stood firm against a savage charge by the police. In all the other towns, also, demonstrators were able to stand firm against the forces of repression.

Thus, in Paris as in North Africa, the French and North African workers demonstrated in common against a government for which the economic exploitation of the workers in general, and colonial exploitation in particular, are measures necessary for war preparation.

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IN all the other capitalist countries May Day assumed the same character of struggle against the policies of war and poverty.

Everywhere the workers demonstrated for the satisfaction of their urgent economic demands and immediate needs. They denounced the disastrous consequences of the war economy imposed on their countries by American imperialism. They demanded respect for their democratic and trade union rights.

In London, the workers' day of international solidarity was celebrated with outstanding strength. Demonstrators carried thousands of banners and placards with slogans such as "Down with the Arms Drive," "Stop Rearming Western Germany and Japan," "End Germ Warfare in Korea," etc. In Trafalgar Square, speakers demanded that immediate measures be taken against unemployment and for the improvement of living conditions.

In the United States, two powerful strikes were called on the eve of May Day; 650,000 steelworkers and 90,000 oilworkers stopped work, demanding wage increases, thus far refused by the employers who have pocketed billions of dollars of super profits in the last few years. In New York, workers' organisations paraded for peace, democracy and Negro rights.

Strong movements also took place in Latin America. In Chile, trade union centres of all tendencies united to celebrate May Day in common, after having set up a committee to work for trade union unity.

In all capitalist countries, May Day showed that the international working class has never been so strong, so militant or so united.

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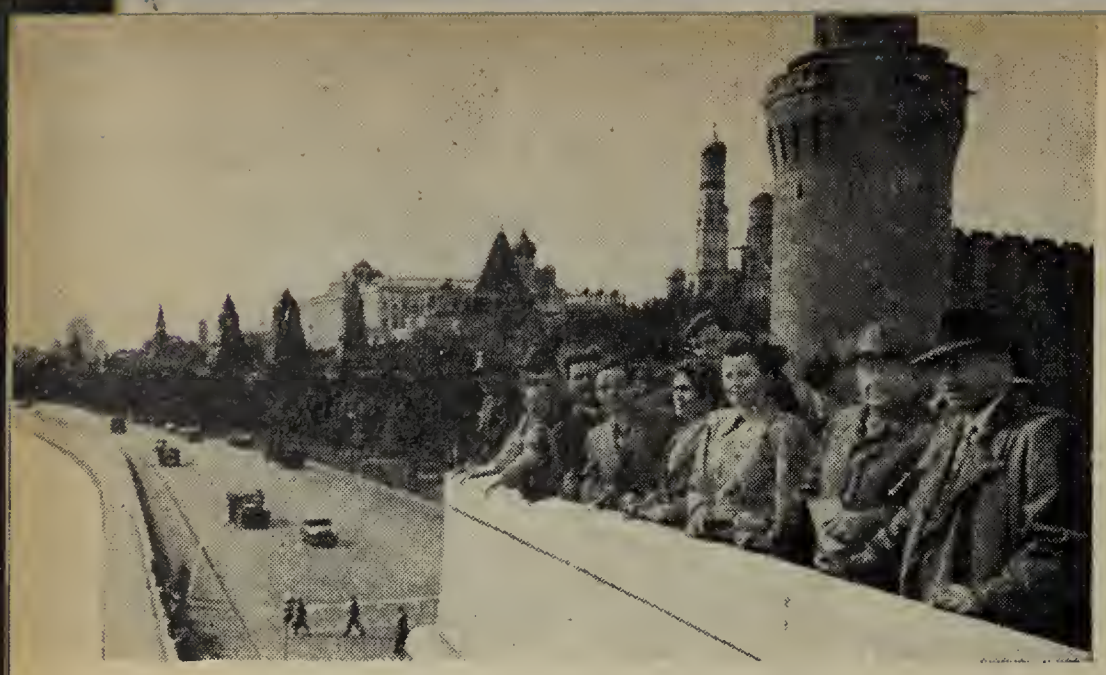
IN the U.S.S.R., May Day was the occasion of gigantic demonstrations brimming over with happiness and confidence. In Moscow, millions of workers marched past Joseph Stalin through the Red Square. Strong in their successes in the sphere of peaceful construction, they expressed their love of peace, their unshakable attachment to the Government which is leading them towards ever greater prosperity, and their firm resolve to safeguard both peace and prosperity.

The constructive enthusiasm, confidence and peaceful resolve were just as fervent in the Peoples' Democracies and in the Chinese People's Republic. A million people demonstrated in Peking, 400,000 in Prague, 550,000 in Bucharest and 300,000 in Sofia. In Warsaw, workers paraded for seven hours, and in Budapest for six hours.

Thus, on this First of May, 1952, the workers of the whole world met together in a common spirit of struggle which it is neither premature nor exaggerated to say has greatly contributed by its power and unanimity to the consolidation of peace in the world, and which has healed the unity of the workers in their struggle for a better life.

J.W.



Canadian Trade Unionists

Report on the Soviet Union

Acting on the initiative of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, requesting a delegation of Canadian trade unionists to visit their country, the National Council of the Canadian Soviet Friendship Society sponsored this delegation of ten trade unionists.

The delegation was organised through the Labour Committee of the C.S.F.S., and is a representative one. The persons on the delegation were nominated on the basis that they had the respect of the workers in their industries, and were capable of making an objective and unbiased report to the Canadian people of conditions in the Soviet Union.

The delegation represented a number of different political and religious opinions. Its purpose was set forth and approved at its first meeting:

1. To see at first hand what are the working and living conditions of workers in the Soviet Union.

2. To determine what is the status of Soviet trade unions. Are they trade unions within the sense that we know them? Is their function that of promoting and protecting the interests of the workers, or are they State-controlled?

3. Is the economy of the Soviet Union based on the preparation for war, or is it based on production for peace? Is the economy of the U.S.S.R. an expanding one in terms of improvement of conditions for the workers, or is it a retracting one?

4. What is the attitude of the Soviet people to Canada and Canadians? What do they know about us?

5. Does the Soviet government have the confidence of the Soviet people, or are they an oppressed people?

We were free to go where we liked, and talk to anyone we wished to. One of our delegates, Miss Wedro, can speak Russian. She did not hesitate wherever we were to speak to people. We met a surprising number of people who could speak English. We were free to take photographs. Several on the delegation had cameras.

We can say without exception that the working conditions in the plants, in the mines and on the ships are good. Every factory and mine we visited, and most of the plants were older ones, were exceptionally well ventilated. Even in the foundries and railway repair shops there were no fumes and smoke. Every precaution is taken to assure bright and airy working conditions.

Nor did we evidence any speed-up as we know it. Most of the plants work on a piecework system. The norms established for this piece work are in our opinion low compared to similar types of work performed in our factories. We would say that almost without ex-

WHO WE ARE

DAVID BIDERMAN
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, President Toronto Branch United Jewish Peoples' Order.

HARRY COLEGATE
Local 439, United Automobile Workers, district council member and plant committee member Massey-Harris.

DEWAR FERGUSON
Delegation Secretary, vice-President, Canadian Seamen's Union.

ARCHIE HAMILTON
President Welland Local, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America.

NELS JACOBSON
Delegation Chairman, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

ALISTAIR McLEOD
International Woodworkers of America, sponsored by Nanaimo Joint Labor Council.

MRS. MARGARET POPOFF
Secretary, Toronto Local, International Fur and Leather Workers' Union.

ARTHUR ROBERTS
Secretary, Hygrade Local, United Mine Workers' Union of America, Drumheller, Alta.

KEN SMITH
British Columbia President, International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers of America.

MISS PEARL WEDRO
Canadian District Executive Board, International Fur and Leather Workers' Union.

ception all workers overfulfil their established quotas. There is a great incentive for overfulfilling set norms. This is known as the progressive piecework bonus system. Workers get an extra bonus for fulfilling their norm or quota. In addition the worker gets a progressive increase in the rate for each percentage produced above his or her quota. This progressive bonus can amount to three times their basic rate.

One of our delegates was watching a job that had been time-studied in his department only a week before he left the plant to come on this trip. The rate set in his plant in Canada for the same job was 70 pieces per hour. We asked the Soviet worker what the norm was for that particular job. He was informed that it was 140 per eight hours. The person was using a similar type of machine to that used in Canada. This is the general condition in relation to piecework.

Soviet machinery and manufacturing techniques are every bit up to the standards used in our factories. In fact, they have many new machines that surpass anything we have seen in our own plants. In the Stalingrad tractor plant, they have a machine that completely processes the heads of tractor engines. It faces, bores, reams and drills the head automatically without anyone having to touch it after being put in the machine. It used to take 200 persons to do this work; now it is completed with eight. In our country, of course, such a machine could create unemployment. In the Soviet Union this is not a problem. The workers own their own factories. Increased production will result in a richer life and eventually shorter hours. They are guaranteed employment.

The most striking thing in the factories, however, is the degree of service and attention given to workers and their families in the way of medical attention. This attention covers both industrial accidents and sickness. It is entirely free to every worker. Every factory, mine or mill has a clinic that is equipped for any emergency. These clinics are staffed with doctors, nurses and all the equipment that you would find in a fair-sized hospital in Canada. Not only has the worker free access to this, but also anyone of his family.

This great attention to the health of the worker is not confined to a few plants. You even find such facilities in the outlying lumber camps and on the collective farms. We visited both such places.

Soviet Citizens Live Well

It is difficult to compare wages and prices between Canada and the Soviet Union, because the Soviet worker gets many things free or for a very small percentage of his or her wage. Medical and hospital facilities are free. They only pay up to four per cent of the husband's wages for rent. These items and others take a considerable portion out of our budgets at home. Our delegation found that the average Soviet citizen lives well. We visited several homes of workers in the lumber camps, a pulp and paper mill town and on a collective farm. These were not specially picked houses.

In the pulp mill town, we were on our way to see the nursery. One of the delegates asked if it were possible to see inside one of the houses. An interpreter immediately went up to the house we were passing and asked the lady if she would let us see her house. We only had to wait a minute while she ducked into the bedroom and changed her dress. She had been scrubbing the floor. The cottage was three rooms and a bath. They were clean and well furnished. There was no refrigerator, but they had a telephone and a radio. The rent was only four per cent of her husband's wage.

In judging the standard of living of the Soviet people, one must consider the terrible devastation inflicted on their country by Hitler's troops. Whole cities, towns and villages were destroyed. No industry was left standing in the occupied areas. The collective farm we visited near Dniepropetrovsk was completely destroyed When the villagers returned after the liberation they found only two sick cows and three old horses left. Of course, most of the young men and women had been killed or wounded.

What was most surprising to us was the way in which they have overcome these difficulties. Not only have they restored their losses, but in most cases have surpassed their pre-war level. At a meeting in their club house of almost the entire farm village they were proud to report that all the buildings had been rebuilt and several new ones added. They have built an elementary and a secondary school—schools that most of our good-sized villages would be proud to have, to say nothing of our rural areas. They have also built a club that also serves as a meeting hall. Several new barns were under construction. The farm is completely electrified. They have electric milking machines and there was a radio in every house we were in.

It is understandable that there are as yet things in short supply, mainly in luxury lines. What is surprising is the fact that there seems to be no shortage of essentials. Soviet citizens appear to be well fed and have adequate clothing.

We found that women participate in almost every phase of work in the Soviet Union. We not only found them working in factories, but even in the mines and on board ship as part of the crew. The only restrictions placed on women working is that they are not allowed to do heavy lifting, or work injurious to health. Equal pay for equal work is universal. Every factory we visited and even the farms are well equipped with nurseries and kindergartens for the children of mothers who wish to work. It is not compulsory for a woman to work as some in our country would have us believe.

The facilities placed at the disposal of the workers, and the attention given for sports and cultural recreation is remarkable. Every factory, mine or mill has its palace of culture or club, depending on the size and importance of the enterprise. Most of these places are elaborate centres, providing concert and motion picture facilities. They have rooms for billiards and other such games, libraries and lecture and meeting halls.

Soviet Trade Unions Enjoy High Prestige

One of the main questions the delegation concerned itself with is the often repeated accusation that Soviet trade unions are State-controlled. Let us say here emphatically that this is not so. We found that the trade unions in the U.S.S.R. enjoy a very high prestige. They exercise a great influence and in most cases are the determining factor in the enactment of labour legislation.

We were informed by trade union officials that no important piece of legislation is passed without the full consent and approval of the trade unions.

The trade unions are the richest and largest organisations in the country. They have complete charge of the administration of the social insurance fund. This fund concerns pensions, workmen's compensation and sickness and accident insurance.

The unions enforce the labour protection legislation which deals with all aspects of safety measures, hygienic

conditions, hours of work and rest periods—even up to the guarantee of employment for workers.

The unions are built on the basis of industrial unionism. They have national and local unions, area and local Trades Councils. Within the locals they have the executive, the stewards bodies and the various committees the same as we have. The only difference is that they have a greater administrative job as far as labour protection and social insurance is concerned.

We can say without hesitation that the Soviet trade unions are unions within the full sense that we know them; that Soviet trade unions hold a much more important status in the life of their country than the unions in our country.

Although we were only four weeks in the Soviet Union, we are convinced that the economy of the Soviet Union is not geared to the preparation for war. Guns instead of butter is not the predominant theme in Soviet economy. On the contrary, people everywhere we went, whether in official positions or ordinary citizens, the first concern was for peace. Undoubtedly some of this concern flowed from the horrors and devastation they experienced from the last war. But it is our conviction that in the main it flows from a fear that a war would interfere with their plans for a fuller life. This was expressed in a hundred and one ways.

In a mining town in the Ukraine, every mine, smelter and almost the entire town had been destroyed during the war. All these had been restored and they have surpassed their pre-war level of output of iron ore. The warmth of the greetings of the miners and officials was beyond words. We spoke to the miners in a jammed opera house. When we told them that the vast majority of the Canadians wanted peace, we were cheered to the echo.

The same held true everywhere. We are convinced that this great desire for peace is genuine. We base this not only on the expressions of the people we met and talked to, but mainly on the physical evidence. Construction is going on all over the country. When we first arrived in Moscow we referred to it as a boom town. But, as we travelled around the country, we found this to be general in all communities. Houses and apartment blocks are going up wherever you look. In addition to this, the amount of building of opera houses, motion picture shows, palaces of culture, stadiums and other cultural facilities indicate that they are building and are largely concerned with providing a better life for themselves.

The Canadian trade union delegation about to enter a mine at Dniepropetrovsk.

Visiting the magnificent sanatorium maintained by the Railwaymen in Sochi.

Luxurious Sanatoria for the Workers

In case anyone is sceptical, we just wish we could take them for a trip along the shores of the Black Sea, there to see for themselves the number and beauty of the new sanatoria and rest homes being constructed for the workers. Or let them sit among the miners, textile and garment workers or the railwaymen at their luxurious sanatoria on the Black Sea as we did. Let them tell you of the plans for the extension of their buildings and grounds. Even the most sceptical cannot but be impressed. Incidentally, these sanatoria are the most elaborate places we have ever seen. They are not sanatoria as we know them. They are not restricted to sick people—in fact sick people go to hospitals. Many workers go to sanatoria for their holidays.

The Soviet economy does not call for the tightening of the belt, or for making sacrifices for war purposes. On the contrary, the main emphasis is on the production of consumer goods. There have been four price reductions in the Soviet Union in the past two years (written before the fifth reduction in April 1952—Editor). We are further convinced that this policy is deliberately pursued and fostered by the Soviet government. It is part of the general plan of the country. Almost anyone you speak to will sooner or later refer to the time when they will have communism. This is the era when consumer goods are so plentiful that their distribution will be on the basis of need instead of on what a person can afford to buy. Several times in official speeches and in toasts we heard about Stalin's answer to the person who asked him . . . How long would it be before they reached communism? He was reported as saying that he hoped to live to see that period. It appears to us that the Soviet economy is geared to achieving that goal.

Often in our Canadian press and on our radio is reported speeches by various individuals, to the effect that the Soviet people are oppressed. That they are ruled by fear. Of course, such a type of argument

carries with it the suggestion that they should be liberated. We say without hesitation that such statements are false. The people who make them do not know what they are talking about, or are deliberately trying to mislead the Canadian people.

At several places we visited we had meetings with large numbers of people. In the lumber camp the whole village turned out. On the collective farm the club house was jammed. We also met large numbers of workers at textile, coal miners' and railwaymen's sanatoria. At some of these meetings we mentioned the fact that there were some people in our country who thought of the Soviet people as oppressed people. In each instance this was greeted by a spontaneous laugh. But once the laughing was over they told us in no uncertain terms that we should correct this opinion in our country.

No one who has walked through the streets of Stalingrad and seen with their own eyes the terrible devastation that city suffered could possibly believe that these people want war. A city the size of Hamilton, Ontario, 99 per cent destroyed. 72,000 Soviet soldiers died there, and 19,000 civilians.

Not one school, hospital, church or public building was left standing. When you witness the manner in which they are rebuilding their cities or talk to some of the citizens, you get a feeling of a great desire to live in peace. But at the same time you feel the determination of a people that caused the defeat of Hitler's armies. You then realise that they would do the same again if their land was threatened. One picture on the wall of the Stalingrad museum demonstrates this. It shows a dead German soldier. The caption underneath the picture reads "He reached the Volga." It hangs there as a simple warning for those that would have similar ambitions to Hitler's.

We are convinced that the Soviet people want friendship and trade with the Canadian people. We are further convinced that they deserve our friendship in return. We feel that such a friendship would be a great benefit to the people of our two great lands.

Special tractors for forest shelter belts produced at the Stalingrad Tractor Works.

Visiting a collective farm near Dniepropetrovsk.

Of Course There is a Way out of the Textile Crisis!

THE textile industry in the capitalist countries has been hit by a crisis which has sharpened since the beginning of 1952.

This crisis is characterised by a decline in sales and the accumulation of unsold stocks, by an increase in the number of bankruptcies, the closing down of factories, and by the growth of partial and total unemployment and the increased poverty of the workers.

GREAT BRITAIN

WHOLESALE textile sales fell by 17 per cent. from February 1951 to February 1952; the sale of women's clothes fell by a third in the same period.

In Lancashire alone, between 150,000 and 180,000 of the 300,000 textile workers in that county are either unemployed or on part time.

WESTERN GERMANY

SALES on the home market fell by 127 million Deutschmarks during 1951.

In January there were 113,600 totally unemployed in the textile industry (official figures).

UNITED STATES

RAYON and staple fibre sales fell by 22 per cent. between the first quarter 1951 and the first quarter 1952.

From February 1951 to January 1952, the number of workers employed in the textile industry fell by 125,000, and in clothing, by 100,000.

FRANCE

FROM the 1st to the 4th quarter of 1951, nylon stocking production fell from 2,926 to 2,434 million pairs; that of rayon stockings, from 1,670,000 to 677,000 pairs; of baby layettes, from 871 to 494 tons; of material for knitted goods, from 392 to 100 tons. There are at present 300,000 totally or partially unemployed.

JAPAN

SEVENTY-TWO textile firms went bankrupt in November and December, 1951. The production of cotton thread and fabrics during January 1952 was 71 million pounds, and consumption was 47 million pounds.

ITALY

THE fall in production has caused 100,000 unemployed, and those textile workers employed work only part of the week.

BELGIUM

IN the first quarter 1952, the wool spinning mills produced 17 per cent. less than in the first quarter 1951. Of the 150,000 textile workers, 60,000 are unemployed or on part time. Fifty per cent. of workers in the clothing industry are unemployed.

NORWAY, SWEDEN, HOLLAND

TOTAL or partial closing of several important factories, as for example the Arne Fabrikker factory in Oslo, several factories in Göteborg, Jefle, Alingsas (Sweden), and the Hollandsche Kuntsyde Industrie factory in Breda (Holland).

AT its last meeting (Vienna, April 27 and 28, 1952), the Executive Bureau of the Textile and Clothing Workers' Trade Unions International stated that the causes of this situation lie in the development of war industry, in the armament policy imposed upon the capitalist countries of Europe by the monopolies of the United States, and in the continuous lowering of the workers' purchasing power. It added that the worsening of the workers' position also results from the policy of trade discrimination carried on by leading circles in the United States towards the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies.

An increase in international trade in textiles would permit of a growth of textile production, and would considerably reduce unemployment.

The facts prove that such an increase is possible.

In fact, important agreements for trade in textile products were concluded at the International Economic Conference in Moscow.

Here are some examples, the exporting country being given first:

Great Britain—China: £3,500,000 of textile products.
Great Britain—German Democratic Republic: £2 million of textiles and footwear.
Great Britain—Rumania: £1 million of textile products.
Great Britain—Soviet Union: £500,000 of textile products.
France—Soviet Union: $250,000 of knitted goods.
$250,000 of hat shapes.
350 million francs of combed wool.

The agreements concluded by the French delegation with the German Democratic Republic (amounting to 20 million dollars worth of goods), Poland (1,500 million francs) and Rumania (1,500 million francs) also include textile products.

Italy—Soviet Union: 550,000 metres of wool cloth.
Italy—China: 50 million lire of rayon.
Belgium—Soviet Union: 18,600,000 Belgian francs of textile products, mainly woollens.

That is only some of the agreements concluded at the conference.

This shows clearly that important results which make it possible for many workers to escape from unemployment and to obtain conditions favourable to raising their living standards have been achieved in Moscow.

The workers are thus right in wanting to sweep away the obstacles which stand in the way of the development of peaceful trade between countries.

* * *

IN concluding its examination of the situation of the textile workers, the Executive Bureau of the Textile Trade Unions International called for the strengthening of united action between all workers, irrespective of their convictions and beliefs, for the defence of national industries, against the closing of factories and dismissals, for increased purchasing power of the workers, for a substantial increase in unemployment compensation, for a reduction in the number of machines tended by each worker with no reduction in wages and for normal trading relations between all countries.

In addition, the Executive Bureau of the Trade Unions International invited the International Trade Secretariats for the Textile and Clothing Industries (I.C.F.T.U.) and the International Federation of Christian Workers of the Textile Industry to hold a joint meeting to adopt measures to protect the textile industry and its workers.

British Workers Fight Tory Government

BY WAL HANNINGTON

IT is only six months since the Tory Party won the general election. But in that short time, the British working class has shown in no uncertain manner its bitter hostility towards the Churchill government and its readiness to oppose the anti-working class policies of the Tories. Through meetings, resolutions, processions, strikes and other activities, British trade unionists are fighting back against the attempt of the Tory government to saddle them with the burdens of the huge armaments programme and the developing trade slump.

By these actions, the workers are placing serious obstacles in the way of the plans of Wall Street and the Churchill government. Furthermore, the lessons learned in the midst of struggle are producing deep changes in the trade union movement. Old ideas are going, confusion is beginning to vanish, the breeze of determination, struggle and understanding has started to blow.

These developments also constitute an important challenge to the policy of the right-wing Labour and trade union leaders. Already last summer there were important indications of a rising tide of protest against the anti-working class policies being pursued by the Labour government. The resignations of Harold Wilson and Aneurin Bevan from the government and the big votes cast for progressive resolutions at the Trades Union Congress in September, were proof of this growing storm.

It was precisely to divert attention from the struggle and to attempt to rally the workers around it that the Attlee government decided to hold a general election. (The Tory Party actually received less votes than Labour, but the unrepresentative electoral system resulted in a Tory government). This manoeuvre of the right-wing leaders failed to stop the movement. On the contrary, it has only assisted the exposure of these leaders themselves.

Hardly had the election results been announced than the T.U.C. General Council, without any pretence of consulting the membership of the trade unions, anxiously rushed in with a declaration that it intended to "work amicably" with the Tory government. Whatever hopes the General Council had in this policy, the past six months

A few of the 1,500 delegates representing 400,000 women at the National Assembly of Women in London, where they registered their demands for peace and higher living standards.

have shown only too well that, as far as the working class is concerned, it fell on very deaf ears. Even if there had been a few who were prepared to try out a policy of "working amicably" with the Churchill government, the actions of that government must have very rapidly disillusioned them. Six months of Tory rule—social service cuts, higher prices, mass unemployment at home, and intensified colonial warfare in Malaya and Egypt, combined with greater subservience to the United States—have served to remind the British trade union movement that the Tory government is their mortal enemy. Despite what the right-wing trade union leaders may say or do, the rank and file understand only too well the role of the Tory government, and will not rest until they have brought it down.

THE TORY GOVERNMENT'S OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE WORKERS

The Churchill government did not lose much time in launching its attack against the working class. On the economic front it introduced the infamous "Butler cuts" and the Butler budget. These meant import cuts of £500 million, mainly food and other consumer goods, a third cut in home produced goods for the home market, a 5 per cent. cut in educational expenditure, the imposition of a shilling payment for medical prescriptions, increased insurance contributions, payment for all dental treatment up to £1, and half the cost of surgical appliances, the slashing of food subsidies, leading to an increase in food prices, an increase in the bank rate to 4 per cent., and the ending of the tax-free system for lower priced utility garments.

These actions of the government have rapidly destroyed the illusion that Britain could carry the burden of the huge armaments programme insisted upon by the United States, and still maintain the standard of living. The fact is being brought home more clearly to the workers each day that the colossal arms programme can only lead to the complete ruin of Britain.

In vain did Churchill go to Washington in January to beg for more dollars to prop up the tottering edifice of British imperialism. The only reaction from Wall Street and the American military leaders is to press for still more arms, for a greater speeding up of the arms programme, for a further lowering of the standard of living of the people, and for still greater restrictions on East-West trade. At the same time, Wall Street presses ahead with its plans for using cheap labour in Japan and Western Germany as a means of driving British goods from the world's markets; and puts up fresh barriers to British goods entering the United States.

All this has produced a crisis in British foreign trade, which coincides in time with a slump on the home market due to the inability of the British people to purchase goods at their present high prices. Other capitalist countries too are facing a slump—and this naturally aggravates still further the general problem of the world's markets.

To this situation should be added the disastrous results stemming from the distortion of Britain's economy through a one-sided development of arms manufacture. This tremendous emphasis on war production, far from helping to solve the crisis, is only deepening it.

The result has been a rapid growth of mass unemployment, the official figures showing 479,804 unemployed in March (compared with 290,000 last November), apart from some 200,000 on short time. Mr. Alfred Robens, M.P., former Labour Minister, forecasts a million unemployed by the end of the year. In the main, the unemployment is most pronounced in consumer industries—cotton, wool and rayon textiles, clothing, hosiery, footwear and furniture; but it has also shown itself in building, docks, shipyards, the motor car industry and other sections of the engineering industry.

A view of the 2,500 workers from the Briggs Motor Body Works at a "jobs and peace" meeting. They sent a deputation to lobby Members of Parliament.

THE WORKERS FIGHT BACK

The trade union movement has refused to accept these attacks on its standard of living. By a variety of forms of action, it has fought back. On the wages front it has already won a number of concessions. In the first few weeks of the Tory government, substantial wage increases amounting to £1,419,000 weekly, were won for over 3 million workers, including engineers and railwaymen. In addition, miners were awarded a minimum underground wage of £7 0s. 6d.

The reasons for these gains are twofold. On the one hand, many trade unions had developed powerful wages movements which rose to new levels when the Tories took office; outstanding was the united action of the men in the Fire Brigades, who refused to perform certain station duties, the mass demonstrations and token strikes of the engineers and the lobbying of

Parliament by the teachers. At the same time, the government did not want a frontal attack on workers' wages to take place during its first few weeks of office, especially in such key sections for war preparations as engineering and shipbuilding, vehicle builders, miners, and railwaymen.

Hence it was possible for sections of the working class to win substantial wage advances in this period. At the same time, it should be appreciated that the Tories intend to allow price increases to wipe out any wage increases won —hence the Butler budget; and they are hoping that they will soon have a big enough pool of unemployed to put them in a stronger bargaining position with the workers.

The main working class fight to date, however, has been against the cuts in social services, against the Butler budget in general, and against unemployment.

In Glasgow, there developed in December 1951 an outstanding fight to prevent the Tory Corporation from *selling* 622 corporation houses instead of letting them at reasonable rents. Over a thousand building workers stopped work to march in protest. This action unloosed a great movement embracing shipyards, foundries, engineering factories and other sections of workers. A Joint Action Committee was set up, with representatives of 23 organisations. The Glasgow Trades Council and the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers took a leading part. The movement spread throughout Scotland, deputations of M.P.'s and trade unionists protested to the Secretary of State, and the Scottish T.U.C. voiced its protest. On the day when the matter was debated by the Corporation Housing Committee, 3,000 workers marched to the Corporation Offices, demanding "No Sale!"

When the attacks on education became known, a powerful united movement of teachers, parents and trade union organisations developed throughout the country.[1] An

Vent-Axia

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BUTLER'S FIRST BIG DOSE

Shilling prescriptions: Brake on hire purchase: Less to eat: Worse threatened

THE CUTS

HOW THEY AFFECT YOU

important feature of this movement was the active campaigning by the National Union of Teachers itself amongst the general public, by various activities including leaflets produced and distributed in every key town. Many trade unions and factories have taken action on this matter. The Leamington Trades Council, for example, organised a mass demonstration of parents who marched in a torchlight procession to register their protest. The more common form of action, however, has been the signing of mass petitions. Thus the decision of the Shropshire Education Committee to close four out of six nursery schools resulted in 16 local bodies and the Parent-Teachers' organisation obtaining 10,000 signatures to a protest petition. This forced the local authority to change its mind.

WORKERS OPPOSE HEALTH SERVICE CUTS

The second stage of the cuts at the end of January, which included the attack on the health services, resulted in a real storm of protest from the trade union movement. Resolutions and telegrams poured into the House of Commons from shipyards, pits and factories. Demands for action were augmented by the mass lobbying of M.P.'s by irate constituents. An important lead was given to the whole labour movement by the Parc and Dare Miners Lodge which gave new life to the traditions of the South Wales miners by deciding to refuse to work the Saturday extra shift as a protest against the cuts. This action met with immediate response throughout the South Wales coalfields, and before long 65 pits and 40,000 miners were involved. Supported by every trade union in the valley, they demonstrated at Tonypandy where Churchill, in 1912, in his capacity of Home Secretary, sent troops and police to break the miners' struggle.

In Sheffield a meeting of shop stewards, representing 250,000 engineering workers, called for action to defeat the Tories, establish a policy of peace, and develop East-West trade. In London, 350 delegates from local Labour Parties, trade union branches and co-operative organisations demanded united industrial and political action to defeat the Tories.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Medical Association launched a national petition against the government proposal to charge for prescriptions, etc. In a few short weeks, scores of thousands of signatures have already been gained for this petition.

The fight against unemployment, too, started to reach a new stage, with workers going on strike in order to prevent the management carrying through mass dismissals. Thus, in January, 2,000 workers, the entire staff at Kemsley House, the big national newspaper printing house, went on strike to prevent the sacking of a thousand men. In Smiths' engineering factory, London, 2,000 staged a sit-down strike to prevent the dismissal of 60 workers. In February, there were strikes at Rootes motor factory, at the Humber motor factory, and on the large L.C.C. building site at Boreham Wood — all against dismissals. From the large furniture factory, Harris Lebus, 50 shop stewards representing 2,250 furniture workers in eight unions, went to the House of Commons to demand action to

[1] See **WTUM** No. 6, March 16-31, 1952, "Mr. Churchill Makes War on the Children," by Max Morris.

prevent the growing unemployment in their industry.

In Budget week, a number of motor factories had mass meetings followed by deputations to their M.P.'s to safeguard their jobs. At Briggs, Dagenham, 2,500 held a protest meeting. Over 1,000 stopped work early at Duples to hold a meeting before proceeding to Parliament where they were joined by representatives from Fords, Smiths, K.L.G. and others.

Clothing and textiles have been the most hit by unemployment, yet they have been slow to move. However, even these sections are now moving into action. Big meetings and processions have been held in many towns throughout Lancashire. More and more amongst these workers, as amongst the engineers, one hears the demand for East-West trade. The International Economic Conference in Moscow, taking place at a time when the slump in Lancashire reached its worst since pre-war, had a profound impression. In many towns it was the sole topic of discussion for days. The huge expanding markets of the Soviet Union and China are seen as the solution for the slump which has hit the cotton towns their worst blow since the early thirties. Significantly enough, the right-wing trade union leaders who a year ago were prepared to oppose East-West trade now remain silent on this question. In the face of growing unemployment they are reluctant to speak to their members in the same way as last year.

The popular movement against the economic consequences of the Tory war drive is affecting other sections in addition to the organised workers. Over 1,500 women delegates, representing 400,000 women from all over Britain, recently assembled in London in a great National Assembly of Women to register their demands for peace and their determination to fight for better standards of living. This great gathering marks the beginning of a new stage in the struggle of the women of Britain. The whole movement registered a further advance in April when the County Council elections were held. The Tories, with their allies, lost four counties—Essex, Northumberland, West Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire. London County Council, nearly lost to the Tories at the last election, was this time retained with a big majority.

In recent weeks, the demand for higher wages has re-started. In addition to the inspiring three weeks' strike of 20,000 engineering apprentices for £1 a week wage

increase, new wage claims have been put in for six million workers —covering engineering and shipbuilding, railways, agriculture, teachers, civil servants, distributive workers, firemen. In addition, the miners are at present preparing a new wage demand. A significant feature of the new claims is that the trade unions are not waiting for conference decisions to go ahead, but are responding to rank and file pressure and putting in claims straight away.

TRADE UNIONS FOR PEACE

It is against this background that the recent Easter Trade Union Conferences have been held. These conferences, though not of the decisive key sections of the industrial working class, registered an important advance. On the rearmament programme, the Distributive Workers, despite vigorous opposition from Alfred Robens, M.P., former Minister of Labour, overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for "a re-examination and reduction of the rearmament programme." The Clerical Workers called for government action through the United Nations to secure "a reduction in the arms of all nations." The Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen reaffirmed their opposition to the arms programme and called for support for a Five Power Peace Pact. This union also called for the immediate ending of the war in Malaya. The Distributive Workers, despite the resistance of their executive committee also condemned General Templer's actions in Malaya, called for a conference of the Powers to ensure the abolition of horror weapons and demanded an investigation of germ warfare in Korea.

Most striking of all, the Co-operative Party Conference, representing 7 million members, passed a resolution, with only one against, calling for a Five Power Peace Pact.

Faced with this growing fight against the Tory government, the right-wing trade union leaders are desperately striving to confuse the movement, to divide it and hold it in check. Unable to win support for their original proposal of "amicable working," they have been forced to fall back on a plea for "no industrial action on political issues." This appeal was launched in February by Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary of the T.U.C. He was rapidly followed by Arthur Deakin, Jack Tanner, Herbert Morrison, George Isaacs, Alfred Robens, Tom Williamson—and by Bevan.

This attempt to prevent the workers taking industrial action is one of the main aims of the right-wing leaders' policy. Under the Labour government their main argument to hold back the workers was "Don't embarrass the Labour government." There is no doubt that this advice was sincerely followed by the majority of the workers. The declaration in November for "amicable working" with the Tories was an attempt by these leaders to carry over the original line into new conditions. But within three months, life itself, and the spirited reactions of the workers, showed that this tactic of the

right-wing would never make any headway. Thus they have fallen back on "no industrial action on political questions."

British trade unionists are not likely to accept this argument for long. They can see their standards being attacked daily. All the normal protests, including opposition in the House of Commons, have not prevented the Churchill government from proceeding with its economy measures against the workers. In the struggle to win their new wage demands, and to defend themselves against further attacks from the Tory government, the workers will more and more be compelled to utilise their full industrial strength.

The British working class is on the move against the Tories and against the effects of the war policy—but not yet against the war policy itself. But political understanding is growing however. The first million signatures for the Five Power Peace Pact have been reached. It is significant that since the return of the Churchill government the rate of collection of signatures has increased, as the workers become increasingly aware of the dangerous war policy being pursued by the Tories. Significant, too, is the fact that a greater number of factories and pits are now involved in the peace campaign than was the case six months ago. This development has given a new impetus to the whole struggle for peace, as shown in the National Conference of the British Peace Committee held recently.

Some of the thousands of Londoners who demonstrated outside the House of Commons and marched through the centre of London in protest against the anti-working class Churchill budget.

But far more remains to be done.

It is the task of the militant workers, while uniting the widest sections possible on the immediate economic and social questions, to strive to combine this with ceaseless daily explanations as to the cause of all their problems—the policy of war preparations, alliance with American millionaires, colonial wars, restrictions on East-West trade. On the basis of this understanding there can be built that powerful, united, clear-sighted movement which is essential if Tory rule and the grip of right-wing trade union ideas are to be ended.

Applying the Decisions of the Bamako Conference

By J. N'GOM

General Secretary of the Council of Cameroons Trade Unions, Representative for Africa and Madagascar in the French Economic Council.

THE African Trade Union Conference was held from October 22 to 27, 1951, in Bamako, capital of French Sudan. One hundred and forty-four delegates were present representing fourteen countries of French West and Equatorial Africa.

The Bamako meeting, which has had considerable repercussions, marked an important stage in the African trade union movement. But the effect and importance of this conference will be fully felt only insofar as the trade unions and the workers of West and Equatorial Africa apply the conference decisions. It is thus necessary to emphasise what has been achieved since the conference and what remains to be done regarding the resolutions adopted at Bamako.

As one of its principal decisions, the conference advocated the organisation in all the territories of a *general petition* among all the African workers *to demand the immediate and definite adoption of the draft Labour Code for the Overseas Territories* as it had been adopted by the French National Assembly on April 30, 1951.

Up till now petitions carrying thousands of signatures collected in the Cameroons and French West Africa have already been sent to the Council of the French Republic and to the Ministry for French Overseas Territories. On their return from the General Council of the W.F.T.U. held in Berlin, the African delegates, through interviews and a collective letter, directly contacted several African Senators in Paris, demanding that they vote against the reactionary amendments submitted by the Gaullist Senator Durand-Réville and maintain the text adopted by the French National Assembly.

On December 18, 1951, a joint C.G.T.-C.F.T.C. delegation comprising African and French trade union leaders was received by the Secretary of State for French Overseas Territories, M. Aujoulat, to whom the firm will of the African workers for the speedy adoption and introduction of the draft Code adopted by the National Assembly on April 30, 1951, was clearly expressed. Fifteen petitions from the Cameroons were also handed to M. Aujoulat.

A first effort has thus been made. But it is not enough; for, as can be seen elsewhere, the battle is very difficult. It is necessary for all leaders and militant trade unionists to mobilise to get the petition signed in the workshops, offices, business houses, factories, sawmills, and in the villages among the mass of the peasants. Do not say it is too late. Good or bad, the draft of the Code adopted by the Council of the Republic will come up a second time before the National Assembly which means a minimum of two or three months of debate before its final adoption.

* * *

THE Bamako Conference decided to establish two *Co-ordination Committees, one for French West Africa—Togoland,* and another for *French Equatorial Africa—Cameroons.* This has been done. The first committee has its headquarters at Dakar and the second at Douala.

The life of these committees, their working capacity and their development depend first, on the African workers, and second, on the activity and the spirit of responsibility of the committee's leaders. It is easier to set up an organisation than to make it function and develop. But we must today more and more affirm the African personality and understand that we are no longer at the stage of sporadic attempts. The Territorial Trades Councils must, without delay, make their dues payment of 60 francs per year per member to their respective Co-ordination Committee as laid down by the Bamako Conference. Regular communication, frequent visits, the thorough study of problems as a whole, the establishment of information bulletins and the application of the Bamako decisions will alone

permit an effective co-ordination of our trade union movement. And in order to bring that about, workers of Africa, do not hesitate to pay your trade union dues and to keep a check on their use.

* * *

One of the resolutions of the Bamako Conference asks our movement *effectively to support the demands and the organisation of the mass of the peasants,* who constitute 85% of the population.

In the Cameroons, where there are already a good number of small planters' trade unions, the Council of C.G.T. Trade Unions has decided to organise a territorial agricultural conference to be held on October 29 and 30, 1952.

In French West Africa, the Council of Niger Trade Unions has begun the job of organising the peasants.

We do not think the other Territorial Trades Councils will fail to make the necessary effort to help the peasants organise to fight against exploitation and poverty.

Thus, of the big decisions taken at the Bamako Conference, a start has been made on carrying out three. That is an indication of the firm will of the labouring masses of Africa to fight for better wages. for their well-being and freedom.

That should encourage those who have begun to make an effort. The interest of the workers demands that those trade union leaders and militants who have not yet done anything should immediately apply themselves to the task.

* * *

THE attention of our organisations is called to two other Bamako decisions about which nothing seems to have been done.

These deal with the organisation of a petition-campaign to demand and obtain:

1—*the equalisation of zonal bonuses and of family allowances for all State employees.*

2—*the granting of these indemnities to office workers in private enterprise.*

This demand is urgent and can bring together the State employees of all grades on the one hand, and the various categories of administrative employees without official status on the other, for a vast petition campaign. This question is of equal importance in the sector of private enterprise where, in many of the territories, family allowances do not yet exist.

Because of the diversity of countries concerned and systems applied, it is necessary to ascertain the position in each locality on what exists and what does not exist before launching a petition. Briefly, the trade union organisations (Trades Councils, Federations and Trade Unions) will act in accordance with the actual situation in their own territory.

Many workers do not realise the strong effect of a hundred, two hundred, five hundred or a thousand signatures on the employers or the government. These latter sometimes say in Africa that they do not know exactly what the workers want and that unsigned motions are prepared by two or three persons or even one. The workers must therefore express their demands clearly. And the best way to do that is to put your signature, mark or finger print to a petition containing the demands you approve.

When the government or the employers are confronted with tens, hundreds or thousands of signatures, they have to take into account that they have to deal not with two or three individuals, but with the majority, if not all of the workers in a Department, enterprise or territory. It represents a considerable force and gives the trade unions a mass united character, an infallible pledge of the workers' success. In the Cameroons, for example, no one of good faith could fail to appreciate the effect produced on the government and the Representative Assembly by the hundreds of State employees' signatures on the petition regarding the application of the "Lamine Gueye" Law, launched by the Council of C.G.T. Trade Unions.

* * *

A VERY important final section.

The Bamako Conference asked each Territorial Council to draw up under its responsibilty an *economic and social programme corresponding to the needs of the people.*

I know that it is a heavy and complicated task which demands great effort. But we must carry it out. We must not confine ourselves to criticising the colonial regime for maintaining Africa in a lamentably backward state, for having seized and for exploiting the wealth of the African countries for its profit alone. We must above all know and study the wealth of our countries and indicate in a programme how to utilise and develop this wealth for the well-being of the people.

To sum up, what does this mean? It means drawing up for each country an economic and social programme whose outline could comprise the following principal points:

1—*Inventory of the principal known resources of the Territory* (agriculture, forestry, mineral, stock farming, fishery, power, etc.).

2—*The present exploitation and use of these resources by colonialism for its needs, for export and not in the interest of the country.* (Quote examples concerning agriculture, stock raising, forests, mines, fisheries, power resources such as waterfalls, coal, etc.)

3—*Plans for the use and development of these resources in the interests of the country* (agriculture, forests, mines, stock raising, fish, power, etc.).

4—*Plans for the improvement and development of capital equipment* such as railways, roads and aerodromes for economic purposes, the improvement of ports and wharves, the modernisation and opening of postal and telegraph services, etc.

5—*Plans for the development and improvement of social services* in the realm of health, education, housing, and town planning.

6—*An indication of the extent of credits necessary to carry out these projects* insofar as it is possible to make an estimate.

To draw up such a programme it is necessary to make contact with the various sections of the population such as industrial and business circles, workers, intellectuals and peasants. It is above all necessary to obtain documents issued by the technical services, the official statistics, the economic notes of the C.G.T. for the Territorial Councils, the Economic Council, the Press. . . .

Once the programme is established, taking into account the suggestions made by the basic organisations, it will be submitted to the authorities and to the local and French parliamentary Assemblies. In addition, it will be widely distributed among the mass of the people so that the population will get to know it and demand that it be introduced.

The resolutions, decisions and the programme of work established at Bamako today constitutes a formidable weapon in the hands of the African workers. The desire and ability to use this weapon will be enough to achieve the legitimate demands of the workers and

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Representatives of the Senegal trade unions and French delegates (Marcel Dufriche of the Administrative Council of the C.G.T., and Jacqueline Finale of the French Federation of Public Service Workers) at the Bamako Conference are received in St. Louis, Senegal.

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A meeting of the delegates at the Bamako Conference.

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A view of the closing session of the Bamako Conference.

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to consolidate the African trade union movement.

The application of the Bamako programme will enable us to sweep away the treacherous propaganda which today is aimed at isolating the African workers, placing them in the hands of colonialism under the false slogan of "autonomy."

The powerful anti-imperialist trade union centres of the great powers support the trade union movement of the oppressed countries. In the political and economic conditions of the world today, can the young trade union movement of Africa afford to deprive itself of the long years of experience and the support of the French and international working class? Whoever is sincere will reply in the negative unless he wishes to set up trade unions devoted to supporting the colonial regime.

Without political autonomy, a pretended trade union autonomy is meaningless. That is why the colonialists, who fully understand this, favour the autonomist movement in Africa in order to rid themselves of the real African trade union movement. Unfortunately for them, the African workers are not fools, and increasingly understand the wretched role of the propagandists of "autonomy."

We consider that insofar as a French trade union centre fights effectively against the colonial system, the African trade unions in their struggle for the well-being and freedom of their people must rely on the support of this centre. The French C.G.T., as a trade union centre in an imperialist country, fights effectively against French imperialism and the colonial system.

It fights for peace and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples. The action of the C.G.T. against the colonialist war in Viet-Nam, against atomic weapons, against rearmament and war preparation, for the signing of a peace pact among the Five Great Powers, illustrates vividly the anti-colonialist and peace policy of the great French working class centre.

The fight waged by the C.G.T. on behalf of the countries under French dependence is waged on a world scale by the World Federation of Trade Unions, which has today a membership of 80 million. The meeting of its General Council in Berlin in November 1951 demonstrated once again the vitality and the great influence of this powerful international organisation of the workers of all lands.

The interest of the workers of Africa, and even the development of our movement as a movement of anti-colonialist struggle, demands that African trade unionism relies upon the support of the C.G.T. and the international working class organised in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

African Transport Workers Lay Basis for Joint Action

By

A. FRESSINET

General Secretary of the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.)

and

R. GUIOT

Secretary of the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.)

THE African Transport and Port Workers' Conference was held at Hussein Dey (Algeria) from March 21 to 23, 1952. It was organised by the Land and Air Transport Workers, and the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International, with the participation and help of the French C.G.T.

For three days, 124 delegates of all opinions and from different territories and countries of French Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Senegal, Guinea, Sudan, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger, Ubangi-Shari, Madagascar), denounced the misdeeds of colonialism, and established the basis for programmes of demands which will consolidate their joint action. Some of these delegates, for example the railwaymen of French and West Africa and of Dahomey, were mandated by organisations not affiliated to the C.G.T. or to the W.F.T.U.

The W.F.T.U. was represented by Abdoulaye Diallo, Vice-president of the W.F.T.U. and General Secretary of the Sudan Trade Unions; the Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions International by its President, A. Drouard, and one of its Secretaries, R. Guiot, who also represented the French Railwaymen's Federation; the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International was represented by its General Secretary, A. Fressinet.

The French Transport Workers' Federation was represented by its General Secretary, Ch. Garcias, and the French Port and Dock Workers Federation by its Secretary, Maurice Jeanne.

This conference, at first planned for the whole of Africa, was only able, in fact, to bring together delegates from territories under French domination. Various factors had made it difficult to prepare a conference covering all the African countries—colonial repression, the undeveloped trade union movement in some of these countries, the absence of any economic ties between such regions as North and South Africa. For all that, the conference contributed greatly to the establishment of a common basis of demands, capable of bringing together and uniting the mass of transport and port workers of all the countries of Africa; and is was an undoubted success.

In fact, the development of industry and transport within the framework of war preparation (the proposed installation of a steel industry south of Oran, a Mediterranean-Niger railway, air and sea transport) establishes closer and closer links between North Africa and French Central Africa. On the other hand, the transport and port workers of these various regions, all dominated by one and the same country, France, are subjected to similar methods of colonial exploitation. It must be added that the trade union movement, especially among transport workers, is more highly developed in these countries than in the other African territories.

All these factors created favourable conditions for the establishment of common demands and thus enabled the successful organisation of a regional conference, the lessons of which are also valid for the whole of Africa.

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THE success of the conference is largely due, especially in French Central Africa, to the wide influence of the Bamako African Trade Union Conference (October 22-27, 1951). Resolutions adopted there found a deep response among the African workers, and our African Transport and Port Workers' Conference has undoubtedly benefited from the powerful current of trade unionism created at Bamako. That was expressed in the variety of viewpoints and origins of the delegates from the countries and territories represented.

The statements made from the platform by the delegate from the French West African Independent Railway Union demonstrates clearly that the trade union unity work done in Africa by the French C.G.T., the W.F.T.U., the Land and Air Transport Workers, and the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International, is beginning to bear fruit. In the eyes of the African workers, these organisations clearly appear as true workers' organisations, solely concerned with improving the workers' conditions.

The Dahomey railway workers' delegates, one of whom is the General Secretary of the Free Trade Union (not affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.) and the other a member of the independent union, also

gave their approval to the unity fight, and declared that on their return to their country they would work to rebuild the trade union unity which had been broken during the great 6 months' strike in 1947-48. There is no doubt that the conference will have contributed largely to the reconstruction of trade union unity among the Dahomey railway workers, as it will also have contributed to the general development of the trade union movement.

Thus, before returning home, a delegate who is a road transport driver from Ubangi-Shari and Assistant Secretary of his trade union, having to spend some time in the Yondé region (Cameroons) asked the Algerian Transport Union for a hundred cards and stamps so that he could set up a trade union for the road transport drivers in that region.

Thirty-five African delegates took part in the discussion, which clarified the question of specific demands and established a list of demands for each category of transport and port workers (railwaymen, tramwaymen, road transport workers, seamen, dockers, inland waterway workers).

"Drivers and transport workers," said the delegate from the drivers of Guinea, "are subjected to all kinds of petty attacks, to licences and taxes, the rates of which continually increase, to unjustified withdrawals of their driving licences, while licences are issued to whites, sometimes even without a driving test.

"An example will suffice to show what racial discrimination can mean.

"In its February 1952 issue, the African journal of *Force Ouvriere* published a new monthly wage-rates for white '*unskilled*' workers.

	French African francs
"Basic wage:	
"For a beginner ...	**9,750**
"After one year ...	**11,150**
"After three years ...	**13,800**

"*And all receive* 18,750 *French African Francs by way of colonial allowance.*

"Let us see what African drivers get:

	French African francs per day		French African francs for 30 days
"1st category:	**184**	...	**5,520**
"2nd category:	**230**	...	**6,900**
"3rd category:	**284**	...	**8,520**
"4th category:	**330**	...	**9,900**

"Thus a white worker starting work without any skill earns 9,750 plus 18,750 = 28,500 F.A. francs a month, while the best-paid African driver only earns 9,900 F.A. francs.

"We agree that the French workers, far from their country, living in a climate which is not theirs, should benefit from certain advantages, *but we are absolutely opposed to the fixing of two basic minima, one for the Africans and the other for the Europeans.*"

For the Ubungui road transport drivers, the work-day can be as much as 20 and even 24 consecutive hours.

They make trips sometimes as long as 3,000 kilometres on a return trip, on hardly distinguishable roads, covered with potholes and ruts, which make it difficult to drive heavy lorries.

The equipment is generally in a bad state. Numerous accidents result, following which the drivers are often deprived of their licences.

"We receive no medical supplies," said the Ubangui delegate, "if we become ill or suffer from an accident on a trip.

"We spend all our nights outside. We drive 12 to 20 ton lorries and our wages are between 2,500 and 3,000 francs, while food alone comes to from 300 to 400 francs a day.

"Heavy fines are imposed on us for the slightest delay in reporting for duty.

"That is why we have come to ask you to be on our side and to help us with all your active solidarity to shake off the regime of oppression to which we are subjected and to allow us to improve our existence. We want to live as human beings, and not as beasts of burden."

And here is the delegate from the air transport workers of Dakar:

"On the matter of racial discrimination, can one in all conscience maintain that it does not exist in Central Africa while there are two basic wage minima in Dakar? One for the European workers, allowing a worker in the lowest category to earn 26,000 francs a month, and the other for the African workers employed in private enterprise or as auxiliaries in the Administration, which gives an unskilled labourer a wage of 5,700 francs a month."

The position of the dockers in Guinea is characterised by the absence of any collective agreement. Payment for overtime, nights and holidays is made at the pleasure of the employer and

In the Oran Dockers' Union (C.G.T.): "Not a ship for the War"
(Drawing by Boris Taslitsky.)

The African Conference of Transport and Port Workers. On the platform are Abdoulaye Diallo, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., and A. Fressinet. (Fifth and second from the right, respectively).

according to what he thinks of the individual worker, and not according to work or output.

There is no medical care, even in cases of accidents. The port of Conakry has no infirmary, first-aid post, nor shower, not even a toilet. There is also an absence of drinking water taps.

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ALL the delegates, those from North Africa and those from French West and Equatorial Africa, forcefully and unanimously condemned the colonial regime and denounced racial discrimination, the main weapon of the colonialists for the maintenance of division, both among the African workers and between the African and European workers.

The fundamental aspects of the fight against colonialism—the fight for national independence—a fight which is so closely linked with all the demands of the workers, was forcefully brought out by the delegates from North Africa. These statements were unanimously understood and approved even by representatives from some Central African countries where the problem has not yet been clearly posed.

The delegates were not content in their speeches merely to describe their miserable conditions and to condemn the colonial regime. Above all, they called on all the transport and port workers of Africa to fight and to establish solidarity among themselves.

That is why they warmly approved and acclaimed the Algerian dockers who, by their refusal to load ships bound for Indo-China, made an effective and useful contribution to the liberation struggle of the Viet-Namese people.

This feeling of international working class solidarity was also expressed by the delegate from the Dakar air transport workers, who recalled that their trade union is young, but that it has already attained successes thanks to the experience of the French working class and the clear advice of the C.G.T. *"which we refuse to leave, in spite of the pressure of the government of our territory and of the colonialists."*

And he added:

"In the struggle which lies before us, and which we shall face with determination, we ask our friends to continue to give us their advice.

"We need the help of all workers, because the colonialists of Africa have the help of the colonialists of other countries, for the trusts and the colonialists have no country."

FRENCH colonialists, servile instrument of the American imperialist policy of world domination and war preparation, intends to turn Africa into a base for aggression against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

In order to prepare this war of aggression more effectively, the American imperialists intend to instal some of the West German war factories in North Africa. In its issues of October 5 and 7, 1951, *Le Figaro,* daily paper of the big French industrialists, described the immense possibilities for industrial development in this region and the rich mineral deposits of all kinds, especially south of Oran:

"There coal appears again, coking coal, stretching in continuous veins for 70 kilometres. . . .

"We go south, following the railway line. Seventy kilometres south of Colomb-Béchar are the areas being prospected at Abadla, which is served by the railway line, and from which it will be possible to extract several thousand million tons of coking coal with high gas content."

One can easily imagine what will be the result of the transfer to Africa of part of the West German war industry, complete with technicians and cadres, all, or very nearly all, of whom are fanatical Nazis for whom racial and political discrimination is still the supreme law.

This development, due to war preparations and the resulting development in rail, road and sea transport in Africa, will expose the workers in these occupations

A view of the conference hall.

to frenzied attacks by colonialist reaction.

Up to the present, transport and communication in Africa have only been developed according to a process characteristic of the economic development of colonial and dependent countries, that is, solely to serve the export of mineral and agricultural resources. Raw materials are transported to the ports and not into the interior for the satisfaction of the elementary and legitimate needs of the African people.

Now, war preparation is bringing considerable changes in the economic structure of the country and faces the African workers with new methods of exploitation. At the same time, however, the basis for joint action for demands is broadened for the workers of the different regions.

The acute awareness of the misdeeds of colonialism possessed by the transport and port workers is accompanied by a very clear idea of the need for unity and for the widest solidarity between the workers of all nations.

In his speech, the railway workers' delegate from French West Africa recalled the difficult conditions of their strike which lasted 5 months and 10 days in 1947-48, as a result of which they forced the colonialists to grant "a single statute for all permanent staff." This statute is today threatened with division into two parts, in a discriminatory manner which will favour the French railwaymen.

This delegate brought out the need for the development of solidarity among all transport and port workers. "For," he said, "the reason that our 1947-48 strike lasted so long was because it had not been publicised as it should have been and our brothers working in privately owned road transport did not realise the importance of the fight we were waging."

Although active working class solidarity of all transport and port workers appears to be more and more necessary, it does not come about by itself. It will be the result of a long and consistent work of explanation and education, often having to be carried out under difficult conditions, especially in those regions where the trade union movement is still weak and where racial discrimination, that hideous and tenacious form of division of the workers is doubly dangerous.

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TO face up to the difficulties arising out of the very different situations in the various regions, it is not enough to make declarations. It is necessary to provide the transport and port workers of Africa with perspectives and an organisation.

That is why, at the end of the conference, two resolutions were adopted to sum up the results in a concrete way:

1.—A general resolution which re-stated the essential lines of the Bamako resolution, adapting them to the particular demands of the different categories of transport and port workers.

2.—A resolution on organisation also along the lines of the principles developed at Bamako, emphasising the necessity of developing the solidarity of all transport and port workers of all the African countries and of co-ordinating the activity of the trade unions.

For this purpose, the conference decided to set up an *"African Trade Union Liaison Committee for Transport, Port and Warehouse Workers" with headquarters in Algiers.*

The aims of this Committee are as follows:

1.—To ensure a close liaison between these organisations and the Seamen and Dockers', and Land and Air Transport Workers' Trade Unions Internationals.

2.—To strive for and to develop the unity and cohesion of these organisations.

3.—To inform regularly the trade union organisations of each country of actions undertaken and results obtained, as well as difficulties encountered.

4.—To develop emulation, mutual understanding, to create and strengthen more and more active solidarity between:

(a) all transport, port and warehouse workers' organisations of Africa;

(b) the transport, port and warehouse workers in their struggles and the African populations.

5.—To help set up and develop transport, port and warehouse trade unions where they do not exist, as well as in the industrial occupations, wherever it is necessary and possible to do so.

By establishing an African Liaison Committee with these objectives, the African transport and port workers have shown their complete understanding of the problems of the moment and of the means of overcoming them. They have shown that it was both possible and desirable to achieve an alliance between the transport and port workers, and that the advanced position of some, especially the Algerian dockers, was not an obstacle to this alliance, but a stimulus to struggle.

From this point of view, the African Transport Workers' Conference has given a positive answer to the question as to whether the amalgamation of the two Trade Unions Internationals, the Land and Air Transport Workers and the Seamen and Dockers, was possible.

In conclusion, this conference of African Transport and Port Workers constitutes an important step on the way to the organisation of the struggle and to solidarity between all the workers in these categories in the various African countries. Its practical decisions constitute an effective weapon in the struggle of the African workers against colonial oppression —the cause of all their misfortunes.

The Battle of Books in France

described by Pierre Gamarra

A LITERARY event of great importance has been taking place in France within the last two years. It is known as the Battle of Books. What does this expression mean?

In its first phase, which is still going on, the Battle of Books takes place in the following way. Writers, novelists, essayists, and poets go to a French Department to visit the town and villages there. In this way they meet a very varied public: workers, peasants, civil servants, housewives, teachers, intellectuals, organised and unorganised workers. Conversations take place, a wide variety of questions are asked, and the books are sold and distributed. Let us say at once that these meetings, debates and discussions are always very successful.

Of course, these are not banal discussions dealing with just any subject. This Battle of Books has an aim, the defence of books of peace and progress, whether they are modern works or the rich and fine literary heritage left to us by the writers of the past. In fact, these books are in danger. And this danger threatens them at every stage of their existence. From production to distribution powerful millionaire trusts are trying to capture the market, aided by the increase in the price of paper and printing expenses which threaten the existence of small firms.

Healthy literature has enemies. A tremendous campaign of perversion and debasement of people's minds have been launched against it. Books and violently illustrated newspapers in millions of copies spread a particularly harmful poison and try to accustom people to violence, murder and perversion. There is a "literature" of gangsterism, prostitution and degradation. It is clear that we are not only dealing with a "literary" problem but with psychological propaganda in general. Has not the old cry of oppression and fascism always been—death to knowledge, death to culture? When the mind is stifled it is easier to

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Between progressive French writers and their public—the people and the workers—there is a useful exchange of friendly criticism and self-criticism. Here the outstanding French writer Louis Aragon is presiding at one of the meetings. With him on the platform are other French writers.

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gag freedom and to lead the people to horrible slaughter.

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IT is against these grave dangers that progressive writers and all the friends of good books are making a stand. It is the concern of all decent men to preserve the national heritage. But very quickly the first phase of the Battle of Books was shown to be inadequate. Certainly, a conversation between a writer and the public always creates a great deal of interest; it is something quite new and valuable. It was important to follow it with concrete achievement, both simple and practical. We had to help the book make its way. We had to help to *organise understanding.*

That is how the idea originated for a small library, modest perhaps but compiled with care, costing little and helping the new reader to take his first steps into the great realm of books. Thus was born the "Battle of the Books Libraries Centre." It is, of course, a non-commercial organisation, whose essential aim is to promote the distribution of books. Its motto is clear : to put the book of peace and progress within the reach of the hand and pocket of the reader. Taking account of the experience gained from the first meetings and opinions expressed, the Centre put at the disposal of its members three types of libraries—27, 54, or 79 volumes for 5,000, 10,000 or 15,000 francs respectively.[1] These prices are obviously calculated at rock bottom. The books are accompanied by a clear and simple catalogue and index cards which facilitate the work of the librarian or person responsible.

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THESE little libraries prospered within a few months after the first ones were established. To a certain extent they exist throughout France : in hairdressing parlours and grocery shops, at pit-heads, in cloakrooms, canteens, labour exchanges, youth clubs, women's committees, etc.

When the housewife does her weekly shopping she chooses at the same time a volume of Balzac or Hugo, a book by Aragon, Romain Rolland or André Stil. The worker has a modest but precious little bookrack near his work-bench where he can choose the best pages, the healthy and thrilling pages of French and world literature. He will read Amado or de Coster, Fadayev or Dickens, Jack London or Fucik.

To be sure there are still only a few hundreds of these Battle of the Book Libraries in France. It is many and yet very few. Every day, however, will bring still more, and we can foresee without fear of contradiction that there will soon be a network of thousands of *reading corners,* friendly places which are also places for discussions, the exchange of ideas, and the broadening of points of view. A very large public is being introduced to culture. Thousands of organisers are being trained, thousands of readers are becoming aware that beautiful works are also good works and that one can also fight for peace and independence by defending the independence of culture.

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SUPPORTED by Factory Committees, many Battle of the Book Libraries have already been set up both in large and small factories. And in this way it has been possible to observe many things. In the first place, it is necessary to put the book within easy reach of the reader. A very large and important library is extremely useful, but if the worker has to make a long journey to choose his books, or if the catalogue deters him by its magnitude, then he will put his choice of a book off until tomorrow. That is where the small B.B.L. comes in, making the new reader's first steps easy. This small B.B.L. thus serves as a beginning or a nucleus of a larger library.

The workers of an Ivry sheet-metal works wrote to the B.B.L. Centre saying that they had made a discovery in setting up their first library. Up to then, this task had been considered a secondary one, which could be given to anyone. Actually, the workers showed an extraordinary interest in the books. After being handled by several readers, the books are in excellent condition, well covered, respected and loved. The worker takes the book home with him. He is not the only one to read it. His wife and children also read the book from the B.B.L. Discussions have begun round the work benches. They are buying the literature of peace and progress instead of the shocking, violently-illustrated stories of the American-type magazines.

The first B.B.L. set up in France can be found in the miners' district of St. Etienne, in the Couriot pits. It is extraordinarily successful. Its books are always on loan.

Another B.B.L. in a metal factory in a Paris suburb has just extended its activity. To interest the readers of *Les Miserables,* it organised a Victor Hugo exhibition on the occasion of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the poet's birth. We could go on giving examples.

Thus, thanks to the Battle of the Book Libraries, culture is no longer abstract, distant and as inaccessible as had been pretended. It is alive and very near. A book becomes a loved companion and is also a friend which brings people together and makes friends.

1Roughly £5, £10 or £15.

The Empire Zinc Strike Victory

THE historic 15-month strike of the metal miners of Hanover, New Mexico, against the Empire Zinc Company has ended in victory. But the miners are still deeply enmeshed in a struggle with the courts to save their union from back-breaking fines.

The strike made labor history in the Southwest, where the Mexican-American worker has traditionally been discriminated against in every way. Almost all of the 100 strikers were Mexican-Americans. So are a majority of the 1,400 miners, millmen and smeltermen in the Bayard Amalgamated Union, Local 890, the local of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers to which they belong.

The valiant band of 100 strikers and their wives and children fought—and finally won out—against overwhelming odds:

Empire Zinc, the company against which they struck, wholly owned by the New Jersey Zinc Company, enjoyed net profits of $10,000,000 in 1950—the year the strike began.

Police terrorism and intimidation included: wholesale arrests, the use of teargas and gunfire in repeated attempts to smash the picket lines.

— two cold and hungry winters when the strikers relied entirely for food and clothing on contributions by brother unionists and other progressives in Bayard and all over the United States and Canada.

— vicious attacks by vigilantes in the local newspaper and denial of the right to fully state the union's position in either the newspaper or the local radio station.

— opposition by many local businessmen who cut off credit for strikers, and some of whom deliberately tried to provoke violence in the streets.

In the final weeks, red-baiting by the C.I.O. Steelworkers' Union, which co-operated with both the company and local businessmen in trying to smash the miners' union.

It took more, much more, than ordinary determination, courage and unity to win in the face of these obstacles. Something special and unusual was needed; and the Bayard strikers showed in a hundred ways that they had that special quality.

One progressive newspaperman reported, after the strike had ground through its ninth month, that:

"A new way of life is emerging in Grant County. About 99 per cent. of the Empire Zinc Strikers are Mexican-Americans. They lead the struggle to end the status of second-class citizenship which the ruling clique and its politicos have reserved for Mexican-American workers. Like their counterparts in the Deep South, the ruling cabal is rife with '100 per cent. white, Anglo-Saxon' supremacy. The Empire Zinc strikers have challenged the 'status quo' in Grant County and those who profit from the status quo are determined to punish the courage of men and women who seek progress."

The strike had been in peaceful progress for about eight months when the company decided last June (1951) to resort to violence in an attempt to smash it. The courts, the sheriff, the district attorney and dozens of hired gunmen were all mobilised to join in the effort,

Company lawyers went to District Judge A. W. Marshall and obtained an injunction (restraining order) which forbade the union or its members from "blocking" what the company called a "public road"—actually a road which is clearly marked "Private Road" at both ends.

The union was determined to continue its strike peacefully, so its members obeyed the court order and withdrew from the picket line, thus abiding fully with the terms of Judge Marshall's injunction. But a new picket line promptly sprang up. Walking the line were the wives and children of the strikers. The women told their husbands: "If you are unable to run the strike, we will; the strike must not be lost."

The wives had already shown their eagerness to fight side by side with the miners. Despite the Southwestern tradition which calls for Mexican-Catholic women to remain in the background, these wives had been on radio programs, drawn up and distributed leaflets, written letters to the papers, given money-raising parties, cooked food for the strikers, solicited funds. Now they took over the whole job of running the strike.

Shortly before women took over the picket lines, Grant County Sheriff Leslie Goforth swore in a gang of "deputies", who later were exposed as paid gunmen hired by the Empire Zinc Company. In the days that followed, the Sheriff and his gunmen engaged in the most brutal assaults on the women and children at the picket line.

Tear gas was used. The women were beaten with blackjacks, run down by automobiles, slapped, beaten, kicked, insulted. But the line held.

The Sheriff then decided to break the picket line by arresting all the women and children. Within a few hours, the jail was filled. Children in jail were separated from their mothers for many hours. One tiny baby was forced to go without milk for a whole day.

The Sheriff told the women that if they would promise not to picket again, they could go free. With one voice they replied: "We'll stay here together, or we'll go free together." The sensational story of more than a hundred women and children being locked up in a small county jail leaked out to the rest of the county, and the District Attorney ordered Goforth to release the prisoners.

Back to the picket line went the women.

The next six months were marked by frequent attacks on the picket line as the company persisted in its attempts to rush scabs through the line into the mine. These attacks were paralleled by a long series of court actions, taken against individual members of the union and their wives, the local union itself, and the International Union.

The number of injured mounted

steadily, but the wives held solid and united. Around the country word spread of the heroic stand of women and children who were determined that the strike begun by their husbands and fathers should not be lost, regardless of the odds.

As the months wore on, another kind of "revolution" was in progress—in the homes of the strikers. With the women spending long hours on the picket lines and performing a wide variety of strike activities, someone had to clean house, cook, wash dishes and clothes, tend the children. Some miners were receptive to these household chores. And as they worked at home they achieved a new kind of respect for their wives.

The Company tried desperately to import scabs from other areas of the Southwest, but no honest worker would enter their mines when he heard the story of the strike. The only scabs the Company could recruit were the gunmen-deputies and they didn't know how to mine the metal.

Settlement of the strike came at the end of January (1952), when the Company finally realised that this was a strike they could never break. The announcement of the victorious agreement came almost simultaneously with these events: (1) the Company transferred the mine superintendent, who had been responsible for organising most of the violence against the strikers, to a distant operation; (2) the C.I.O. Steelworkers' Union, which had opened a raid against Local 890, withdrew its representation. The National Labor Relations Board had dismissed the Steelworkers' petition as "not timely"; (3) several of the local stores which had displayed placards denouncing the strikers and their union went out of business.

The contract by which the strike was settled called for wage increases averaging 24 cents an hour. The company also gave ground on a disputed pay issue by increasing payments for lunch periods from 6 cents to 11½ cents an hour. On paid holidays, another controversial issue, it agreed to increase payments to 3½ cents an hour.

The pact also provided for 3 weeks' vacation after 25 years' service, for a pension with a minimum benefit of $100 monthly after 25 years at age 65, and for a company-paid $2,500 life insurance plan covering every worker. A sickness and accident program was also contained in the new pact, providing for weekly benefits of $26 for 26 weeks.

The final agreement provided that all striking workers would be returned to their jobs without discrimination and with full seniority and other accrued rights.

The strike was won, but the court cases, mainly the injunction, which arose out of it are still being fought out. Following a "trial" early in March (1952), Judge Marshall—Grant County's "injunction judge"—levied fines totalling $32,000 against the International Union, Local 890 and 20 members and their wives. The Judge ruled that the International and local union and individuals had committed contempt against his injunction, and ordered that the fines be paid, *not to the state or county, but to the Empire Zinc Company*!

The union promptly announced that it would appeal the fines to higher courts. Leaders of Local 890 pointed out that not they, but the company, had violated the law.

But while the final outcome of the court cases may cripple the union financially, it cannot subtract from the magnitude of the victory in the strike itself, a victory described by the *National Guardian* as "American labor's greatest since the war."

To the five million Mexican-Americans living in the great South-west, many of whom contributed to the strike, the victory meant a big stride forward in the long struggle for economic, political and social equality.

Rod Holmgren, Editor of *The Union,* journal of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

In the Mines of Spain – Exploitation, Poverty and Death

NEAR the little town of Cardona, in the province of Barcelona, there is an important potassium mine. As potassium is of great strategic value, indispensable to war industry, and an extremely precious ore for the warmongers, it is thus exploited to its full capacity, especially as this mine belongs to the Union Espanola de Explosivos, a company which is Spanish in name only, being a subsidiary of the powerful American trust Dupont de Nemours.

Thus, in Cardona, as in most if not all of the strategic mines of Spain, such as the wolfram, copper, potassium or other mines, it is the Americans who give the orders and apply American methods of intensive exploitation. These methods have, moreover, produced excellent results for the capitalists. The Union Espanola de Explosivos in 1950 realised 63 million pesetas profit (its record pre-war figure was 6 million), its capital has risen from 80 million in 1939 to 416 million in 1950. Its reserves have increased more than tenfold since 1944 and are now 94.5 million pesetas. On the other hand, a few months ago, under the "generous" American aid to Spain, the so-called Union Espanola de Explosivos received a 600,000 dollar loan to increase production.

Meanwhile, though the situation is flourishing for the American employers and their Spanish agents, the same cannot be said for the miners whose exploitation and poverty is becoming daily more unbearable. For, although production has been raised, and the fabulous profits mount from month to month as the price of potassium rises because of the policy of war preparation, the miners' wages do not rise; on the contrary, the increase in the price of current consumption goods results in a continuous decline in the purchasing power of their wages, plunging whole families into dreadful poverty. Furthermore, the employers' drive for greater productivity means not only the lengthening of the miners' exhausting working day, but also a speed-up of the

work with the increased danger of accidents which this implies. This danger is all the greater as the mines of Spain do not have even the most elementary safety measures. Did not the American magazine *Time* recently describe the special American envoy Suffrin as a "hero" because he had had the "courage to go into mines of Asturias and Galicia"?

Against this background, on February 2, one of the galleries in the Cardona mine collapsed, burying seven miners, and causing the death of five of them.

Some mining disasters, though distressing accidents, are difficult to prevent, while others are nothing less than crimes.

When there is a mine disaster such as the one in Cardona where the most rudimentary safety measures are knowingly and deliberately sacrificed to increase production and profits, it requires the cynicism and unscrupulousness of the Franco rulers to dare to speak of an accident and to weep crocodile tears over the victims. The Cardona disaster, as well as all those disasters which continually occur one after another throughout the mining valleys of Spain (in the week following the Cardona collapse, there were 3 catastrophes, causing the death of 4 miners), are not accidents but monstrous crimes, deliberate murders of workers driven by hunger and terror to work under inhuman conditions. The Cardona workers understood just who were responsible for this crime. They were fully aware that the entire responsibility was that of the rapacious and insatiable big financiers and their American masters to whom the life of a miner is cheaper than that of a mine mule. (A victim's family only receives a single payment of 12,000 pesetas from the company).

The working class and the whole population of Cardona were bent on forcefully expressing their wrath and hatred of the Franco regime responsible for such a state of affairs. On the day of the victims' funeral, a 24-hour general strike completely paralysed the mining area. Not a single miner went down the pit and even the tradesmen closed their shops in solidarity and mourning. The procession carrying the coffins to the cemetery constituted a powerful demonstration during which thousands of workers, their fists clenched in rage, cursed the Franco regime which has been responsible for turning Spain into an American colony and war arsenal. They declared their unshakable determination to unite and to fight unceasingly against speed-up, for safety measures at work, for a basic minimum wage, and for national independence and peace.

P.A.

Taxi Drivers in Turkey Defy Anti-Strike Laws

ALTHOUGH strikes are illegal in Turkey, about 5,000 taxi drivers in Ankara went on strike recently. The strike lasted for ten hours during which the drivers held all the important points of the city so as to stop strike breakers. They were successful in stopping taxi traffic in the city for ten hours. Not content with this, they held a meeting at the Ulus Meydan (the central square of the city) and demonstrated in the streets. Police measures against the strikers and demonstrators were ineffective. There were dozens of arrests. But the police have been unable to detect the organisers. The strike was so well organised that no news about it leaked out beforehand. Police investigation about the strike continues.

The reasons for the strike are as follows: In the 1952 budget, due to the increase in war expenditure, an indirect tax was put on petrol, thus increasing the taxi expenses while there was no change in their rates. For the same reason, taxi-drivers were asked to pay their income tax in advance whereas formerly they had paid it in instalments and the tax on their placards has been increased. In addition to these measures, the Ankara municipality has limited the taxis in Ankara to 500, thus increasing unemployment among the drivers. The municipality has also passed a regulation compelling the drivers to use meters which are practicaly unobtainable and are sold at such a fantastic price as 1,000 Turkish liras. The drivers are also indignant about constantly changing government regulations and arbitrary penalties exercised against them.

It should be pointed out that strikes are still illegal in Turkey. The legislation on the "Right to Strike" promised by the Democratic Party government, which got into power in 1950, has not yet been passed.

We attach particular importance to the strike of the taxi drivers in view of the fact that their demands are a direct outcome of the pressure of war preparations; it was well organised on a large scale and actively supported by a wide number of drivers.

We are issuing a leaflet to point out the direct relation between the complaints of the drivers and the war policy of the Turkish government.

T. Yagiz,
General Secretary,
Union of Progressive
Turkish Youth.

Courageous Fight of Algerian Agricultural Workers

ON April 26, the agricultural workers of Ain-Taya, near Algiers, held a 24-hour strike to demand a wage of 400 francs a day. They obtained a 19% increase. The police, acting on behalf of the colonial employers, arrested five workers, two of whom were leading trade unionists: Ali Khodja, Secretary of the Algerian agricultural workers' trade unions, and Azzouz, Secretary of the Ain-Taya trade union. Brother Azzouz was arrested at his home on a charge of having "hindered the right to work."

Taken to prison, his head was cropped just like a common law prisoner and his provisional release was refused. He was then sentenced to 15 days imprisonment. These

methods cannot hold back the struggle of the Algerian workers, and delegations have protested against the arrest. These included a delegation from the staff employed at Monoprix (Belcourt), the millers employed by the Maison Carrée and the Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Freedom.

On April 24, the colonial administration attempted to imprison the heroic agricultural workers Brothers Madjoub Barrahou and Boumedienne. These two workers had been sentenced to 18 months imprisonment after the magnificent strikes of agricultural workers of the Descartes region in September 1951.

Learning of the departure of our two brothers to jail, Algerian and European women of Oran went to the railway line and gathered there, forcing the train to stop. They demonstrated with shouts of "Free Madjoub Berrahou and Boumedienne!"

Thus the fight of the agricultural workers and the people of Algeria is daily developing against the poverty forced upon them by the colonial system.

Maurice Carroué.

Crisis in the Indian Jute Industry

The following is taken from a report by the Bengal Chatkal Mazdur Union (A.I.T.U.C.) for the International Economic Conference at Moscow. The Indian government refused permission to the union members to go to Moscow, so the report was not submitted.

A NEW working time arrangement has just been introduced throughout the 85 mills within the Indian Jute Mills Association (I.J.M.A.), reducing the weekly working hours from 48 to 42½. This reduction was decided upon by the employers and the Indian government, without consulting the 300,000 workers. This step of restricting production is necessary, according to the employers, because of the recent marked decline in world demand for hessian manufactures.

It should be noted that this 11.5% reduction of working hours to check "over-production" is not the first such step. Since May 1949, 12½% of all looms have been kept sealed and the workers formerly employed on them have been discharged.

Hence, in reality, the jute industry is at present working at about 24% *less than its potential capacity*. Thousands of workers have been put on a "temporary" list over the last three years. This is in addition to rationalisation measures, whereby a heavier workload and over-all speed-up is being introduced.

The latest reduction in working hours is even more serious as a direct blow at the workers' standard of living, because their wages (both time-rated and piece-rated) and their dearness allowance are both legally linked with the hours of work. Therefore, the reduction from 48 to 42½ hours means a corresponding and automatic *cut* in basic wages and dearness allowance. This will impose a severe strain on the workers' already miserably low standard of living.

But it is not only the workers whose interests are adversely affected by the employers' measures to restrict production. It spells ruin for literally hundreds of thousands of poor peasants in both India and Pakistan whose only source of income is from the sale of the raw jute which they cultivate.

Also harmfully affected by the crisis are hundreds of small and big businessmen engaged in the raw jute trade and in the baling of jute.

Thus, workers, peasants, traders, dealers, balers and many others connected with the jute industry are suffering from the alleged "disequilibrium" between the output of the Indian mills and sales to overseas markets.

The Indian jute industry employs 260,000 men and 42,000 women in its mills. British and Indian capitalists have invested 500 million rupees in it. It operates over 68,000 looms which is 57% of the world's total. It can, therefore, be rightly called the world's principal producer of jute goods.

This industry earns more foreign exchange than any other Indian industry, accounting for nearly 60% of all India's dollar earnings and contributes more to the State revenues than any other.

The above facts show that the jute industry is India's leading export industry, occupying a decisive sector in the national economy, with immense potential value in international exchange. This is of particular importance in the case of an under-developed and semi-colonial country like India, which is dependent on other more industrially developed countries for so many of her necessities.

Now let us see why this vital and giant industry is caught in the grip of a crisis of "overproduction", leading to deliberate restriction of output.

Since only about 10% of the industry's annual output is accounted for by domestic consumption, it follows that the main condition for the industry's existence and prosperity is the export market. *Widest possible extension and development of the market for jute goods on the basis of economic cooperation with all countries is essential to the industry's healthy progress.*

But the government's and employers' policies are very different. While 62% of our total hessian exports in the six months July-December 1950 went to U.S.A. alone, and 28% of total sack production went to Australia, there is little or no trade in these goods with several important countries like the U.S.S.R., China, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

Consequently, this unbalanced and one-sided dependence on the American and British Commonwealth consumers exposes the industry dangerously to the uncertain fluctuations of their demand.

This is the real explanation of the repeated "crises" which have hit the jute industry during the last 25 years. Overwhelming dependence on the American market is automatically reflected in the "booms" and "slumps" which affect the U.S. economy. *Refusal to open up cooperative and mutually beneficial trading relations with all countries without exception has led to a chronic "freezing" of the jute industry's potential productive capacity.* The cry of "overproduction" is the result of this suicidal outlook.

The present "crisis", expressed in reduced working hours, etc., is only the latest example of the lopsided direction of the jute export

trade. Since the outbreak of the Korean war, the U.S.A. and some of her associated countries have resorted to extensive stock-piling for intensified rearmament and war preparations. This produced a sharp rise in the demand for jute goods. Now, with the Korean "lull," the growing hopes of a military truce at Panmunjon, and a relative slow-down in U.S. stock-piling, we are witnessing a business "recession" and the jute mills find themselves suddenly saddled with unsold stocks and lower prices in the American market. This shows clearly how the jute industry has got itself tied up with the needs of U.S. war economy.

Unquestionably there are other countries engaged primarily in peaceful economic and industrial development and gigantic schemes of reconstruction. For them, Indian jute would be invaluable.

—All countries of the world need Indian jute goods.

—India needs FOOD, MACHINE TOOLS, TRACTORS, AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT, etc.

—She can get them, not only from America, but from the U.S.S.R., China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary.

Instead, we find the entire Indian jute export trade becoming increasingly dependent on the American market, which is conditioned by war economy.

We find discriminatory measures adopted against the U.S.S.R. and China in the name of the U.S.-dictated embargo on the export to them of all "war-materials", including jute.

On behalf of the jute mill workers of West Bengal, we

—*condemn* all these restrictive and discriminatory policies which obstruct the peaceful, stable and prosperous development of the jute industry by artificially confining its export market to the needs of U.S. war economy;

—*protest* against the reduction in working hours, sealing of looms, etc., as a capitalist method of solving the "crisis" at the expense of the workers, peasants, traders, and other sections of the community, thereby lowering the people's standards of living, adding to existing unemployment and crippling production;

—*demand* that the I.J.M.A. and the Indian government take immediate steps for (a) an extension and development of new markets for Indian jute goods; (b) the promotion of trade, on cash or barter basis, with *all* countries without exception and in particular with the vast potential markets of the U.S.S.R. and China; (c) scientific development of jute materials in the manufacture of the great variety of consumer goods indicated by technical experts from time to time.

The Bengal Chatkal Mazdur Union
(*affiliated to the A.I.T.U.C.*).

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.A.

The Biggest Issue: War or Peace?

I WANT to turn to the most deep-going issue of all, the basic issue confronting not only the voters of the U.S.A., but voters in Canada, Europe and the whole world. That issue in three words is this: war or peace?

This question of whether or not there must be a third world war lies at the root of most of the troubles besetting us as hotel and restaurant workers today. It has determined the wage freeze, the ineffective price control program, the housing shortage and all the rest. . . .

Most important of all is this part of the question: do the real interests of the American people, of the American workers, of the hotel and restaurant and tavern workers in our International Union, require a third world war? Will such a war improve our standard of living? Will it strengthen the influence of the labor movement and its program for a better life for all Americans? Will we be better off in the long run by a war which seems likely to plunge the nations of the whole world into bankruptcy?

It seems to me any thoughtful person must acknowledge that we will be much worse off should such a war take place than if it can be prevented. . . .

It is only common sense to state that as American workers we can't hope to influence directly the course of government policy in other countries. Our job is right here at home. By writing letters to our Congressmen and Senators, by the votes we cast in our own elections we can help shape the course to be followed by our own government in such a way that it serves the interests of the American people while serving as well the interests of an orderly world in which brotherhood among nations can flower and bear the fruits of peace.

As Americans, then, we have these obligations to our own selves, and to the peoples of other countries:

1) Putting the American people's interests at the top of the list.
2) Offering to the nations a moral leadership powered by a real concern for the kind of world order the United Nations was meant to establish.
3) Recognizing that we don't have a corner on the desire for peace, that this desire is deeply shared by peoples in every country on earth, and that their ideas on how to achieve peace are at least as much worth listening to as ours.

Guided by these points of view as Americans, it seems to me that we must be guided by two critically important propositions as well:

The first is that nobody, but NOBODY, can "win" an atomic war.

The second is that the socialist part of the world, and the free enterprise part of the world, can get along

on the same planet without trying to blow each other to bits. . . .

A prime need in finding a peaceful solution to the cold war before it gets hotter is negotiation. We in the unions call it collective bargaining. We've spent 100 years learning more and more about how to negotiate. One of the things we've learned is that patience is the first requiremnt. Another is that we must be willing to listen to the other fellow's point of view.

A third is that every single clause in a contract is subject to give-and-take except the clause covering our sovereignty—we call it "union security"—which is the clause which states that we have a right to run our affairs the way we want in our own union.

The stakes in the world today are so great, the stakes of life or death for millions of men, women and children, that we can afford not months and months, but years and years of negotiations in place of fighting.

We must be willing to engage in collective bargaining with anybody whose participation affords the slightest hope of reducing tension and preventing another world war.

Logically, we ought to sit down...as long as necessary to bring about the things the world needs most right now:

1) An end to the Korea fighting, and a binding up of Korea's wounds under some kind of international supervision with the Korean people themselves, from both sides of the parallel, helping to do the job.
2) Disarmament by all hands, not just atom bombs, but standing armies with their tanks and artillery and planes as well, so the factories of Detroit and Manchester and Paris and Berlin and Stalingrad and Mukden and Bombay can get busy making things people need instead of the things they need least of all—arms.
3) A huge United Nations program, backed by as many billions of dollars, pounds, francs, lire, roubles, zlotys and yen as the nations can spare . . . to help the under-developed countries join the parade of progress. Such a program needs only one string attached: the funds can't be used to build arms. Otherwise, each country should be permitted to use such money as it sees fit.

These, it seems to me, are the requirements if we are to have peace, not war.

These, it seems to me, are steps the American labor movement can well endorse, can actively support, can urge candidates for the Congress this year to pledge themselves to work for. . . .

Hugo Ernst,
General President, Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (A.F.L.), in *The Catering Industry Employee,* March 1952.

INDIA

Primary School Teachers Lead Precarious Lives

A MERE pittance for pay that has hardly any relation to the cost of living, insecurity of tenure, and practically no status in society—these characterise the position, more appropriately the plight, of school teachers, who are called upon to mould the character and train the minds of the future generation of the country!

The condition in aided schools is gloomier still. The fate of teachers under private managements depends solely on the whims and fancies of the latter. There are few rules binding the managements in the administration of their institutions, and these few are more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

In Malabar District, which preens itself on having a very high percentage of literacy, the lot of aided elementary school teachers is most unenviable. There are over 13,000 such teachers in the district, and their union, with a membership of 9,000, has decided that they should stay away from schools if their minimum demands, embodied in a memorandum, submitted to Government on February 17, 1951, are not met before the first week of August, 1952.

At present these teachers do not get anything which may be called a salary. They only get the government grant. This depends on the average attendance of pupils. If it goes below the prescribed level, the manager loses his grant, and the teacher his salary.

When the attendance goes down, the manager is expected to send away the teacher: otherwise the manager must pay the teacher out of his own pocket. The majority of managers are poor. Therefore, as long as the manager desires to retain the teacher, he gives false attendance to pupils.

Owing to insecurity of tenure, many teachers are forced to pay even the management's contribution to the Provident Fund. Sometimes, owing to the management's delay in remitting the Provident Fund contribution, the teacher loses the contribution he would otherwise get from the Government. A few teachers are even compelled, owing to insecurity of tenure, to forgo part of the Government grant intended for them.

The rules relating to security of tenure are quite inadequate. Expressions like "gross insubordination" and "wilful neglect of duty" are suitably interpreted by managers to send away teachers whenever they want to do so. Often, departmental officers are only too willing to support the managers in their ingenious interpretations. Besides, if the Deputy Inspectors and managers combine, the number of classes and their strength can be either enhanced, or reduced at will. Naturally, they can, at their pleasure, create a vacancy or make a post superfluous.

Indian Express, 25.3.52.

SPAIN

The Life of the Students

AT the moment Spanish universities do not have a single student who is the son of working parents or poor peasants. In Spain, a university education today costs 1,700 pesetas, that is more than half the average annual salary of a worker. Leaders of the "Sindicato Espanol Universitario" (S.E.U.), fascist student organisation, boast of having granted 1,700 scholarships over five years. Seventeen hundred scholarships for more than 40,000 students now studying in Spain!

These facts and the consequence of industrial, agricultural, and commercial ruin, have created a terrible situation for students. On one hand, thousands of students must abandon their studies for lack of funds or financial assistance. On the other hand there are thousands of young intellectuals who, having finished their studies, cannot find a job in their field of specialisation, and today in Spain we find them working in the most varied occupations in order to earn a living—as shoe-shiners, for instance, book vendors, insurance salesmen, impresarios for variety shows, etc.

But Francoism has offered its young intellectuals an alternative—to become officers in the Spanish army and lead young Spaniards in war. However, this policy of preparing students for war is carried out in the universities themselves where the Francoists, through the intermediary of the S.E.U. leaders, force students to take part in many military drills enforced in the framework of the University Militia and in which students receive, according to the S.E.U. Constitution, "a hard military experience."

Students Against Colonialism, (International Union of Students), March 1952.

GERMANY

Unemployment Equals Holidays?

THE organ of the D.G.B. (West German Trade Union Confederation), *Welt der Arbeit,* reported on April 4 that a West Berlin court had equated unemployment with holidays, and found only these words to complete the report: "This conception is doubtless original."

As far as we are concerned, we have a thousand reasons for believing that this conception is not at all original in West Berlin. On the contrary!

What is original is rather the fact that a trade union organ, which pretends to defend the workers' interests, does not consider it to be its first duty to denounce this West Berlin judge's "conception" in such a way that he would never repeat it, and at

Mikhail Lobanov is the head of a brigade of Ussuri timber fellers who are noted for their high labour productivity. They use Soviet-made light-weight electrical saws.

the same time to mobilise the workers against such a system.

Let us examine this "original" case a little more closely. The plaintiff had been working for more than three months in a fish curing establishment as an assistant saleswoman. According to the law for the protection of young people, she had the right to 18 days holiday. The employer only gave her 12 days. Her complaint was rejected by the 27th West Berlin Labour Tribunal on the following grounds: *"The Holiday clause means that the plaintiff must have time during the course of the year to rest. However, the plaintiff has had plenty of leisure time in which to rest during her four months of unemployment."*

Thus unemployment equals holidays! In other words, there are not 300,000 unemployed in West Berlin, but 300,000 tourists on holiday. Let us hope that the Finance Bureau does not hit upon the idea of making them pay a holiday tax.

Friedensport, 20.1.52

U.S.S.R.

Ussuri Timberland

THE Far East of the Soviet Union makes an indelible impression upon everyone who visits it. The beauty of its wooded hills, the snow-covered Kamchatka volcanoes, the majestic ocean and the primeval Ussuri taiga are unforgettable. The biggest impression of all, however, is made by the Soviet people's work in taming and remaking Nature.

Fish canneries, mechanised mines, big timber centres, modern machine factories, vast wheat fields in the plains, thriving plantations of rice, soya and sugar beet—all these are the result of the constructive endeavour of the Soviet man.

One of the sights of the Soviet Far East is the Ussuri taiga. Stretching for hundreds of kilometres along the coast of the Sea of Japan, it has vast timber resources and an amazing wealth of flora, including such a rare plant as the ginseng, called the "root of life" on account of its curative properties.

Ussuri timber is an important item in the economy of Primorye Territory. There are dozens of large state timber centres abundantly equipped with first-class machinery.

Almost all the timbering operations are mechanised. Felling is done by Soviet-made electrical saws, which are lighter and more productive than many foreign models. The logs are hauled from the woods by skidding tractors and then stacked by electric cranes, which also load them on motor trucks for delivery to the rafting depot or railway station.

The timber supplied by the Ussuri taiga is widely used at Far Eastern construction sites, coal mines, collective fisheries and shipyards.

Settlements of sturdily-built houses have sprung up at the timber centres. The Tabakhez settlement, situated 90 kilometres from the nearest railway, has a cultural club, school, public dining hall, bakery, shops, power plant and radio relay station.

The Tabakhez centre has workers whose names are known in all the timber camps of the Far East. There is, for example, Mikhail Lobanov and his brigade, who have made mechanised felling a fine art and regularly top their output quotas. The earnings of the timber workers are rising steadily as the productivity of labour, lightened and made more efficient by modern machinery, increases.

During the winter months the taiga hunters and trappers bag thousands of squirrels, racoons, Siberian polecats, and foxes. They sell the pelts to state fur purchasing posts. There is bigger game in the Ussuri taiga too: tigers, panthers, wild boars, and bears.

Reindeer sovkhozes (state farms) established in the taiga supply valuable antlers which are used in making medical preparations.

The boundless riches of the Ussuri taiga have been placed at the service of the Soviet people.

V. Chukhlantsev

in *Soviet Union*, March 1952.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

April 22

INDIA—Three workers are killed and seven injured when the police open fire on workers demonstrating at the Pasumala Tea Estate in Peermade against the European superintendent, who had refused the workers' demands for extra rations.

April 23

AUSTRALIA—The conference of the Australian Sheet Metalworkers' Union in Sydney states its opposition to the affiliation of the Australian T.U.C. to the I.C.F.T.U. in view of the fact that the Confederation is closely linked to the American State Department.

— The Council of the Australian Railwaymen's Union, meeting in Adelaide, announces that it supports the W.F.T.U., and condemns the attempts of the Australian T.U.C. to undermine the international relations of the Australian trade unions.

INDONESIA—Fifteen hundred wor-

kers go on strike in Semarang. The Minister of the Interior gives full powers to the governor of the Central Province of Java to take measures against the strikers. The Mayor of Semarang receives orders to dismiss all workers who take part in the strike.

April 25

INDIA—Two thousand workers of the Goraklipur railway workshops strike. The police fire on the strikers, wounding 16, two of whom die after their arrival in hospital. Seventy workers are arrested.
— A stay-in strike of 1,200 sawmill workers in Kallai ends with the workers obtaining a bonus of two months' wages.

April 26

INDIA—Sixteen thousand railway workers are on strike in Gorakhpur. They demand that the bodies of their two workmates, murdered the day before, should be handed over to them. The police refuse.

May 1

Throughout the world millions of men and women celebrate May Day, the workers' day of international solidarity. The celebrations take place under the slogans of the fight for peace, for friendship and collaboration between the peoples and for the workers' basic rights. (See May Day Article in this issue of *W.T.U.M.*).

UNITED STATES—Nearly one million workers are on strike in vital industrial centres. This includes 650,000 C.I.O. steelworkers who struck when a federal judge ruled that the government's seizure of steel mills was unconstitutional and returned them to their private owners.
— Refinery and pipe-line workers are on strike in nearly every major oil production area except California and New York. Ninety thousand members of 22 C.I.O., A.F.L. and independent unions, forming an unprecedented coalition, are demanding 25 cents an hour wage increase and higher premium pay for night work.
— In five North-Western States, 40,000 C.I.O. timberworkers are on strike for a 20 cents an hour wage increase, 3 days additional paid holiday and other demands for better working conditions.

May 2

UNITED STATES — The Circuit Court of Appeals having overruled a lower court and restored government operation of the steel mills, Philip Murray, President of the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.), took occasion to order the strike called off, following a personal appeal made to him by President Truman.

ALBANIA—The State Planning Commission publishes the results of the fulfilment of the plan for the first quarter of 1952. The overall plan for industrial production has been fulfilled 103.7 per cent., which is an increase of 91 per cent. over the first quarter of the previous year.

ALGERIA — Printing workers of Algiers hold a 24-hour strike in protest against the arrest of their trade union secretary, M. Solbes. Only the weekly paper of the Algerian C.G.T. trade unions is printed.

May 3

FRANCE—After an open-air meeting held in the Bois de Vaire in the Haute-Garonne, peasants pull up the marking stakes and destroy the frame of the hanger of a military aerodrome in the course of construction.

GERMANY—A joint meeting of trade unionists of all viewpoints from the German Democratic Republic and Western Germany is held on May First to discuss action for the unity of the German working class in the struggle against the "general treaty" and for a peace treaty.

ALGERIA — The 4,000 workers employed in the Public Works workshops in Mers-el-Kebir and the surrounding area hold a 24-hour strike in protest against the May First events in Algeria and to obtain a wage increase.

MOROCCO — The port workers of Casablanca hold an 8-hour strike for their demands. The workers of the "Guerre Marine" enterprise hold a token stoppage of one and a half hours.

May 4

WESTERN GERMANY—Sixty thousand refugees demonstrate in Bonn against the "general treaty" and for the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty.
— Two hundred and fifty delegates of the Lübeck port workers, and the miners of the "Karolininglück" mine in Bochum, pass resolutions against the "general treaty" and for the conclusion of a peace treaty.

FRANCE—A national conference of steelworkers is held in Hagondage in the Moselle, bringing together 200 delegates of various viewpoints and trade union affiliations. The aim of the conference is to determine means of achieving the steelworkers' demands. A programme is adopted, and an appeal sent to all French steelworkers asking them to complete the programme and to unite for its application.

ITALY—The workers of the town and province of Florence go on strike and demonstrate in protest against the dismissal of the manager of the "Galileo" enterprise, carried out by order of the American authorities.

May 6

TURKEY — Municipal employees (street-sweepers) of Izmir, strike for a wage increase. The police attack the barracks in which the workers are housed, and 13 of the strikers are imprisoned.

SOVIET UNION — The Council of Ministers decides to launch a 20-year loan of 30,000 million roubles for the development of the national economy. The loan is intended to finance the building of the Kuibishev and Stalingrad electrical power stations on the Volga, that of Kakhovka on the Dnieper, the construction of the main Turkmenian canal and the canals in Southern Ukraine and Northern Crimea. (On May 10, the loan had been oversubscribed by 5,700 million roubles.)

FRANCE—Elections for shop stewards are held in the great Renault factories. In spite of the repression and the dismissal of C.G.T. militants, the C.G.T. easily heads the list with 69.86 per cent. of the votes and 102 shop stewards out of 156.

May 7

WESTERN GERMANY—A conference of young miners and of representatives of pit committees of a large number of mines meet in Munich and decide to organise a struggle against the "general treaty," electing a committee of 25 members charged with this task.
— Great demonstrations take place in Hamburg and Stuttgart against the "general treaty."
— A women's conference for peace in Bremerhaven brings together more than 200 women delegates from the main towns of the North-East Coast of Western Germany.

ITALY—The sulphur miners of Cabenardi in the province of Ancona strike for 48 hours against the sacking of 800 of their workmates by the Montecatini trust.

ALGERIA — Throughout the Algiers region workers stop work for 16 hours in support of their demands: a 20 per cent. wage increase, the release of demonstrators arrested on May 1, the safeguarding of trade union freedoms.

May 8

ITALY—Thirty-five thousand Genoa metalworkers demonstrate through the streets for wage increases and against the dismissals carried out in the Ansaldo, San Giorgo and other enterprises.

WESTERN GERMANY — The West German committee of the National German Democratic Front issues an appeal to the population of Western Germany in which it pledges itself to oppose the signing of the militarist "general treaty" and to fight for the conclusion of a just peace treaty and for the unity of Germany.

UNITED STATES—Organised labour is mobilising to prevent the enactment into law of the Smith Anti-Strike Bill, which is designed to allow the government to break strikes, to break the unions financially and to turn the unions over to government administration if labour disputes are not settled within 80 days.

FRANCE—Responding to the call of

their C.G.T., C.F.T.C., F.O. and C.G.C. trade union organisations, shop employees and sales staff leave work a half-hour before closing time and demonstrate to retain two consecutive rest-days per week.

May 9

IRAN—The police, accompanied by representatives of the Ministry of Labour, occupy the premises of the Liaison Committee of Iranian Trade Unions and of the car drivers', shoe workers', building workers' and engineering workers' trade unions.

ITALY — Ten thousand men and women workers of the rice plantations of the province of Mantua hold a half-day strike to demand better working conditions and a work contract for the rice planters.

SOVIET UNION—A conference of all the churches and religious groups of the Soviet Union meets in Zagorsk, near Moscow, and declares itself for the struggle for peace throughout the world.

May 10

CHILE — Ten thousand miners and office employees of the copper mines exploited by the powerful United States monopoly Anaconda Copper Company return to work after a fortnight's strike, having won a wage increase.

May 11

WESTERN GERMANY — During a great youth demonstration against the "general treaty" in Essen, the police open fire on the unarmed demonstrators, killing one of the young peace fighters and wounding several others. Many demonstrators are arrested and brutally ill-treated. Protests immediately develop throughout Germany. Many meetings are held in Essen itself, culminating in a torchlight march. Demonstrations are also held in Munich, Mannheim, Furth, Hamburg, Berlin and other towns.

BULGARIA—The Council of Ministers and the Central Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party publish a decree establishing monetary reform, the ending of rationing of foodstuffs and price reductions for goods in State shops. The monetary reform ensures a raising of the purchasing power of the leva. Wages of workers and office employees, calculated in the former currency, are incerased from 1,300 to 2,400 levas. Pensions and students' grants are also increased.

POLAND — Metalworkers celebrate metalworkers' day. Meetings are held in all metal enterprises. The government decides to improve the living conditions of the metalworkers and to raise their wages.

MALAYA—Another five towns are subjected to curfew and their inhabitants confined to their homes.

May 12

JAPAN—Japanese trade union leaders state that unless the three new Bills cancelling the right to strike are withdrawn, they will call another nationwide strike. They also condemn the violent repression during the May Day demonstrations and announce that 321 workers and students are still in prison.

PAKISTAN—A strike of 4,000 dockers for higher wages and better working conditions holds up 19 ships in Karachi harbour.

SUDAN — Eleven executives of the Sudan Workers' Federation are sentenced to two years' imprisonment each for calling an "illegal strike." The strike took place on April 28 in protest against the government's refusal to release the Federation's President and vice-President.

TUNISIA—The population of Tunis goes on strike and shopkeepers and artisans close their shops to mark the anniversary of the protectorate treaty —May 12, 1881.

May 13

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—In the name of over five million trade unionists of the German Democratic Republic, the Secretariat of the F.D.G.B. sends a vigorous protest to the Bonn government against the police action taken against the Essen youth demonstrators.

ITALY — The government and the parliamentary majority decide to postpone to an indefinite date the discussion on the law against neo-fascist activities. At the same time, the Council of Ministers approves the so-called "polyvalent" law directed against the exercise of democratic freedoms.

May 14

ALGERIA—Several hundred patriots gather in Orleansville to welcome the leader of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties, Messali Hadj. The police try to disperse the crowd, and open fire, killing two and wounding several. Messali is arrested and transferred to a region in Western France to which he is confined.

SINGAPORE—Twenty-three hundred workers, including 1,600 employed by the Singapore Traction Company, are on strike, having stopped work to attend a police court where two of their workmates are on trial. Later they decide to continue the strike indefinitely. Five hundred post office uniformed staff are also on strike for higher wages.

May 15

WESTERN GERMANY—The workers of all the enterprises of Düsseldorf, Cologne and Brunswick stop work for several hours to protest against the "general treaty" and against the new law on shop stewards' committees. In Düsseldorf a demonstration of 70,000 workers lasts for more than two hours.

ITALY—The workers of the town of Prato strike for two hours in protest against the wave of dismissals which is affecting practically all the textile mills in the town.

JAPAN — The Subversive Measures Prevention Bill passes the Japanese Lower House by 194 to 103. Under this Bill, a public security investigation committee will be set up to investigate "subversive" activities.

MALAYA—The police impose a 72-hour curfew on an area in Southern Johore, to be followed by a 22-hour per day curfew for one week.

HONG KONG—A preparatory meeting is held to organise the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference which will be held in Peking under the sponsorship of Kuo Mo Jo and Madame Sun Yat-Sen, among others.

Just Out ! ! !

WORK OR UNEMPLOYMENT ?

A BETTER LIFE OR POVERTY ?

PEACE OR WAR ?

TRADE UNIONS

and the

MOSCOW ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

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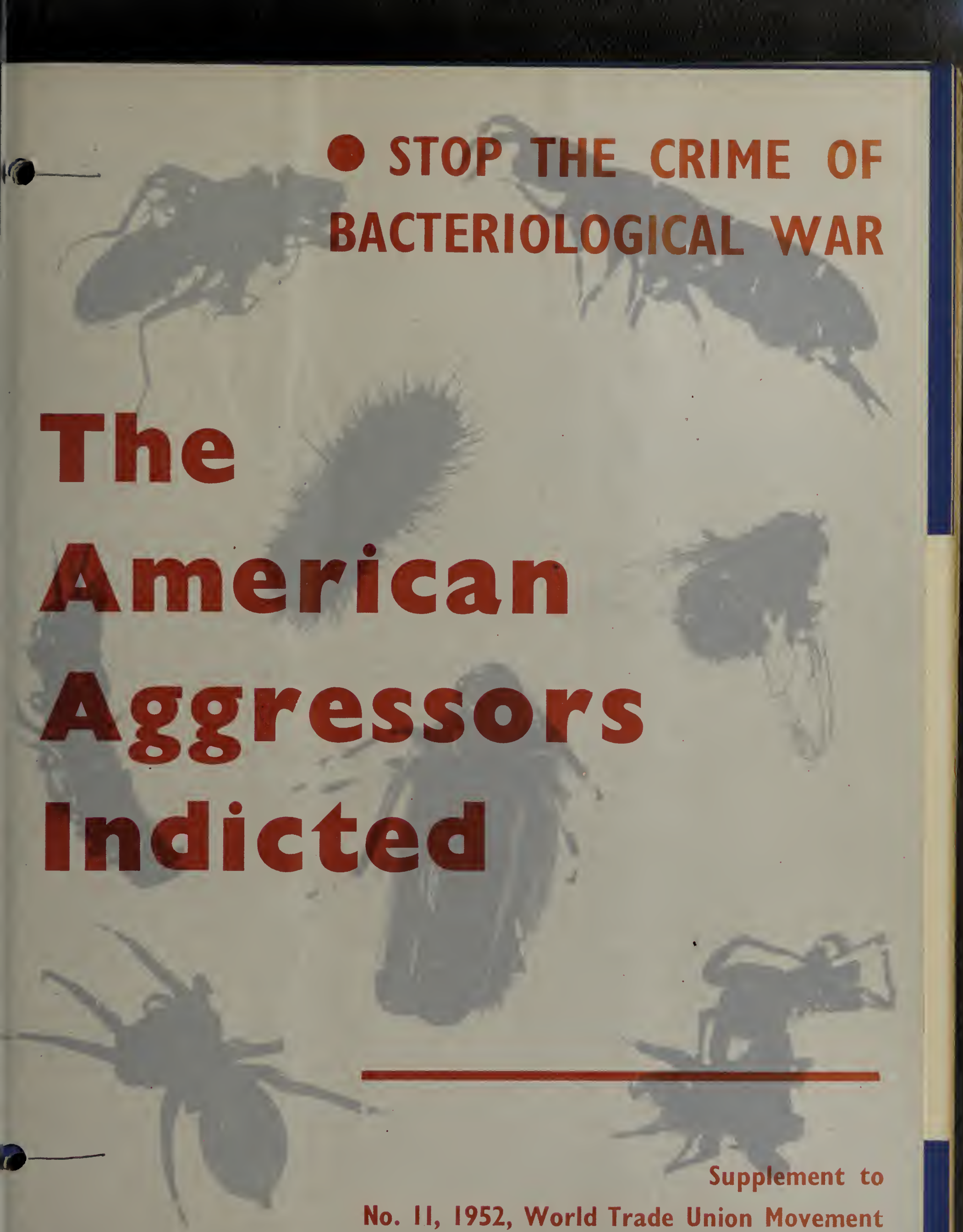
● STOP THE CRIME OF BACTERIOLOGICAL WAR

The American Aggressors Indicted



Supplement to

No. 11, 1952, World Trade Union Movement

The Crime of Bacteriological Warfare Must Be Stopped!

THE AMERICAN AGGRESSORS INDICTED

Part I—THE ACCUSATION

Unity and Action Against Bacteriological Warfare. A letter from the W.F.T.U. to National Centres and Trade Departments.

A Solemn Protest to the United Nations by the W.F.T.U.

The Korean Trade Unions' Protest.

Appeal of Frederic Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace.

Stop the Criminal Acts of the American Imperialists. Report to the Executive of the World Council of Peace at Oslo (March 29 to April 1, 1952) by KUO MO-JO (China), vice-President of the World Council of Peace, President of the Chinese People's Committee to Defend Peace and Struggle Against American Aggression.

Against Bacteriological Warfare. Appeal of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

An Overwhelming Accusation: Report of the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers on U.S. Crimes in Korea.

Report on the Use of Bacteriological Weapons on Chinese Territory by the Armed Forces of the United States.

Part II—THEY CONFESS

American Public Declarations and Reports.

Captured U.S. Spies' and War Prisoners' Damning Revelations.

Two Captured American Pilots Admit Having Dropped Bacteriological Bombs on Korea.

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Part I.—THE ACCUSATION

Unity and Action Against Bacteriological Warfare

A Letter from the W.F.T.U. to National Centres and Trade Departments.

Dear Brothers,

AS you have already been informed, American armed forces operating under the flag of the United Nations dared on January 28th 1952, to undertake bacteriological warfare at the front and behind the lines in Korea.

On February 29th they extended the sphere of their odious crime to Chinese territory, spreading large quantities of insects carrying plague, cholera, typhus and germs of other frightful contagious diseases on FUSHIM, SINMIN, ANTING, KWANTIEM, LIN-KIANG.

The details which have subsequently arrived prove that the U.S. leaders are perfecting the cruelty of their crime by dropping infected foodstuffs destined for the people and releasing germ-carrying birds to destroy crops.

The Hitlerite monsters thought up cruel tortures of slow death, gas chambers and crematoria in their camps, but they never dared to resort to bacteriological warfare. They are today being surpassed in cold-blooded cruelty by the government and military headquarters of the American millionaires.

Never in the history of humanity has such a base crime been perpetrated against the individual.

Bacteriological weapons, in fact, are classed at the head of the list as the most terrible means of mass extermination. They are uncontrollable in their terrible epidemic consequences. They know no frontiers and strike at entire populations.

The safety of the whole of humanity is threatened by the bacteriological crime which is at present being perpetrated against the invincible martyred populations of Korea and China.

This act of unspeakable savagery violates all international conventions. It proves that the American war criminals know that their unjust cause is lost in Korea, that they do not want an armistice, but, on the contrary, that they wish by all the most atrocious means to extend their war to China, thus threatening still more seriously world peace and the life of humanity.

☆ ☆ ☆

ON February 22nd, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Korean Peoples' Republic protested to the United Nations against this inconceivable crime.

On February 25th, the President of the Peace Council of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, Kuo Mo Jo, sent a message to the President of the World Council of Peace, Joliot-Curie, asking him to awaken world opinion against the use of bacteriological weapons.

On February 28th, the All-China Federation of Labour sent a telegram to the World Federation of Trade Unions, in which it is suggested in particular that:

"Besides the vigorous protest made to the American Government we hope that the W.F.T.U. Secretariat will issue an appeal to the world working class with a view to taking effective measures against the inhuman crime of the American imperialists."

On February 29th, the W.F.T.U. sent a vigorous protest to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Security Council and the following day made a public protest to arouse workers throughout the world.

On March 8th, in the name of the Government of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, CHOU EN LAI, officially protested against the use of bacteriological weapons in China.

On April 1st, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace appealed to all men and women to take firm action to put an end to bacteriological aggression and to guarantee humanity against such methods of extermination.

☆ ☆ ☆

FACED with the condemnation of all men worthy of the the name, of all countries, all opinions and all races, it is understandable that the Washington Government is defending itself by denying the unworthy deeds of which it is guilty in Korea and China.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that in his denials Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON, is careful not to condemn bacteriological warfare, as was demanded by the Warsaw World Peace Congress of every civilised man, woman and government.

This attitude confirms the fact that the American leaders have remained outside international law in order better to prepare bacteriological weapons and to have recourse to them.

The American Press and the political and military leaders of the U.S.A. have announced many times that the U.S.A. has for several years been spending millions of dollars and has appointed hundreds of "scientists" to develop the breeding of deadly baccilli and to perfect methods used to spread these microbes.

In 1925 the United States and Japan refused to sign the Geneva international protocol forbidding the use of asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons.

In July 1949, also in Geneva, at the conference on international conventions for the protection of war victims, the American delegation persisted in this clearly defined attitude.

Those who dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima are trying to camouflage their present atrocious crime. For this purpose they are making use of powerful means of propaganda at their disposal. But the factual proofs are there to bear witness that the frightful American bacteriological warfare in Korea and China is beyond doubt.

The world working class was able to play a determining role in preventing the use of the atom bomb. It now has the vital duty of uniting and gathering around it all forces of the population capable of stopping the present abominable crime, to take over the leadership and to demand the punishment of the authors of this crime.

Therefore, taking into account the actions already undertaken in this direction by the workers of many countries, especially those of the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies, Belgium, Italy and France, the World Federation of Trade Unions appeals to National Centres, to the Trade Unions Internationals and to all workers' trade union organisations, urging them:

1. To use all means to awaken the masses of the workers on the bacteriological warfare being carried on by the American armed forces in Korea and China.
2. To appeal to all workers without distinction to unite in joint demonstrations and in making joint protests directly to the Washington Government and to the authorities representing this Government in the various countries in order to demand that the American Government immediately ratify the Geneva International Convention forbidding the use of bacteriological weapons.
3. To address protests to the governments and the parliamentary majorities of the countries which support American aggression in Korea and China.
4. To protest also to the United Nations, and particularly to the United Nations' Disarmament Commission which is at present meeting in New York, to which body the delegation of the Soviet Union has made a strong demand for action to put an end to bacteriological warfare.
5. To organise the collection of pharmaceutical products and their dispatch to the stricken populations of Korea and China.
6. To take effective action with a view to putting into practice the latest decisions of the Oslo meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

The W.F.T.U. approves of the initiative taken by the rank and file workers of all countries to send direct information to their brothers in the United States on the shameful acts of the Wall Street Government.

The W.F.T.U. would like to know your opinion and the results obtained with regard to these suggestions, the first aim of which is to promote active international co-operation to bring about the complete end of the terrible war of which the heroic working peoples of Korea and China are victims.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally

G. DI VITTORIO
PRESIDENT

LOUIS SAILLANT
GENERAL SECRETARY

Solemn Protest to the United Nations by the W.F.T.U.

THE World Federation of Trade Unions strongly protests to the United Nations against methods used recently on a large scale by American troops in Korea, operating under the flag of the United Nations.

The All-China Federation of Labour informs the World Federation of Trade Unions that large quantities of plague and cholera virus have been spread in Korea, both at the front and behind the lines.

The announcement of such a crime appals every decent man and woman. The very thought of such a crime puts us back centuries and brings back to us the horror we felt when we first heard of the Nazi concentration camps.

It is inadmissible that the U.N. should permit the misuse of the most recent discoveries of medicine and science for outrages against entire civil populations.

The World Federation of Trade Unions advises the United Nations of this criminal deed, which is a violation of all treaties, and a contradiction of the most sacred principles of Human Rights which the United Nations is pledged to defend.

The World Federation of Trade Unions appeals to all decent people throughout the world, and calls upon them to take action with all their force and use all the means within their power to bring about the immediate cessation of this barbaric use of the latest scientific achievements, and to demand the ending of War in Korea, which is a pretext for experiments in the use of the most abominable weapons of destruction.

LOUIS SAILLANT,
GENERAL SECRETARY.

The Korean Trade Unions' Protest

The World Federation of Trade Unions has received the following telegram from Brother Nen Nun, President of the United Trade Unions of Korea:

THE American imperialists, regardless of human morality, have brutally violated all international rights by systematically using bacteriological weapons at the front and in the country. Already last year, these barbarians used asphyxiating gas in Korea, an act which caused a feeling of deep hatred in the hearts of all peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

Nevertheless, beginning on January 23 this year, they have again begun to bombard the front and the country with large quantities of various kinds of insects, mosquitoes, fleas, spiders, crickets and ticks contaminated with cholera, plague and other contagious diseases.

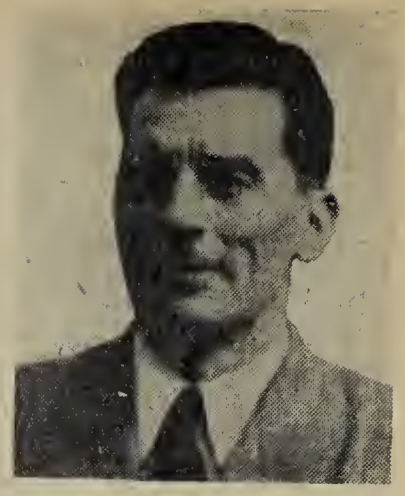
These crimes have been committed by barbarians from across the ocean, and are an incontestable proof of their criminal aim of mass destruction of the fighters of the Korean Peoples' Army, the Chinese Volunteers and the peaceful population of Korea, with the aim of spreading the Korean war.

However, the Korean people are firmly resolved to avenge the intervention of the American army and to punish severely the barbarous crimes which this army continues to perpetrate.

We are unable to contain our just anger at the crimes committed by the barbarian American aggressors. We call upon all workers to unite around the W.F.T.U. and apply strong measures to put an immediate end to these grave crimes and to see that they are punished severely on the basis of international law.

NEN NUN,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED TRADE UNIONS OF KOREA,
Phenyang, Korea, Mar. 6, 1952.

Appeal from Frederic Joliot-Curie



President of The World Council of Peace

I HAVE been shocked to receive a message from Mr. Kuo Mo-Jo, President of the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace, conveying the news that the U.S. armed forces in Korea have made use of bacteriological weapons.

Between January 28th and February 17th, U.S. military aircraft in Korea disseminated, at the front and in the rear, the microbes of plague, cholera, typhus, and other frightful, contagious diseases.

This horrible deed, that could never have been contemplated by a sane mind, has none the less been committed. It is a sequel to the no less monstrous crime of the destruction of hundreds of thousands of civilians in a few seconds by the atom bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The use of bacteriological weapons is a clear violation of international law—in particular of the Geneva Convention of June 17th, 1925.

They were employed by the Japanese armies in China. The U.S. General Staff, and public figures in the United States, had earlier made no secret of the U.S. preparations and of their intention to use these weapons.

This criminal act conflicts directly with the resolutions expressing the desire of all peoples adopted by the World Peace Congress at Warsaw calling for the prohibition of bacteriological, chemical and all other means of mass destruction.

By their support of the Stockholm Appeal, 500 million men and women, in demanding this prohibition, clearly demonstrated their desire that such slaughter should never be repeated.

Today the people can see the peril in which they stand, the ruthless methods of terror by which it is sought to bring them to obedience.

Public opinion must arise to denounce this crime.

This Appeal by M. Frederic Joliot-Curie was published on the 8th of March 1952. It is in response to a message sent to the World Council of Peace by M. Kuo Mo-Jo, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Stop the Criminal Acts of the American Imperialists

Report to the Executive of the World Council of Peace at Oslo (March 29 to April 1, 1952) by Kuo Mo-Jo (China), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, President of the Chinese Peoples' Committee to Defend Peace and Struggle Against American Aggression.

FOR almost two years,, the American aggressors, under the banner of the United Nations, have carried out armed intervention in Korea, conducting a campaign of savage destruction and slaughter. Due to their military failures and the pressure of world public opinion, they accepted cease-fire negotiations nine months ago. Nevertheless, they are still not in the least sincere regarding the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. They have tried by all manner of unreasonable means to drag out and obstruct the truce talks. Two months ago, they went so far as to begin employing inhuman bacteriological weapons.

Since January 28 this year, the American aggressors have begun a constant dissemination of large quantities of germ-laden insects and other poisonous objects over key cities and important communication lines both at the front and in the rear of Korea, stretching from the east of Kaesong to Pukhangang (river). From February 29, they have also repeatedly dropped germ-laden objects over North-East China. The areas affected include the six provinces of Liaotung, Liaohsi, Sungkiang, Kirin, Heilungkiang and Jehol, as well as the city of Mukden and 43 other countries and cities. The same occurred over the suburbs of Tsingtao, Shantung Province, on March 6 and 7.

Of more than 35 types of objects dropped by the American aggressors, the main types are flies, fleas, mosquitoes, lice, sand flies, crickets, springtails, locusts, rats, contaminated meat, dead fish, cotton wool, leaves, chicken feathers and others. Many of the insects were previously unknown in these areas nor can they hatch at the present temperature. The results of scientific tests by bacteriologists and entomologists show that many of the insects carry lethal germs of highly infectious diseases such as bubonic plague, cholera, and typhoid. The enemy, on occasion, has spread germs at the front by firing specially designed shells. But generally they have used aircraft to drop bacteriological bombs or rats, dead fish, contaminated meat, and other objects infected

with virus. On some occasions, they have dropped infected insects together with propaganda leaflets.

A large-scale anti-epidemic campaign is already under way to exterminate these germs in parts of Korea and China. Medical experts, veterinaries and agricultural specialists have all been mobilised. Filled with boundless indignation, the masses of the people—be they men or women, old or young—have all joined in the fight to smash bacteriological warfare. They are determined to exterminate swiftly the dangerous insects and germs dropped by the American forces and prevent them from spreading.

This inhuman crime of the American aggressors is without precedent in history. During the Second World War, even Hitler and Mussolini did not use bacteriological weapons. Though the Japanese imperialists used them in China, they never employed them on as large a scale as do the Americans today. If no effective measures are immediately taken to check America's crime of using germ weapons, the scope will be further extended.

The calamity which has befallen the Korean and Chinese peoples today may tomorrow strike all the peace-loving people.

In the face of indisputable facts, U.S. authorities like Acheson and Ridgway, however, are still continuing their sophistry and denials. Acheson issued a statement on March 4 saying that "the United Nations forces have not used and are not using any sort of bacteriological warfare." But the fact is that the U.S. Government is not only using bacteriological weapons now but used them before.

The U.S. Government began its preparations for germ warfare as early as the end of 1941. G. W. Merck, who was chairman of the U.S. Biological Warfare Committee of the Chemical Corps of the U.S. War Department, issued a detailed report with the concurrence of the U.S. Government on January 4, 1946. This report described how the United States was carrying out large-scale systematic research into bacteriological warfare. American bacteriological experts have constantly boasted of this research. In the summer of 1949, the U.S. Government carried out bacteriological experiments on Eskimos, causing an outbreak of bubonic plague among them. This is a fact universally known. For a long time the U.S. Government has also made preparations to carry out bacteriological warfare in the Far East. Such preparations were made in close collaboration with Japanese bacteriological warfare criminals who were experts in this crime. In 1946, MacArthur made use of their criminal experience by sending 18 selected Japanese bacteriological war criminals to serve in bacteriological warfare centres in Maryland, Mississippi and Utah, U.S.A. The *New York Times* on April 13, 1951, reported the establishment of bacteriological research stations in Japan. Both MacArthur and his successor Ridgway have actively encouraged the continuation of Japanese bacteriological research and production. A *Telepress* dispatch of December 5 last year reported from Rangoon that two U.S. officials who were unwilling to disclose their names revealed that Ridgway had sent three Japanese bacteriological war criminals to Korea to carry out germ warfare work. They are Shiro Ishii, former Lieutenant General in the Japanese Army Medical Service, Kiro Wakamtsu, former Major General of the Veterinary Service, and Masajo Kitano.

The purpose of bacteriological warfare is to spread epidemic disease on a large scale in areas under the opponent's control and cause mass extermination. But to effect disease on a wide scale the user cannot rely solely on pathogenic agents. He must also have a good knowledge of the physiological conditions and the physiological properties of human beings (*Materials on the Trial of former Servicemen of the Japanese Army Charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons,* Moscow, 1950, English edition, page 299). This is exactly the criminal experience which Shiro Ishii gained in carrying out research into germ warfare in China. This was confessed by Lieutenant General Kajitsuka Ryuji, former Chief of the Medical Administration of the Japanese Kwantung Army in December 1949 before the Khabarovsk Military Tribunal. Therefore, before carrying out germ warfare, the United States co-operated with the Japanese bacteriological war criminals to carry on criminal research into the physiological conditions and physiological properties of the Chinese and Korean peoples.

In March, 1951, Brigadier General Crawford F. Sams, then Chief of the Public Health and Welfare Section of Ridgway's Headquarters in Tokyo, led landing craft No. 1091 of the U.S. naval forces to make a secret landing at Wonsan Harbour, Korea. Aboard this craft, called a bubonic plague ship, captured Chinese from the small island within the harbour were subjected to plague tests. This was revealed in the April 9, 1951, issue of the American magazine *Newsweek*. An A.P. dispatch from Koje Island reported on May 18 last year that this bubonic plague ship later went to Koje Island. Experiments were conducted on the ship on captured personnel of the Korean Peoples' Army and about 3,000 tests were made daily.

The use of bacteriological warfare is very dangerous; bacteria have no will and can boomerang on the users. This is the subject of an article which appeared in the April, 1950, issue of the *Military Review Monthly* published by the Command and General Staff College, Kansas, U.S.A. American bacteriological warfare specialists have long known this. And to carry out bacteriological warfare, their own troops must have counter-epidemic preparations beforehand so that they will not be endangered. The U.S. Government has thoroughly made these preparations. This is proved by the inoculation certificates of captured American and Syngman Rhee soldiers. What is most noteworthy is that American and Rhee troops have had inoculations against yellow fever, plague and cholera. Yellow fever is a tropical disease which has never occurred in the history of China and Korea. Plague, too, has never appeared in Korea. Since 1947, cholera has not occurred in North Korea. Isn't the motive behind the inoculations against these diseases in these areas easy to divine?

It is also necessary to make psychological preparations for carrying out bacteriological warfare, that is, to dehumanise those who carry out bacteriological warfare or drop bacteriological bombs. This psychological preparation has been thoroughly made by the U.S. Government. Far back in 1946, the June 15th issue of *Colliers* quoted the word of Major General Alden H. Waitt, then Chief of the Chemical Warfare Section of the War Department, saying "I am entirely out of sympathy with the talk about the humanity of a weapon." On Januarv 25 of this year, Brigadier General W. Creasy, Chief of the Research and Development Division of the Army Chemical Corps, in a statement in Washington, considered that germs, gas and radioactive materials are the cheapest weapons; they can destroy the enemy but preserve his property.

On March 5, when the American troops were carrying out bacteriological warfare in Korea and China, Major General Agbert F. Bullene, Chief of the Army Chemical Corps of the U.S. Defence Department, published a statement in the *Congressional Record* repeating Creasy's argument of economic value and advocating unlimited use of bacteriological weapons. He openly admitted that the Chemical Corps of the American troops in Korea had been very active since July 4, 1950, and that the number of chemical units and their activities was constantly increasing.

What is worthy of notice is that the statement of Major General Bullene was made on March 5 while Acheson made his statement of denial on March 4. This proves that Acheson's lies can by no means cover up the incontrovertible facts. On the one hand, Acheson denied the monstrous crime of the U.S. Government and, on the other hand, he arbitrarily fabricated the slander of the Chinese and Korean peoples' "inability" to prevent epidemics saying that epidemics were spreading in China and Korea and demanding that so-called investigations be carried out by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Probably, Acheson considers himself very clever and thinks that he can hoodwink the good people throughout the world by such hocus-pocus. But it is quite futile. The question today is not that ordinary epidemics have occurred within the boundaries of China and Korea, but that the American aggressors are creating large-scale man-made epidemics in these two countries. The people of China and Korea are

using great strength to resist this criminal action. If an investigation is to be carried out, it should be of the American crime of using bacteriological warfare, and not an investigation of ordinarv epidemics.

In this respect, we should thank the investigation commission to Korea headed by Professor Brandweiner which was organised by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, because it has solemnly done work which contributes much to humanity. This commission went to Korea just as the American forces were carrying out bacteriological warfare, and therefore the members are eyewitnesses of the crime. The members of this international investigating commission are all internationally known lawyers, and, in fact, they are in the position of impartial judges. Unanimously they have confirmed that the American use of bacteriological warfare is an irrefutable fact. They will publish detailed reports to the whole world. We can be sure that the sleight-of-hand tricks played by Acheson cannot deceive the people of the world.

The monstrous crime of the U.S. Government is the gravest threat to the security of mankind and world peace. It violates human justice, tramples on all international conventions and directly violates the solemn resolution demanding the prohibition of bacteriological weapons, chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction which was passed at the Warsaw session of the World Peace Congress in 1950 and represents the common desire of mankind.

Therefore, the Chinese people unanimously support the solemn statements issued on February 24 and March 8 by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Central Peoples' Government, denounce this monstrous crime of the U.S. Government to people throughout the world and are determined, together with all peace-loving people, to struggle to the end to curb this criminal action by the American aggressors.

For the security of mankind and world peace, we submit this report concerning the fact of American bacteriological warfare to this Executive Bureau meeting of the World Peace Council and urge that the meeting mobilise all peace-loving people throughout the world to take resolute and effective action to curb this unprecedented crime by the U.S. Government and take the necessary moral sanctions against it.

In all history, mankind has suffered many calamities. But in its strugle against every calamity, mankind has won final victory. We firmly believe that any vicious action by the American imperialists can also be defeated, and will be defeated.

The Chinese people fully support the appeal of Joliot-Curie. On our part, we would welcome World Peace Council initiative in organising a broad international commission composed of honest, sincere and independent people and joined by world-renowned scientists and by people who have not joined our movement but sincerely support the cause of peace and have a humanitarian point of view. The task of the commission would be to collect the mass of facts concerning the violation by the American forces in Korea and China of the 1925 Geneva Protocol which unconditionally prohibits the use of bacteriological weapons.

We also support the proposal of the World Peace Council to convene an international representative meeting attended by people and organisations of diverse points of view and beliefs, which will call on people of conscience to struggle for the unconditional prohibition of bacteriological weapons and condemn the American aggressors for their refusal to ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and their inhuman use of bacteriological weapons in China and Korea.

Against Bacteriological Warfare

Appeal by Bureau of World Council of Peace

WE have carefully examined the documents relating to bacteriological warfare now being waged in China and Korea.

This study has profoundly shocked and horrified us. Bacteriological warfare is not only an abominable crime which must be stopped, it is a menace to all mankind. We appeal to the conscience of all men and women and call on them to demand an end to bacteriological warfare and prohibition of bacteriological weapons.

In the first instance we address ourselves to the men and women of the United States, since each of them is confronted with a question of honour and dignity. The fact that the war in Korea is being waged in the name of the United Nations constitutes a particularly grave circumstance; we place responsibility on those governments which approved intervention by the United Nations and which, consequently, bear moral and political responsibility for the methods of war employed.

We, on our part, have a double duty to perform: firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth known to all so that each can judge the heinous facts which have been brought to our knowledge. We have decided to publish the documents at our disposal. It is necessary that full light be thrown on these criminal acts. In order to throw light on these acts, the Chinese Peace Committee has proposed the setting up of an international commission which would collect all the facts. The competence and impartiality of this commission must be beyond question. For the purpose of forming this commission we address ourselves to the highest representatives of science, law and religion. We are confident that world public opinion will support the efforts of the commission.

Our second duty is to protect all peoples from bacteriological warfare. We note that only the United States—alone among the Great Powers—did not ratify the international convention of June 17, 1925, prohibiting asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons.

We urge all the peoples of the world to exercise pressure on their governments with the aim of ensuring that this convention be signed, ratified and observed by every State without exception.

Equally we demand that vigorous action be taken to ensure that those guilty of employing this most heinous and most monstrous of weapons be brought to court and tried as war criminals.

We are confident that, in demanding protection for the innocent and punishment for the guilty, we are expressing the feelings of the overwhelming majority of people. We uphold, on their behalf, the noblest of causes—the right to life for all children and respect for the individual. Unless the people take action immediately to end bacteriological war, there will be no bounds to the brutality and ferocity of the forces of destruction. Our call is addressed to mankind to protect itself.

Unanimously adopted April 1, 1952.

An Overwhelming Accusation

Report of the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers on U.S. Crimes in Korea

(Extracts)

INTRODUCTION

THE Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly asked the United Nations to protest against violations of international law by their enemies on Korean territory, but U.N.O. has ignored these pleas.

The allegations made have been the subject of different enquiries, particularly in a report dated 27th May, 1951, made by the International Federation of Democratic Women who visited Korea.

The extreme gravity of these accusations led the Council of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers following the Berlin Congress of the Association held in September 1951 to set up a Commission consisting of lawyers of different countries, to go to Korea and to investigate these allegations on the spot in conformity with legal methods of enquiry.

The Commission consisted of:

HEINRICH BRANDWEINER, Professor of International Law in the University of Graz (Austria), President.

LUIGI CAVALIERI, Advocate at the Supreme Court of Rome (Italy), Vice-President.

JACK GASTER, Solicitor, London (Great Britain).

MARC JACQUIER, Advocate at the Court of Appeal, Paris (France).

KO PO-NIEN, Director of the Research Department of People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, Peking (China).

MARIE-LOUISE MOERENS, Advocate, Brussels (Belgium).

LETELBA RODRIGUES DE BRITTO, Advocate, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).

SOFIA WASILKOWSKA, Judge of the Supreme Court, Warsaw (Poland).

The Commission was in Korea from March 3rd to March 19th, 1952. Members of the Commission visited the provinces of North and South Piengan, Hwang Hai, Kang Won, including the towns of Pyongyang, Nampo, Kaichen, Pek Dong, Anju, Sinchon, Sariwon, Wonsan, etc.

BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

On its arrival in Korea the Commission found itself faced with the unexpected task of investigating a most serious allegation that the American forces in Korea were using bacteriological weapons against the army and the civil population. Members of the Commission went to different regions of the country and took evidence on the spot, interrogated witnesses who found insects in unusual circumstances, examined and obtained evidence concerning the remains of containers found, examined experts, obtained data concerning health conditions during recent years and as to the outbreaks of disease from health service officials and experts and also examined official documents and other material put before them. The Commission was impressed by the clarity and obvious sincerity and veracity of the many simple peasants and others who gave evidence as to the facts.

According to the reports of observation posts of the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Local anti-Aircraft Detachments, different kinds of insects were found in 169 areas of North Korea. The results of 15 typical cases in which expert examinations were carried out and insects found identified between 28th January and 12th March, 1952, are as follows. . . .

In many cases special kinds of flies, fleas, spiders, beetles, bugs, crickets, mosquitoes and other insects were found, many of which were hitherto unknown to Korea. Insects were found in different cases far from human habitations, on snow, on the ice of rivers, on grass and among stones.

Considering the very low temperatures prevailing at the time (in January the maximum was 1° and in February 5°, but only for a few hours, the average temperatures being far below zero centigrade) which normally prevent the appearance of insects, and also considering that the insects were often found in great quantities and even in mixed groups or clusters consisting of different varieties of insects which would normally never be found together, like flies and spiders, the appearance of these insects roused suspicion. The results of the expert examination showed that great qantities of insects were infected.

In many cases it was also found that the insects were carrying eggs. In the opinion of experts it may be assumed that these insects were bred artificially. On 23rd February 1952, in Peng Won Goon, South Pyengan Province, on a mountain not far from Suk Shun Myen village, in addition to flies, a great quantity of fishes of a species which live in the regions between fresh water and salt water, were found. The fish were found in a half rotten state and infected with cholera. It is assumed that these fishes were dropped by mistake on the mountains.

The kinds of bacteria found were: Vibrio cholerae, pasteurella pestis, Eberthella typhosa, Bacillus paratyphi A and B, Rickettsia prowazeki and shigella dysenteriae. The examinations confirmed the local reports that different kinds of insects were being dispersed, and also established that the insects dropped were infected with plague, cholera and other epidemic diseases.

The Commission particularly investigated the following cases:

On the 30th January, 1952, southeast of I Chon, Kang Won Province.

Flies, bugs and spiders were found alive on the snow and among stones. Though the place had been burnt immediately after discovering the insects, 20-30 specimens per square metre could still be found in an area of 600 to 700 metres in diameter.

Expert examination showed that the flies had been infected with the germ of cholera. At a distance of about 300 to 400 metres from the point where the insects had been discovered, remains of containers like leaflet bombs have been found with a special appliance that caused them to break open as soon as they touched the ground. . . .

On 18th February, 1952, in Bal Nam Ri, Anju Goon, Dai Ri Myen region, South Pyengan Province.

Flies, spiders, and bugs were found crowded into 1 yard square in 3 separate lots. By the time the Investigation Group reached the spot, the insects had scattered over an area around. The flies were unusual, compared with the familiar Korean ones. . . . At this time of the year no flies or spiders have ever been found in this area before. The ground temperature was 20 degrees below zero centigrade.

Towards midnight on the day before the discovery of the insects airplanes had been seen above this place, circling several times very low, without dropping any explosive or incendiary bomb, or machine-gunning. Expert examination showed that the insects were infected with plague bacteria. On February 25th, plague broke out in that village. 50 persons were taken ill of whom 36 died (in a population of about 600) up to March 11th, and the disease had not then run its course. Plague has never previously occurred in this region. . . .

On February 28th, near Song Ri, Kang Don Goon, Won Tan Myen region, South Pyengan Province.

On the ice of the bank of Puk Kang river (which serves the water supply of Pyongyang), ant-like insects were found in clusters of about 30 cm. diameter, with about 3 to 5 metres between each cluster. By the next day, the insects had already spread over an area of

800 metres. The day before the insects were found, 5 American planes had been seen circling over the place for half an hour, without dropping explosive or incendiary bombs or machine-gunning. The witness stated that expert examination disclosed that the insects were infected with bacteria which caused a disease of the intestines. . . . On March 5th in Pyongyang City, Choong Koo District Quarter Hammoon Ri, large and small groups of flies were found in the street, spread over an area of about 1.5 to 5 metres. The next day, cholera broke out in the neighbouring street. . . .

These groups of individual cases, proved by the Commission, represent only a small part of the real facts for it was not possible for the Commission to visit all the places affected. . . .

In North Korea there have been no previous epidemics for at least 4 years and no case has up to the time of the Commission's visit been reported except in the immediate area where clusters of insects have been found as described above. The fact that no widespread epidemic has occurred in consequence of the deposits of infected insects is, from our own observation, undoubtedly due to the careful and strict anti-epidemic measures that have been taken by the authorities with the fullest and closest co-operation of the people.

The first case of cholera was diagnosed on February 20. This was 40-year-old Kim Hak Mun of the Puk Myen region, Chel Won Goon, Kang Won Province, who died on February 23rd. On February 25th, 35-year-old Kim Shul Sun fell ill in the same village. In the South Pyengan Province, Suk Chan Myen, two persons in the same village fell ill on March 5th, and both died on the following day. On March 8th, 3 more persons fell ill, one of whom died the same day and another on March 9th. In Pyongyang City (as mentioned above) 2 persons fell ill on March 6th, and another one on March 8th. Two of them died on March 8th. The quarter has been isolated. In Hwang Hai Province, where the local register (as mentioned above) showed 36 cases of discovery of insects, in Suan Goon, Su Gu Myen, Sok Dal Ri village, 2 persons fell ill on March 8th, one of whom died on March 9th. No soldier fell ill of cholera. Total number of cholera cases is 13, 9 of whom died.

The first case of plague was diagnosed on February 25, Hwang Li Shai, aged 29, of Bal Nam Ri, Anju Region. The case took a mortal turn. On February 29, Pak Sun Ok, aged 26, of the same village, fell ill. In this case it was established that plague-infected fleas had been found on February 8. The number of plague cases in the village amounted to 50, 36 of whom died up to the time of the Commission's visit to Anju.

The total number of plague cases is 53, 39 of whom died.

In a number of cases there is a local and temporal coincidence between the cases of cholera and plague and the discovery of infected insects.

In view of these facts, the Commission states that it is beyond doubt that great quantities of insects, often times of species unknown in Korea, were found under very low temperatures on the snow, on the open field or on the ice of rivers. The insects were proved to be infected in great number with plague, cholera and other contagious diseases. Close by the places where insects were discovered containers have been found whose construction permits the conclusion that they served for carrying great quantities of insects.

On a part of one of them a marking in English was discovered. In several cases, a local and temporal coincidence between the objects found and the appearance of airplanes, which circled low above the place without firing or strafing, was proved. Shortly after these discoveries, cases of plague and cholera occurred. The cases investigated by the Commission, which are only a few of the cases reported, have been set out above. These alone disclosed a serious and widespread deposit of such insects. In all the circumstances, the Commission must reach the conclusion that insects infected with epidemic diseases have been dropped over Korea by American airplanes.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

American planes, the Commission's report notes, have on various occasions used asphyxiating and other gases or chemical weapons, at least since May 6, 1951.

The Commission examined evidence given by the head of the Health Section of the Nampho City People's Committee. On May 6, 1951, the city was bombarded four times between 5.05 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. The bombardments took place in good weather and in a temperature of 23°C. Thirteen districts were attacked. In the course of the last attack, when the inhabitants had taken shelter, three B-29s attacked the districts of Sam Hwa Hoopo Ri, Yong Chong Ri, Chook Dong Ri and a part of Yong Soo Ri with gas bombs. When the Commission was in Nampho, it examined the results of the autopsy of the victims of asphyxiation. . . .

On August 1, 1951, about 3 p.m. two bombs were dropped on the villages of Chen Seug Ri and Won Chol Ri (province Hwang Hai), one on each village. They burst in the air with an unusually feeble sound and produced a black smoke, and a yellow cloud spread around. Four civilians died of the poisoning. The leaves of trees fell, cereals on the ground were damaged; brass objects became black.

On January 9, 1952, at about 4 p.m., in clear sky and at a temperature of at least 5°, the small mountain village of Hak Seng, North of Wonsan, was bombarded by two airplanes. After the bombardment, 83 persons were found to be poisoned. . . .

The facts set out above prove beyond question that the American forces in Korea have in their possession chemical weapons of various kinds and that these have been used on many occasions against the civilian population and have caused many casualties.

MASS MASSACRES, MURDERS AND OTHER CRIMES

After investigation, the Commission found to be in accordance with the facts the evidence of the Chairman of the Sinchhon People's Committee, Pyong Won Goon, who stated that 35,383 civilians (19,149 men and 16,234 women) were murdered in the district of Sinchhon during the American occupation, which lasted from October 17 till December 7, 1950, that is, for less than two months. The number includes a substantial number of refugees who were in the district.

On the evidence examined, the report says, the following facts can be established beyond doubt:

On 18 October 1950, in the city of Sinchon behind the building of the People's Committee, a mass murder of about 900 men and women, including 300 children, was committed. Some of the women were pregnant.

The murder was committed by order of the commander of the American occupying forces in the city—Harrison (described by one witness as Halison). Harrison was present when his order was fulfilled and took photographs of the execution.

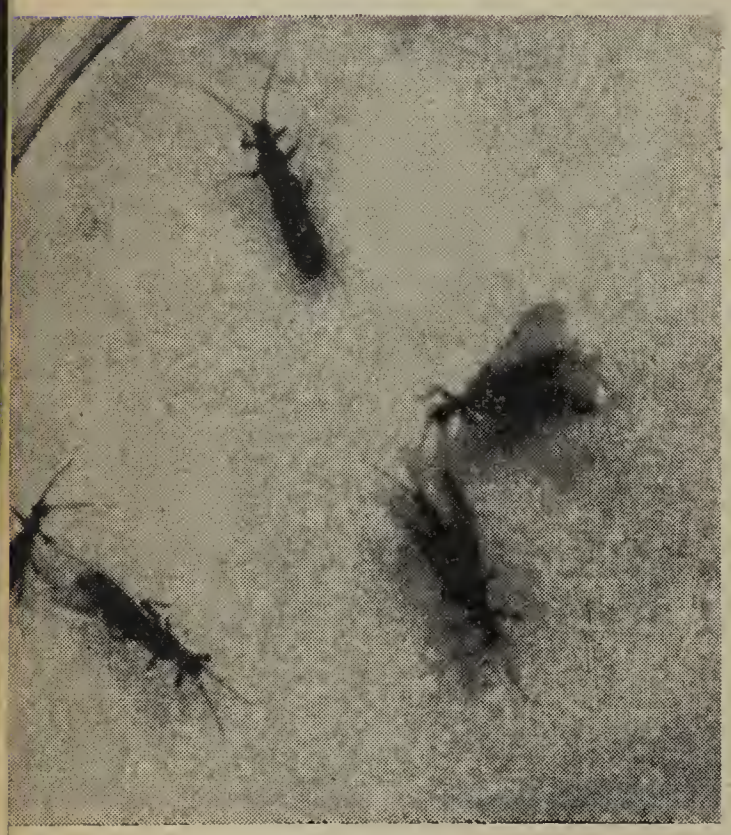
The murder was committed as follows: All the people were pushed into an open deep grave. Harrison ordered them to take off their clothes, then ordered fuel-oil to be thrown over the victims who were set on fire. Those who tried to get out of the grave were shot.

A witness declared: "The cries and shrieks of these people were heartbreaking. Those who were not burnt to death were buried alive. Harrison came the next day and took photos."

On October 20, 1950, about 500 men and women, including about 100 children, were murdered. Harrison was again present.

All the people were forced into an air raid cave shelter, which had 2 entrances. This shelter was cut in rock in the city of Sinchon behind the police headquarters. On Harrison's orders, American soldiers put explosives in the shelter with sacks of earth. Harrison ordered the fuse to be lit. All the people in the shelter were killed by the explosion. . . .

The American In



Will Be Engraved on th

perialists' Crimes

The photos on the opposite page:

● A type of contaminated insect spread by the American 'planes, which can fly, crawl, and swim. ● Alan Winnington, correspondent in Korea of the London "Daily Worker" takes notes while Professor Wei Hsi, biologist, shows him bombs and containers which held insects carrying deadly germs. ● Infected feathers, easily dispersed by the wind, have been spread widely by planes of the American aggressors. ● Germ-carrying crickets.

The photos on this page:

● A victim is removed from the execution stake. ● Burnt corpses. ● The unspeakable horror of the massacre of children.

Memory of the People

Further mass murder of about 900 people, men and women, took place on December 7, 1950, in two warehouses in the Won-An-Ri ward of the Sinchon city. There were over 200 children in one of these buildings. The American soldiers threw fuel-oil over the people's clothes and set fire to them. Hand grenades were thrown into the buildings through the windows. One of the Korean women who was in the building with two children pushed the children out of the window. One child was shot. One fled. The mother was burned. Harrison and his officers were present.

The members of the Commission have seen the grave in which the murder of October 20 was committed and the warehouses, one was partly open, in the presence of the members of the Commission.

The members of the Commission also saw the shelter in which the murder of October 20 was committed and the warehouses, one of which was subsequently destroyed by bombardment. On the walls of the shelter and the warehouses there are traces of burning . . .

Immediately after the American troops entered the locality of Dai-Won-Ri, district of Sariwon, many inhabitants were seized, including all the families of people serving in the Korean People's Army. An eye-witness, a young girl who was also seized with a group of about 50 women and 30 men, including children of 1-2 years old, told how horribly the American soldiers tortured the prisoners. The prisoners were beaten ceaselessly. The most frequently used method of torture was to put people on a table and to pour water through the nose. Every day people were killed in the prison. Some were hung by the hair and the American soldiers shot at them as at a target. Or they were beaten till they died. Or they were stoned to death. Twenty-nine people, including 3 women, were killed in this way. Other prisoners were forced to watch the murders.

Just before the Americans had to leave the city, the prisoners who were still alive were taken out of the prison and shot. The father and mother of the witness were killed. She managed to escape when the people were being led out to execution . . .

On October 25, 1950, a witness was seized, because her older son was in the Korean People's Army. Her second son fled. On the same evening, the Americans conducted the prisoners, numbering several thousands, and including the witness and her two younger sons, to the river near Tolmuzi. The people were bound in twos. The execution took place by shooting or by bayonet. The witness was bound to a young girl who was bayoneted. She said: "I was shot and we both lost consciousness. When I recovered, I felt my back heavily pressed, for corpses were heaped upon me, and I was wet with their blood." She and the girl, though wounded, managed to escape. Both of her younger sons were shot . . .

TORTURES, VIOLATIONS AND MURDERS OF INDIVIDUALS

SINCHON

On the very day American troops entered the locality, Wuol San Ri of the Cho Ri Region, Sinchen Myen, they committed a particularly horrible murder against the Woo Mal Che family. The Americans pierced a wire through the hands, ears and nose of the witness' husband. On his forehead they fastened with a nail a diploma for work found in the room and tortured him until he died. Eleven children of the family Woo Mal Che, ranging from 5 to 25 years of age, were shot on the spot. Woo Mal Che's daughter-in-law, seeing the American soldiers torturing her father-in-law, tried to defend him. The Americans attached her by her hair to a tree, cut off her breasts, put a wooden club in her vagina, poured fuel-oil on it and set fire to it. They then poured oil over her and burned her alive. About 20 American soldiers took part in this murder . . .

ANAK

On October 18, 1950, in the locality Song San Ri, American soldiers forced all the inhabitants, adults and children, into the school building. One woman, Kim Hwa Sil, who defended herself against attempted rape, was put naked in the courtyard. All the prisoners were compelled to watch her further torture. A club one metre long was put into her vagina. She died immediately. Her body was hung on a telegraph pole, where it remained till the end of the American occupation. All those scenes were photographed by the Americans . . .

HAIJU

In the city of Haiju, American soldiers tortured a young Korean girl named Jo Ok Hi, who was chairman of the local women's organisation and was in prison in the same room as the witness. According to the testimony of the witness, who was examined by members of the Commission, the American troops submitted her to slow torture, first putting out her eyes, after a lapse of time cutting off her nose, still later cutting off her breasts . . .

AIR ATTACKS ON THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

Kin Hak Sun, Deputy Chairman of the municipal People's Committee, gave the Commission the following information:

Since June 27, 1950, the city of Phyongyang has been the target of many air attacks both by day and by night. In the course of these bombardments, more than 30,000 bombs (explosives, incendiaries and multiple-explosives) have been dropped on the city. Up to December 31, 1951, out of 80,000 houses, 64,000 were destroyed. In the year 1951 alone, 4,768 people were killed and 2,438 seriously injured by their bombardments, 32 hospitals and dispensaries, 64 churches, 99 schools and university buildings, one museum and 29 theatres were completely destroyed. The hospitals which were under the control of the civil administration were marked with a red cross.

Lieutenant-General Yu Song Chol, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army, states that the city of Phyongyang did not possess a single arsenal or any factory that was used for military purposes. Nor had it any troops stationed there for the defence of the city. Further, it has never had any anti-aircraft batteries in the city; they were placed outside and at some distance from the city.

The members of the Commission have visited the city and seen the wholesale destruction of most of the dwelling houses.

The report cites several instances of savage bombings of the civilian population of Phyongyang.

The city of Sunchhon in South Phenan province, which had neither troops nor anti-aircraft batteries and only one chemical plant, was bombed repeatedly and almost entirely demolished, the report goes on to state.

The city of Kaichen, South Phenan province, was completely wrecked. The Commission inspected the ruins, and there did not appear to be a single building that had escaped. All the hospitals, schools, churches and public buildings had been destroyed.

There was very great destruction in the city of Anju. Two hospitals, a Catholic church and many schools were destroyed by bombs, and of the 2,708 dwelling houses which the city had before the war, 2,172 were demolished. Not one of the wrecked buildings was located in the vicinity of the railway. No army units were stationed in the city or its environs, nor were there any anti-aircraft batteries, military installations or plants that were used for war purposes . . .

The city of Sariwon was completely demolished. This city did not have a single factory which was used for war purposes. Nor were there any troops stationed there, or military installations of any kind, and the only railway had not been used since the beginning of the war. Anti-aircraft batteries were installed here only in the second half of 1951 . . .

The Commission, in its lengthy journeys through Korea, has seen for itself the terrible destruction of towns and villages, of hospitals, churches, schools, factories, mills and means of communication. It has seen for itself on innumerable occasions the destruction brought by indiscriminate bombing of places that could not conceivably have been military targets as understood in international law. Differentiation between defended and undefended cities appar-

ently did not exist. Whether a building was protected under the rules of war or not appears to have made no difference . . .

CONCLUSION

The Commission has given very careful consideration to the facts disclosed in this Report, to which it has applied the principles of international law universally accepted by civilised states.

It is not the function of this Commission to pass a final judgment. It is not a Tribunal that is competent to do so. Its duty is limited to an investigation of the facts, and to indicate the offences against international law which, in its opinion, these facts disclose. If there be a defence to the crimes which this Report discloses, that defence must be heard by an appropriate international Tribunal before final judgment can be passed.

On this footing, the Commission reaches the following conclusions:—

1. By the deliberate dispersion of flies and other insects artifically infected with bacteria against the Korean People's Army and among the civilian population of North Korea, with the intention of spreading death and disease, a most grave and horrible crime has been perpetrated by U.S. forces in Korea, contrary to the provisions of the Hague Convention concerning the laws and customs of war on land of 1907, and to the universally accepted law prohibiting bacteriological warfare which was re-stated in the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

2. By the use of poison gas bombs, and other chemical substance, among the civilian population of North Korea, the U.S. forces are guilty of a planned and deliberate breach of the Hague Regulations of 1907, Article 23 (a) and (e) and of the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

3. By the murder en masse of civilians or of individuals without charge, without trial, including many women and children, throughout the areas occupied by them, the United States forces and Syngman Rhee soldiers under their command have acted in defiance of the express provisions of the Hague Regulations of 1907 (Art. 46) imposing a duty on the occupying power to protect the lives of inhabitants.

4. By the wrongful seizure and imprisonment, ill-treatment, and torture of the civilian inhabitants in the areas occupied, the U.S. forces and Syngman Rhee soldiers under their command have again broken the express provisions of the Hague Regulations of 1907.

5. By the bombardment of undefended towns and villages far from the front and the indiscriminate destruction from the air of non-military objectives, the American forces have again acted in defiance of the accepted laws and customs of war, and in particular in breach of the Hague Regulations.

6. By the destruction of protected buildings, such as buildings dedicated to public worship, art, science, historic monuments and hospitals, in some cases in the indiscriminate bombardment of undefended towns and villages, and in others by deliberate attack on these protected buildings, when they were being used solely for the purpose for which they were intended, and where necessary marked with appropriate signs, the American forces have again broken the Hague Regulations of 1907 and in particular Article 27.

7. By the deliberate destruction by fire and explosive of public buildings of a civil or non-military character when such destruction was not imperatively demanded by the exigences of war, the American forces are in breach of the Hague Regulations and in particular of Articles 55 and 56.

8. By the confiscation without requisitioning authority, and without compensation or receipt, or by the deliberate destruction of foodstuffs and the private property of civilians, not necessary for the maintenance of the occupying forces, the American troops have again broken the Hague Regulations and in particular Articles 46 and 52.

9. By the murder of prisoners of war, American troops have been guilty of a breach of the Conventions of 1929 and 1949 concerning the treatment of Prisoners of War.

10. By the pillage of historic works of art, and of private property, the American forces have been guilty of offences against Hague Regulations (Art. 47).

In the opinion of the Commission all the above constitute war crimes as defined by Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg.

Having regard to the extent and character of the crimes revealed, the Commission is of the opinion that the American forces in Korea have been guilty of crimes against humanity as defined by the Nuremberg Charter, as follows:

1. By the wholesale destruction or extermination of sections of the civilian inhabitants, and in particular of refugees without any attempt to bring any to trial for any offence, and by the terroristic methods adopted against whole sections of the Korean people, and since January 28, 1952, by the use on a large scale of the bacteriological weapons against civilians.

2. By the destruction or attempted destruction of the way of life of the people of North Korea, by the destruction of its schools, university, museums, its historic monuments and cultural objects, by the destruction of the organs of government and the murder of its officials.

Taking the view that the extensive murders are not the result of individual excesses, but indicate a pattern of behaviour by the U.S. forces throughout the areas occupied by them, and taking into account that the employment of bacteriological and chemical weapons over extensive areas of the country must constitute an attempt to destroy a whole people or part of a people, the Commission is of the opinion that the American forces are guilty of the crime of Genocide as defined by the Genocide Convention of 1948.

In the light of these conclusions, the Commission must name those who should be brought to the bar of world justice to answer for these crimes. The Commission has no hesitation in saying that many of these crimes could not have been committed without the fullest knowledge of and planning by the leaders of the government of the U.S.A. and of the High Command of the U.S. Forces. It, therefore, indicts these people and all officers commanding in the field who are responsible for these crimes, together with all individual soldiers who accepted and carried out orders contrary to international law.

With these conclusions we have completed the task that was imposed upon us by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

We feel bound to say that our experiences in Korea, in the conduct of our investigation, have filled us with horror and dismay at the savagery revealed. We know that there are many who, like some of ourselves before our journey, will find it difficult to accept the terrible facts established in this Report. We, therefore, solemnly pledge our honour as lawyers and as ordinary men and women to the truth of the facts disclosed. We have come from different countries, we do not share a common religion, a common political outlook, or even a common tongue. We have endeavoured to perform our task conscientiously and with full regard to our responsibilities as lawyers.

This Report, the result of our labours, is unanimous.

We believe that those who read it will share our horror and detestation of the crimes and criminals.

We ourselves are determined that the rule of law shall be upheld in the world, that no State, no individual, however mighty, shall escape the consequences of their crimes.

Justice will prevail, and to secure justice, the world must secure peace.

This Report, we hope, will be a contribution to the struggle for world peace, and especially for Korea, whose sufferings must never be forgotten, and whose peace must be rapidly secured.

We must conclude by expressing our conviction that the events in Korea cannot be treated as an isolated incident, but as a phase in the development of active war that may endanger and engulf the whole world. The use of such inhuman weapons as bacteriological warfare must be taken to indicate a new degree of savagery in the conduct of so-called civilised States which must threaten every man, woman and child. All who cherish a desire for a life of peace and security for themselves and their children must understand the lesson. Peace is the property of the people and must be preserved by the active struggle of the people.

This report is written in English and signed by all the members of the Commission, in Peking, on March 31, 1952.

Report on the Use of Bacteriological Weapons on Chinese Territory by the Armed Forces of the United Nations

FOREWORD

DURING the time when the members of the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers were in Korea, where they investigated particularly the use of bacteriological weapons by the American air forces against the civilian population, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Government publicly accused the U.S.A. of also using bacteriological weapons in the North-Eastern provinces of China. The Commission was requested by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers to extend its investigation to the facts denounced by the People's Republic of China.

For this purpose, the members of the Commission went to the North-Eastern provinces of China.

Cases of dissemination of bacteria of which the authorities have been informed were so numerous that they could not all be examined by the Commission. The Commission had to confine itself to the examination of ten of these cases, which occurred in various localities in the Southern part of North-East China.

Mr. Pei Hsi-ching, Chief Adjutant of the Public Health Department of the North-East People's Government, communicated to the Commission facts for which the Commission has procured the testimonies of a certain number of witnesses. In addition, the Commission has also heard the testimonies of many bacteriological, entomological, pathological, neurological and general clinical experts who furnished the Commission with the results of their examinations, analysis and experiments: Chen Shih-sien, graduate of Futan University (1928), Doctor of Paris University (1934), Director of the Laboratory of Entomology, Academia Sinica, Peking, and Vice-Director of the Museum of Aurora University, Shanghai; Chin Yao-ting, graduate of Cheeloo University (1914); Professor and Director, Department of Biology, China Medical University, Shenyang (Mukden); Hsin Chun, Doctor in Medicine, Nagoya Imperial University (Japan), Chief of Laboratories, North-Eastern Infectious Diseases Prevention Institute; Ching Kwan-Hua, graduate of South Manchurian Medical College (1942), Professor and Director, Department of Bacteriology, China Medical University, Shenyang (Mukden); Lu Pao-ling, Professor Department of Entomology, Peking University of Agriculture, Peking; Chu Chi-min, graduate of Shanghai Medical College (1939), Doctor of Philosophy, Cambridge University (Great Britain), Chief Technical Expert, National Vaccine and Serum Institute, Peking; Li Pei-lin, Member of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Professor of Pathology, China Medical University, Shenyang (Mukden); Chang Hsueh-teh, Doctor in Medicine, Peking Union Medical College (1941), Master of Science, University of Illinois (United States), Professor of Peking Union Medical College, Peking; Hsu Ying-kuei, Doctor in Medicine, formerly in charge of research at the Institute of Psychiatry of Munich (1938), Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry, Peking Union Medical College. Lastly, General Kao Peng, Adjutant Commandant of the North-East Air Forces, furnished the Commission with the dates and places of appearance of the American aircraft observed by his intelligence service, and he certified that at that time no Chinese airplanes were above the same localities and that the aircraft mentioned above were identified as American military planes.

On the other hand, the Commission has received a copy of the *Journal of Immunology* of May, 1947, which contains a long report by three American bacteriologists of Columbia University.

This report confirms that since this time, very thorough studies have been undertaken in the United States in the use of bacteria as war weapons. The information thus obtained is presented in the present report.

DISCLOSURE OF THE FACTS

On March 3, 1952, towards evening, a farmer of Kiu Tsai village, some twenty kilometres from Fushun, discovered in front of his house insects leaping and crawling on the snow. He informed the local authorities of his discovery and the work of collecting and destroying the insects was organised in the following days. The insects were scattered over an area more than one kilometre (two Chinese li) long and about 500 metres (one li) wide. The inhabitants of this village had never before seen insects of this kind even during the hot season, while in the beginning of March, it was still very cold in this region and the snow and ice were not yet thawed.

Three witnesses, including farmer Liu Kuanyi, the first to see the insects, informed the Commission of the circumstances of the discovery and of the conditions under which specimens were sent to the authorities. Professor Chin Yaoting, who made an entomological examination of these insects, pointed out that insects of these kinds (Collembola) had been scattered in large quantities in Korea and in North-East China. Dr. Chu Chin-min told the Commission about the results of bacteriological experiments carried out by three experts on a guinea pig; the guinea pig died eight days later and numerous rickettsiae appeared in its spleen. Thus it is a fact that these insects carried a kind of pathogenic rickettsia.

The Fusham region was invaded by American aircraft on February 29. Two additional witnesses testify that on this day the air raid alarm was sounded in Fushun.

On March 4, 1952, some insects were discovered on the banks of the river in the village of Lao Kuan in the Benhsi-hu region, over which U.S. craft flew on February 29. The insects were scattered over an area more than one kilometre (one-and-a-half li) in width. There were many kinds of insects, notably spiders and mosquitoes.

Professor Ching Kwan-hua pointed out to the Commission that experiments made upon mice and guinea pigs showed that the spiders carried bacteria of the Pasteurella group, to which plague bacilli belong.

On February 29, 1952, American aircraft were observed by the military observation service in the South of Benhsihu and both north and south of Fushun.

A member of the anti-epidemic team in Chinchow, Minister Jen Than-yi, testified before the Commission that on March 5, 1952, he had seen groups of mosquitoes flying in the village of Fan Chia, outside Chinchow. On March 6 and 7, mosquitoes, flies and spiders were discovered in large quantities in other parts of the city, particularly on the ice of a partially frozen river. According to the testimonies made by Professor Ching Kwan-hua before the Commission, certain insects identified as Chironomus or as Helomyzidae flies carried typhoid and paratyphoid bacilli.

The Chinchow region was invaded by American aircraft on March 4 at 6 in the morning . . .

Since March 9, 1952, in Anshan and other towns, many cases of death from encephalitis have been noticed.

The region of Anshan was invaded by two American aircraft on March 2 at two o'clock in the morning, and some days later the presence of numerous mosquitoes was discovered in the city.

Professor Ching Kwan-hua testified before the Commission that mice inoculated with ground mosquitoes died with same clinical symptoms of encephalitis and a neuro-tropic virus was discovered.

The Commission also heard the testimony of Yung Hua-hsin, physician at Ansham, who confirmed the abnormal presence of mosquitoes in the city during this season. He enclosed two reports from his file, which were made on March 17 and 18, describing the encephalitis-like symptoms of two patients before their death.

Many expert physicians reported to the Commission the results of the post mortem examination of the two patients, which indicated conclusively an acute attack of encephalitis. Professor Li Pei-lin, who carried out the post mortem examination, emphasized the similarity of the brain lesions found in the human victims and in the experimentally inoculated mice.

On March 11, 1952, at 8 and 11 a.m. (each time on these two occasions), the Antung area along the Yalu River was invaded by four American aircraft. On that day, at 11 a.m., the inhabitants of the village of Pei Tsin heard the sound of engines and saw three airplanes coming from the northwest and going southeast. They saw dropping from an airplane an object which could not be located, but at a distance they found feathers, some of which were white and some were yellow, in the fields. Dr Hsin Chun testified before the Commission that from his experiments on mice it proved that the feathers carried anthrax bacilli. . .

On March 15, 1952, near 21.30 hours, in Shenyang, a soldier of the Bureau of Public Security, who was on guard duty in the southern section of the city, saw two flashes and something luminous drop from above the Maluwan quarter at intervals of four or five seconds, without hearing an explosion. Another soldier noticed the same phenomenon.

Sirens were not used for giving the alarm to the inhabitants. But the Commission was informed by the chief of the information section of the Bureau of Anti-Air-raid Defence of the city that they had been aware of the presence of an American aircraft. In addition, General Kao Peng told the Commission that the presence of an American plane at 21 o'clock was noticed and the military authorities were informed.

Mm. Li Shan-ping, President of the labour union of the Department of Trade and of the anti-epidemic services of this department, laid before the Commission the text of a report dated March 18, 1952, which was confirmed by her. The report gave an account of the searches made on March 15 and 16 by 200 employees who had collected in their building and its neighbourhood a large quantity of insects of numerous kinds, particularly flies and locusts, the presence of which in the city at this period of time was absolutely abnormal.

The same witness pointed out that the anti-epidemic committee of the Department of Trade was established on March 9, 1952, that complete disinfection work was carried out from March 9 to 13, and that no suspected insects were found before the evening of March 15.

Three experts testified before the Commission concerning the subject.

Professor Chen Shih-sien identified the locusts as Locusta migratoria. In the Shenyang area, these insects, after laying eggs, generally disappear at the end of autumn or at the beginning of winter and the eggs hatch in May or June. Those which were found living on March 15 in Shenyang, in the opinion of Professor Chen, could not have come from this region.

Grasshoppers found on the concrete floor of the courtyard of the building were identified as a kind of Acridum.

Professor Pao Ling studied the flies and found them to be Muscina stabulans, bigger than house flies. They are favourable agents for transmission of cholera, dysentry, typhoid and paratyphoid. This kind of fly lives especially in the warm regions. Experts consider it impossible that at this time and in this region such flies could exist in large quantities outside the house.

Professor Ching Kwan-hua pointed out that the flies caught carried typhoid bacilli. . .

CONCLUSIONS

The documents and testimonials obtained by the Commission enable it to consider the following facts as established.

1. During March 1952, the unusual presence of insects of different species was noted and verified in different localities of the south of North-East China, but most of these places are far away from the Korean border.

2. In all these cases, the presence of these insects was unusual, particularly because of the season and the temperature; also because of the fact that they were concentrated in limited areas.

3. In many cases feathers were also discovered in these localities; their presence could not be considered as natural.

4. In most of the cases, the results of examinations and experiments on guinea pigs and mice showed that these insects and feathers carried disease-producing microorganisms: bacteria of pasteurellosis, anthrax, typhoid and paratyphoid, rickettsia and a virus of encephalitis.

5. It was established in nine cases examined by the Commission that the areas in which the insects or feathers were discovered, American aircraft had flown over on the very same day or a few days before.

6. In many cases, witnesses had seen objects dropping from airplanes. In one case fragments of a container were found which was apparently used for holding insects.

The Commission considers that the infected insects and feathers could only be transported to these areas by American aircraft, which had neither the right nor any avowable reason to fly over the northeastern territory of China.

This conclusion carries all the more weight when it is drawn from the facts procured by the Commission during its investigation in Korea. The report made after this first investigation indicated notably the discovery of fragments of a special bomb which carried an inscription in English and established the fact that the American forces disseminated in Korea germ-carrying insects. Many infected insects discovered in China are similar to those found in Korea.

The use of bacteriological weapons is prohibited by the laws and customs of war. This prohibition, confirmed by the Geneva Protocol of 1925, must be held to apply even more strongly when there is no armed conflict.

The Statute of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg has also termed the killing and extermination of civilian populations a crime against humanity, without distinction whether there be a state of peace or a state of war.

The convention of December 9, 1948, for the prevention and repression of genocide positively applies "in time of peace as in time of war" to murders or grave injuries to the physical integrity of the members of a national, ethnical or racial group, committed or attempted with the intention of destroying such a group, in whole or part.

We consider that the facts reported above constitute an act of aggression committed by the United States, an act of genocide, and a particularly odious crime against humanity. It indeed hangs over the whole world as an extremely grave menace, the limits and consequences of which cannot be foreseen.

Our conviction is founded on the facts we have verified with the strictness of juridical discipline and the consciousness of our responsibility.

As jurists, we raise our solemn protest against these violations of international law.

As democrats, we denounce the act of aggression which threatens the peace of the world.

As men and women, we express our indignation against the monstrous use of scientific progress for criminal aims.

PART II.—THEY CONFESS

American Public Declarations and Reports

AMERICAN preparations for the prosecution of "biological warfare" were not begun yesterday but all of ten years ago when an organisation disguised under the name of War Research Service began working to perfect bacteriological weapons. Details of the wartime operations were disclosed in 1946, in a report by G. W. Merck (who later became chairman of the U.S. Biological Warfare Committee and was decorated by Secretary of War Patterson in the same year for developing biological warfare). The report revealed that after 1943, bacteriological warfare research was stepped up and taken over by the U.S. Army Chemical Warfare Service, which set up its main centre of operations, cryptically called "Special Projects Division", at Camp Detrick near Frederick, Maryland. Large laboratories and pilot-plants were built and during World War II, some 3,900 people worked in them. Field testing stations were organised at Pascagoula, Mississippi and Dugway, Utah, and a big plant for large-scale production was built at Vigo, Indiana. In addition, the U.S. Navy had its own germ warfare project in the University of California. The cost of the whole U.S. project was put at about fifty million dollars. The report itself cynically called attention to the fact that this was the "cheapest" form of mass murder. Merck wrote: "It is important to note that the development of agents for biological warfare is possible . . . without vast expenditure of money or the construction of huge production facilities . . ."

In its June 15 issue of that year, *Collier's* magazine quoted General Alden H. Waitt, Chief of Chemical Warfare Service, as saying of the bacteriological weapon: "I believe it to be a practical form of warfare which has great potentialities." Brushing aside the legal and moral aspects of the matter, this professional butcher added: "It is neither consistent nor intelligent to talk about the horrors of gas and biological warfare, and then condone atomic warfare. I am entirely out of sympathy with talk about the humanity or inhumanity of a weapon."

In the same month, *Time* magazine reported that boasts about the new weapon were being heard in the U.S. Congress. It quoted Representative Albert Thomas as saying: "We have something far more deadly than the atomic bomb. We have it today—not tomorrow—and furthermore, it is in usable shape." Representative Harry Sheppard, Chairman of the Naval Appropriations Sub-committee, boasted that the U.S. government was "in an enviable position" by its "progress" in germ weapons, and that the Navy's biological warfare research at the University of California had concentrated on how to spread disease which was hundreds of years old and one of the greatest killers.

In December, 1947, the *New York Herald Tribune* quoted the report of the Government Special Bureau headed by Lieutenant General Harold R. Bull as saying that the investigation of ways to disseminate radioactive poisons and of secret techniques of using germs against men, animals and plants were all part of the research of the Army, Navy, and Airforce and other agencies. The newspaper said that although for security reasons the operations of the germ warfare centre at Camp Detrick were veiled behind a curtain of secrecy, civilian scientists have pointed out that military circles display great interest in certain types of germs and poisons, particularly those disease germs which can be disseminated by means of shells which burst at definite altitudes—such as anthrax bacilli, and yellow fever viruses. They also mentioned bubonic plague, considered as an outstanding bacteriological weapon . . .

On March 13, 1949, the *New York Times* carried an interview with General Waitt in which he reaffirmed his faith in the practicability of biological warfare and said: "I think we have the best scientists in the world working on this problem. At the end of World War II we were far ahead of any of our enemies."

Theodore Rosebury, a Columbia University Professor who took part in the Camp Detrick operations, in his book *Peace or Pestilence* published in 1949 confirmed the role of Camp Detrick as the centre of germ warfare research and openly boasted of the merits of the weapon of disease. He deplored the fact that even in wartime there is a general feeling that the use of biological warfare is a dirty and hateful thing. He said he considered such an attitude to be emotional and not logical, and that it made no difference whether a man dies pleasantly or painfully. In either case, the end result is a corpse. In the summer of 1949, the result of this cynical attitude was revealed by the Canadian press which reported that American experiments on Eskimos with germ warfare weapons had resulted in an epidemic of bubonic plague among them.

On July 24, 1949, the American newspapers carried an A.P. despatch describing an expansion in the scope of the germ warfare programme. The despatch, based on a special U.S. army report, stated that the Army Department had requested an appropriation from Congress of over three million dollars to expand facilities at Camp Derrick for the purpose of improving germ warfare weapons. These weapons are to be directed against men and their sources of food—animals and crops. The purpose of the research was for the use of germ weapons in any part of the world.

On March 31, 1950, three months before the American aggression began in Korea, Secretary of Defence Louis Johnson, in his semi-annual report to the President, said that "complete" and "detailed" studies had been made concerning a number of disease agents which were infectious for man, domestic animals and crops plants, but that "it would be unwise from a security viewpoint to publish these studies." The April 1950 issue of the *Military Review,* organ of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, published a comprehensive article on how to wage bacteriological warfare. Among the pointers emphasised were "microbes must be 'raised' and kept in readiness in large quantities . . . It must be possible to bring the active agent into contact with the

enemy in the proper form," pathogenic ability must be as great as possible—that is, all infected persons, if possible, must be made sick . . . The sickness produced must be as hard as possible to diagnose and its producer must be hard to determine, and wherever possible, artificial immunisation must not be possible and the producer should not respond to any special chemical therapy."

From the opening of hostilities, Korea was considered as the first testing ground for the new U.S. weapon. On July 8, 1950, a few days after the U.S. government unleashed its armies against the Korean people, an article appeared in the magazine *Science News Letter* entitled "Germ Warfare in Korea?" The article said: "Germ warfare may get a trial very soon, if the fighting in Korea continues."

Chapman Pincher wrote in the December 1950 issue of the British periodical *Discovery* (which describes itself as a "monthly magazine of scientific progress") . . . "Biological warfare work has been continued in America at fair pressure . . . The latest information available to me shows that a practicable long-range bacterial warfare weapon which could be put into operational use if required has been devised in the U.S." Pincher gave details of one of the types of germ-carrying bombs which the U.S. government had made, tested and kept in readiness long ago for "operational use."

It was, of course, necessary before wider "operational use" of the germ weapons to gather "disease intelligence" on the actual effects of the use of weapons in Korea. The Associated Press disclosed on May 10, 1951, that U.S. "medical teams" had been operating in Korea "gathering vital information on disease and the medical problems of the Communists" and that for this historic feat in the service of spreading pestilence, Brigadier-General Crawford F. Sams, chief of the U.S. Army's so-called "Public Health and Welfare Section" had been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. Sams performed equally "distinguished service" by his inhuman experiments on Chinese and Korean prisoners of war in preparation for germ warfare. The April 9, 1951, issue of *Newsweek* magazine referred to a "bubonic plague ship," an "infantry landing vessel with a laboratory installed, complete with mice and rabbits," lying off Wonsan harbour on which "numbers of Chinese reds" were "tested." The Associated Press reported on May 18 that these experiments were being conducted on U.S. Landing Craft Infantry No. 1091, and that "each day about three thousand tests were made on oral and rectal cultures obtained from patients at Koje Island's sprawling prisoner-of-war camps."

The preparations for large-scale germ warfare were carried on at a feverish pace while the Americans stalled at the truce talks and were stalled on the battlefield. On January 25 this year, Brigadier-General William E. Creasy, Chief of the Army Chemical Corps Research Command, delivered a speech in Washington lauding the use of "germs, gas and radio-active materials," as the cheapest weapons to subdue an enemy. The U.S. Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes* quoted him as saying that the U.S. government had developed weapons which may make it possible to "reduce an enemy's ability to resist" at a smaller "logistical cost" than any other type of warfare, and, what was more tempting, "without destruction of his economy."

The angry uproar of the people of the world against U.S. germ warfare in Korea did not draw penitence nor condemnation of germ warfare from U.S. leaders. The U.S. *Congressional Digest* on March 5 carried a typical statement by Major General Bullen, Chief of the Chemical Division of the U.S. Defence Department, repeating Creasy's callous praise for the "economy" and discrimination of the weapon of disease, sparing property but not men, and clearly stood for its unlimited use in warfare. He admitted that the "chemical service" of the U.S. armed forces had been active in Korea since July 4, 1950, and chemical units had steadily increased in numbers and activity.

In the American conspiracy to use germ weapons for aggressive war, the closest collaborator of the U.S. in its aggression in Korea—MacArthur's Japan—was also its closest collaborator throughout the development of germ warfare weapons.

Japanese participation in U.S. germ warfare plans began in 1946, when eighteen Japanese specialists were sent to the United States to hand over the results of their own research, initiated in 1936, into mass murder by disease. The *New York Times*, on April 13 last year, reported the setting up of bacteriological stations in Japan staffed with war criminals, and MacArthur and Ridgway encouraged the continuation of Japanese bacteriological research and production. A *Telepress* despatch on December 5 last year reported that Ridgway had sent three former Generals, Shiro Ishii, Jiro Wakamatsu and Masajo Kitano to Korea to carry out experiments on Korean and Chinese prisoners of war and to perfect biological weapons for use "in winter warfare" against the Korean and Chinese people. They arrived on a freighter carrying all the necessary equipment for bacteriological warfare, including cholera germs, gas which induces blood poisoning, pestilence germs and other materials. All three are major war criminals who organised bacteriological warfare in China during World War II and their guilt had been established by the trial of twelve Japanese war criminals by a Soviet Military Tribunal at Khabarovsk in December 1949. The Khabarovsk Trial showed that Ishii, principal Japanese theoretician of germ warfare, personally directed the wartime bacteriological expeditions in China, invented bacteriological bombs and shells similar to the ones used by the Americans in Korea, and perfected mass breeding of germs and the use of fleas as carriers, ruthlessly testing them on human beings. The recent use of bacteriological weapons in Korea and North-east China bear all the earmarks of Ishii's evil genius.

Nor are the Japanese war criminals the only ones to be drawn into America's germ warfare preparations. Nazi specialists are doing top secret work in West Germany under orders from the U.S. Department of Defence. They include Hans Georg Eismann, Dr. Wolt Wilkenning and Heinz Kling, formerly of the German High Command Bacteriological Department. The November 15, 1950, issue of the magazine *New Times* noted that germ warfare research was being conducted, among other places, at the Tubingen Biochemical Institute, where scientists are looking for ways to accelerate the multiplication of dangerous germs.

The American engineers of total war have also pressed into service the resources of satellite governments. After World War II, the United States took over the results of British wartime research in germ warfare weapons, and has since then guided British research. "In working collaboration" with Washington, the British government expanded its work and established a new germ warfare establishment called the Microbiological Research Department at Porton, on Salisbury Plain. Chapman Pincher, in his *Discovery* article, quoted above, cited an official report issued in 1947 as giving details "before security became as tight as it is now" of machines designed to produce pneumonic plague. He described the Porton plant as "the biggest science building in Britain," and said that British researchers were working closely with the Americans at Camp Detrick.

Extracts from **The Case Against U.S. Germ Warfare Criminals.**

Captured U.S. Spies and War Prisoners' Damning Revelations

War prisoners tell of "secret inoculations" and germ warfare preparations made among American and British troops in Korea during December last. One of a group of captured U.S. spies who was parachuted in the rear of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea tells of his training for seeking information on the effects of U.S. germ warfare.

Hsinhua News Agency,
Korean Front, March 29, 1952

AMERICAN and British troops have been inoculated against cholera, typhoid, paratyphoid, smallpox and tetanus, recently captured American and British prisoners of war revealed. ccording to Corporal Reinaldo Bonilla (Serial Number 30449984), 3rd Platoon, 9th Company, 3rd Battalion, 65th Regiment of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division, who was taken captive in mid-January on a height south of Sangnyong on the western front, men in his unit received these inoculations before last December.

Bonilla said that again in December all members of his unit were given a further inoculation, the name and effect of which were kept from them by their officers and military physicians. No entry was made in their "Inoculation Certificate," as is the usual practice. The soldiers therefore called this shot a "secret inoculation."

Rifleman R. G. White (Serial Number 22441410), 2nd Company of the Leicester Regiment of the British 29th Brigade, who was captured on March 1 on a height north of Korangpori on the western front, said that this "secret inoculation" was also given to members of the British forces last December. Because they did not understand the purpose and effect of this inoculation, two soldiers refused to have the shot. However, they were forced to do so by their officers.

White said that the reaction to this inoculation was very great. Among the 33 members in his platoon, 23 had suffered numbness and dizziness.

Both White and Bonilla said: "Now we understand that the 'secret inoculation' was a precautionary measure against the U.S. government's bacteriological warfare."

Bonilla also said that since last December, his unit has had frequent increases in epidemic prevention facilities. Many kinds of anti-germ drugs were distributed to the soldiers last December. In January, medicated gauze of light green colour was issued to the soldiers as a head cover. He said that since January, the officer of his unit regularly ordered the soldiers to pay attention to health work. Every morning, the soldiers must wash their faces and hands with a yellow liquid. Their position was sprayed with D.D.T. every two or three days.

Hsinhua News Agency,
Korean Front, March 26

Some details have been disclosed about one of the recently captured spies sent by the Americans into the rear to collect information on the effects of their bacteriological weapons.

He was among a group of 10 Chinese spies employed by the intelligence agents of the American forces in Korea. On March 13, they were set the task of finding out what "epidemics" are taking place in North Korea, whether there are plenty of flies, fleas and other insects in the infected places, the mortality rate and the steps taken to counter epidemics.

The spy, Wang Chi, aged 21, was a member of Chiang Kai-shek's "Anti-Communist and Resist Russia League." He went under the assumed name of Wang Chih-chia, was clad in Chinese volunteers' uniform and posed as a surveyor. Inside his great-coat and cotton-padded uniform were printed the letters "U.S." On his left arm a crucifix is tatooed. He was captured by Chinese Volunteers on the 15th in Kumchon, Korea.

This spy, according to his confession, left Seoul on the 14th. The whole group was taken by two planes following their assignment the previous day. They carried fraudulent passes, carrier pigeons, military maps and carbines, and were under instructions to report back to the American intelligence headquarters within one week.

Extracts from Stop U.S. Germ Warfare!

Two Captured American Pilots Admit Having Dropped Bacteriological Bombs on Korea

TWO American airmen, who participated in dropping germ bombs, were captured by the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea. The American airmen taken prisoner are Kenneth Lloyd Enoch, First Lieutenant, navigator, Serial Number A02069988 and John Quinn, First Lieutenant, pilot, Serial Number 17993A. They both belong to the 5th Air Force, Third Bomb Wing, Third Group, Eighth Squadron.

According to Enoch's deposition, he, together with ten pilots and 15 navigators, attended a secret lecture on bacteriological weapons on August 25, 1951. On January 7, he dropped two germ bombs at Hwangju, North Korea. Again on January 11 he dropped four germ bombs on the western part of the city of Chunghwa.

Quinn attended lectures on bacteriological warfare in the middle of last December. On January 4, he dropped four germ bombs along the southern part of Pyongyang. Then, on January 11, he dropped two more germ bombs in the north-eastern part of Kunuri. These airmen have openly admitted these crimes and have written their full depositions, which are now in the hands of the Korean and Chinese People's forces . . .

Extracts from Lieut. Kenneth L. Enoch's Statement:—

"On August 25, 1951, at 13.000 hours, we attended a secret lecture in the ground school navigation classroom . . .

"Mr. Wilson told us that his lecture concerned bacteriological warfare. He told us that our side had no plans at that time of using bacteriological warfare, but nevertheless we might at some time, and thus the lecture was secret information and we were not to divulge its contents to anyone, or even talk about it among ourselves . . .

"My next scheduled flight was on the night of January 6, 1952 . . . On this night we were informed by the officer on duty that we were to drop our bombs at Hwangju at 500 feet of altitude and 200 miles per hour maximum airspeed . . . He told us that this was top secret and that these were germ bombs, and to tell no one whatsoever about our mission . . .

"We took off at 03.00 and flew to Hwangju, dropping our two germ bombs just outside the west edge of the town . . .

"On the 10th of January, I was again scheduled for the same mission with Amos and Tracey . . . At 03.00 we took off and flew directly to Changhwa, dropping our four germ bombs at 0.10 hours, at an altitude of 500 feet, and an airspeed of 190 miles per hour, on the western edge of Changhwa . . .

"As to when we first started to use germ bombs, it was about the first of the year, about 1st January, 1952 . . ."

Peking, May 5, 1952,
from the **New China News Agency.**

Working men and women, trade union militants, mothers and fathers, all you who have just read these damning documents! Inform the people around you by circulating this document.

Organise in all countries, in all places of work and in towns and villages, widespread and vigorous action to stay the hands of the criminals!

Demand the cessation of bacteriological warfare and severe punishments for those who are responsible!

Respond to the appeal of the World Council of Peace:

"We call upon humanity to defend itself."

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WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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EDITORIAL

THE DEFENCE OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS—

An Integral Part of the Defence of Democratic Rights

TRADE union rights have been won by working class struggle. The working class has had to combine and to participate in long and difficult struggles against governments and employers in order to win the right to form trade unions and to secure legal recognition of this right.

Action for the formation of trade unions and for the public and legal recognition of the right to form them was not the beginning of the workers' economic and social struggles. It is an integral part of these strugles. It was, and it still is, in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries, one phase of the permanent struggle of the working class against its exploiters.

The trade union is a means and not a final objective for the workers. It was during the course of working class struggles that the trade union appeared as an effective means of organisation. The workers organised themselves into trade unions to meet the essential need of better organising their struggles to win their demands.

The economic struggles of the workers during the last century and the early years of this century led to the establishment of collective forms of action by the working class. The workers thus sought to sell their labour power at the best price, in order to improve their working and living conditions. These economic struggles during this same period led to long working class battles to win the right to form trade unions and to be able to make use of trade union rights once acquired.

This was because the defence of trade union rights is not, and has never been an abstract thing. The history of working class struggles is filled with concrete examples *which establish the fact that the defence of trade union rights becomes an issue whenever there is a sharpening of the permanent social conflict between the mass of workers and the capitalist State, between the wage-earners and those who draw their wealth from the exploitation of others.*

The raising of the level of working class struggles, and their extension throughout the capitalist and colonial countries during recent years, are concrete indications of the sharpening of the class struggle. The workers are increasingly aware of the character of the struggle in which they are taking part to win better living conditions, to maintain the gains they have already won, to defend their democratic and trade union rights and to safeguard peace.

The mass of the workers are making the trade union organisations which they are forming, or to which they belong, into effective instruments for their use.

On July 6, 1951, the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. made the following declaration in a telegram addressed to the I.C.F.T.U. :

> "the workers expect to receive assistance and support from their trade union organisations in winning satisfaction for their urgent social and economic needs and in fighting for decent living conditions. The trade union organisations cannot stand aloof from the actions undertaken by the workers."

It is still necessary to repeat what the workers expect from their trade unions. It is still correct to point out that the trade unions cannot stand aloof from the actions undertaken by the workers.

It is correct to state this now because there are so many cases of workers taking part in strikes or other forms of action for the winning of their demands who are not receiving sufficient support and help from their trade unions, that is, from the leadership or the administration of their trade union organisations.

This warning by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau is also still appropriate in view of the renewed attempts of governments, employers and bureaucratic trade union leaders in the capitalist and colonial countries to divert the trade union organisations from their permanent role of defenders of the interests of the working class.

Such attempts are certainly not new. As long as the capitalist regime and the system of exploitation of man by man continues to exist, the workers' trade unions will be subjected to pressure and coercion of all kinds aimed at restricting the workers' means of action and maintaining the exploitation from which they suffer.

Under these circumstances, the trade union, the permanent and organised means of working class action, will therefore always be subjected to threats, seizure, diversion of its activities (or even dissolution) by those against whom the exploited workers are ranged.

The capitalist governments (Resident-Generals, Governors and High Commissioners in the colonies and dependent countries) increasingly show their determined opposition to the trade unions when they become true mass organisations of the workers.

We must not under-estimate the varied lessons which have been passed on to our world trade union movement by the history of trade union activity in many countries. One of the tasks of the W.F.T.U. in the present period is to place the younger trade union movements in a position to benefit from the many experiences of the older, and thus more experienced, organisations. These lessons can help to solve important problems of trade union policy, together with other no less important organisational problems.

These lessons show clearly that the correct tactic of rallying the mass of workers around precise trade union programmes plays a determined part.

☆ ☆ ☆

TO place the defence of trade union rights in the forefront of the concern and activities of the W.F.T.U. and of all the affiliated organisations is to raise the whole question of the role and the functions of trade unions.

A vast reactionary campaign is developing in the capitalist and colonial countries, aimed at laying down for the trade unions a role limited merely to industrial functions.

To limit the role of the, trade unions by establishing a trade union policy based on the economic and industrial needs of the workers results in a weakening of the working class movement.

All the reactionary and fascist operations directed against the workers' trade union rights over the past thirty years have had as their pretext the need to "restore" the trade unions to an exclusively industrial and corporate function.

In the period between the two world wars, it was shown that the fascist powers, in the process of instituting the completely fascist form of state in Italy, Germany and Spain, and later in the countries occupied by the Nazi armies during the war, made use of trade union elements, propagandists of the so-called theory of the exclusively industrial role of the trade unions; a policy whose sole aim was to convert the trade union organisations into instruments of the fascist regime and organs for the enslavement of the workers.

Fascist theories continue to survive after the end of the second world war. Their use is revealed in the continuous process towards fascism which is taking place in certain countries. These theories are at the basis of threats against the existence of trade unions and of repressive measures taken against the workers' democratic trade union organisations.

The trade union, being the expression of the will of the mass of the workers and their means of action against their exploiters, is a fundamentally democratic organisation. It is also fundamentally anti-fascist.

The effectiveness of the role and the scope of the functions of the workers' trade unions are closely related to the democratic rights which the workers have won, and which they use in the struggle for their basic needs. This role and these functions of the trade unions brings them into the working class struggles against fascism and the survivals of fascist ideology.

Wherever any manifestation of fascism occurs in any form whatsoever, the fact that it is a threat to the workers' democratic rights justifies the participation of the trade unions in the political action taken by the working class and all anti-fascist forces.

Any tendency to abandon or to weaken the anti-fascist action of the trade unions to the slightest extent leads to a sharpening of anti-democratic threats against the workers and their trade unions.

Trade union action cannot thus be merely of an economic or occupational character.

The trade union is not an organism in an imaginary world. It is a living organ affected by all the elements of life, and making its own effect felt in a specific realm. The workers who constitute the membership have a material life and social requirements, which bring the trade union and its activities into contact with society, and with the regime under which its members live.

The trade union is an organ of struggle when it expresses the will of the workers, because the workers' life under the capitalist regime and in the colonial countries is a continual struggle against those who exploit them.

☆ ☆ ☆

WHEN a trade union ceases to be an organ of struggle, it has lost contact with the mass of the workers, a wall has been built between the leadership of the organisation and the workers.

The real trade union movement cannot therefore stand apart from the conflicts which are developing in the capitalist and colonial countries between the exploited workers and their capitalist and colonialist exploiters.

As mass organisations of the workers, the trade unions in the capitalist and colonial countries carry on their activities within the framework of a regime which is not theirs, which is not a workers' regime.

In fighting for the basic needs of the workers, and in their activities for attaining the workers' economic demands, the trade unions inevitably take action

against the social and economic policy of the governments of the capitalist States, whose role is to maintain the privileges of the dominant capitalist class.

Demands can be won by mass movements of the workers and their trade unions. Social legislation improving the lot of working class families can be obtained. Some workers' demands can be met by agreement or compromise. These reforms obtained and these further gains snatched from the governments and the employers are only accessory to the workers' continuous struggle for the radical transformation of society. These reforms are also further elements helping to strengthen the basic struggle of the workers, to the extent that the working class is not diverted from the path to its objective of the radical transformation of society.

The general crisis of capitalism has direct effects on the workers' trade union activities. It influences trade union programmes of action. The consequences of this general crisis of the capitalist system has inevitably to be taken into account in the carrying out of trade union work.

In its imperialist phase, because of the transformation from a competitive to a monopolistic system, a progress towards the socialisation of production, capitalism leads society in a sense towards a new social stage. This new social stage, which constitutes a transitional stage between absolute economic liberalism and full socialisation, inevitably faces the workers' trade unions with problems which were unknown at the time of the formation of the first workers' trade unions.

The role of the workers' trade unions does not change fundamentally, but in order to act as permanent defenders of the workers the trade union organisations must take into account the fact that, politically, capitalism in its imperialist phase is a more violent and reactionary form of capitalist domination.

The relations between the capitalist State and the trade unions of the working class rest on relative strength. The capitalist State increasingly introduces violence into these relations which correspond to the most reactionary political methods of imperialism.

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THE number of workers' trade unions and the number of organised workers have considerably increased throughout the world in the last few decades, particularly since the end of the second world war.

This growth has been very marked in the capitalist and colonial countries. This has brought about an important advance by the working class, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The formation of many trade unions has brought about further progress in the forms of working class collective action, and has made the working class more powerful. The dispersal of the forces of the working class, one of the sources of its internal weakness, has been reduced, which has made possible a development of working class organisation and has changed the relations between the workers' trade unions and capitalist power to the advantage of the working class.

The capitalist forces are not indifferent to this growth in the means of action of the working class. They are carrying out a policy in relation to the trade unions which is becoming unified on the international scale.

The aim of the policy of the capitalist forces with regard to the trade unions is to place the trade unions at the service of the capitalist and bourgeois State, or to make them incapable of harming its aims and its interests.

This policy tends to transform the trade unions into docile instruments, unable to contribute to giving the workers any perspectives in their lives or their work which might be incompatible with the maintenance of the capitalist regime.

The growth of the working class movement in the world, the strengthening and broadening of collective action among the mass of the workers, the ever-present example of the great economic and social achievements in the U.S.S.R., China,

the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, the conditions under which the trade unions are associated in these countries with these great economic and social achievements, are placing the capitalist forces on the defensive.

They either resort to even more violent and brutal means of repression, or they attempt to divert the activities of the workers' trade unions.

Government leaders and bourgeois politicians draw up plans for the enslavement of the trade unions and the limitation of trade union rights as a means of safeguarding and guaranteeing capitalist interests.

These government leaders and bourgeois politicians look for assistants in the trade union organisations, in the trade union leadership, and they sometimes instal their own men there for the purpose of carrying out their Machiavellian plan.

The workers' trade unions have never been a homogeneous whole. Non-political tendencies, occupational prejudices, friendly society notions, a narrow craft outlook, the spirit of routine and bureaucratic methods in the conduct of trade union affairs, have been widespread within the trade union movement, though this fact has not prevented the mass of the workers from developing in a generally progressive way from being unorganised and powerless to becoming an organised and active social force through the development of trade unions.

Opportunism finds a fertile breeding ground in the trade unions. A trade union aristocracy, which has more in common with the bourgeoisie than with the working class, is the vehicle of this trade union opportunism, which is still widespread in the capitalist countries.

The capitalist State knows this, and makes use of it in its own interests whenever the possibility arises.

In the present imperialist phase of capitalism, it would be a sign of weakness and of considerable lack of understanding to fail to reckon with the new methods which imperialism is introducing into the trade union movement, relying on the old opportunist tendencies and the trade union aristocracy already referred to and exposed.

We must not underestimate the fact that the propaganda of the capitalist State has succeeded in penetrating trade union organisations. They are not fully protected against the influence of imperialist slogans. The rapid transition of the Titoist leadership of the Central Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions to the viewpoint of American imperialism is the most recent and most eloquent example of this.

The propaganda apparatus of the modern capitalist State is still powerful. The means which the exploiters possess for influencing the workers in the capitalist and colonial countries are, in general, more numerous and more developed than those which the workers possess, despite the progress which has been achieved by our workers' organisations.

The weapons of ideological corruption and material corruption are daily used to an increasing degree to divert the working class from the path of its emancipation and struggle for its economic and social demands. One of capitalism's methods of self-defence is to sow confusion, trouble and doubt in the ranks of the working class.

It would be imprudent not to believe in the possibilities of the penetration of decadent but still deeply-rooted bourgeois ethics within such a broad movement as the trade union movement, which brings together workers with different political opinions, or without any clear-cut political views, and with various religious beliefs.

But we have arrived at a stage of the development of the organisation of the workers into trade unions, and at a point in the development of the internal contradictions of capitalism, where the healthy forces of the workers in the trade unions are in a better position than before to defend their unions against attacks from outside, and from attempts made from within to subject the working class organisations to capitalist interests.

THE defence of trade union rights calls for constant activity and vigilance in two directions: against the repressive policy of the reactionary governments and of imperialism in general, and against the distortion of the role and activities of the trade unions to serve interests which are not those of the working class.

Recent experiences show clearly that in the degree to which trade union organisations maintain a high degree of militancy and carry on intensive activity for the immediate and vital needs of the working people, they protect trade union rights from attacks by the enemy. This is even more so because the enemy is exposed to tactical mistakes and weaknesses arising from the crisis in his own situation.

The declarations of the I.C.F.T.U. at its Milan Congress last year, asking for repression to be used against the French C.G.T. and the Italian C.G.I.L., the direct appeal by Irving Brown of the A.F.L. to the French and Italian governments to strike at those organisations to reduce their influence over the majority of the French and Italian workers, are not signs of strength, but of weakness, on the part of the enemies of working class unity.

Their main weakness is their isolation from the workers. They are isolated to such an extent that they see no possibilities of appealing to the workers to impede the authentic and representative trade union organisations. They resort to appeals to the capitalist governments and employers to this end.

Opportunism and aristocratic trade unionism have brought some of these unscrupulous individuals to the point of publicly advising the governments of countries not their own to attack established trade union rights, and to use repression against the major trade union centres of those countries.

This fact must be emphasised.

It means that capitalism—and specifically American imperialism—has created a type of trade union agent whose mission is to play the same role in the international trade union field that the imperialism upon which they depend plays in international political life.

It also means that capitalism, in the development of its general crisis, is dragging this type of trade union leader, who makes common cause with it, in the wake of its own decadence.

It means, further, that the mass of the workers must be continually enlightened on the acts of these disruptive and provocative elements. This task of enlightenment, which falls upon every responsible member of our organisations, must be carried out without respite. These agents of imperialism, who have nothing in common with the American worker-member of an A.F.L. union, nor with the Italian worker who is not affiliated to the C.G.I.L., or the French worker who is a member of a trade union not affiliated to the C.G.T., must be pitilessly exposed in their true role and function.

This type of trade union agent is a feature of the present character of the struggle which the monopoly-capitalist forces are compelled to carry out against the growing forces of the international working class movement.

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THE growth of these working class forces shows itself in our world trade union movement. The fact that the W.F.T.U. has exposed the warlike intentions of American imperialism, and their direct consequences on the life and work of millions of human beings, has contributed to strengthening the authority of our organisation among the workers.

The W.F.T.U. has contributed to raising the level of the workers' economic struggles by making clear to them the relationship between the worsening of their

living conditions and the militarisation of economy under the direction of the American monopolists.

This work of orientating present working class struggles has stimulated united action of the workers and has also helped to develop fraternal relations between workers belonging to trade unions of different outlooks.

A clear and straightforward attitude to the workers' immediate needs enables the trade unions to adopt correct perspectives for the future. In acting thus, a trade union organisation establishes the basis for self-defence against those who wish to attack its rights and activity.

It is the application of such a policy which caused General Eisenhower to state in a disillusioned tone :

"Some workers think their interests are best served by membership in trade unions led by the Communists." (Retranslation.)

(First Annual Report of the Supreme Commander, Allied Forces in Europe—April 2, 1952.)

The unity of the workers in active and vigilant trade unions is a nightmare for the military chiefs of the armies of aggression created by imperialism.

Under present circumstances, all things are inter-related.

The defence of trade union rights is an integral part of the defence of the people's democratic rights, which cannot logically be defended without opposition to the policy of preparing for a third world war, a policy which motivates the many struggles carried on by the workers against the consequences of war economy on their living standards.

The lines of this general world struggle of the workers were outlined by the W.F.T.U. General Council at its Berlin meeting in November 1951. They remain valid in the resolutions which were adopted on this subject.

But the W.F.T.U. must pay greater attention to the preservation of such an indispensable means of struggle for the workers as that represented by their trade unions.

The stepping up of war preparations by American imperialism has accelerated the introduction of fascist methods in the majority of the countries subjected to its orders and control.

In this process of fascisation in those capitalist States dragged into hurried war preparations, the trade unions are subjected to serious threats, where they have not already suffered from violent assaults by reactionary forces.

Five years ago the W.F.T.U. undertook energetic action in varied but complementary directions against the threat to trade union rights.

From 1947 onwards the W.F.T.U. has placed before the United Nations Economic and Social Council proposals for guaranteeing the exercise and development of trade union rights.

During this period we can outline the forms subsequently taken by the attacks upon the workers' trade union and democratic rights :

1. Trade union organisations formed or backed by governments or employers have been organised to replace those which really represent the workers.
2. Trade unions not recognised by governments are not permitted to function, and have all opportunities for legal and public expression withdrawn.
3. Trade union organisations are notified of bans on meetings of their members and on the calling of workers' gatherings. The trade union press is seized by the police, and all publications (pamphlets, journals and papers) are forbidden.
4. Trade union headquarters and premises, the property of representative trade union organisations, are occupied by government authorities, and their documents seized.

5. The collection of trade union dues for authentic trade unions is forbidden, whereas dues for trade union organisations dependent upon governments are directly deducted from wages.
6. Budgets for the functioning of trade unions must be submitted to public authorities for their approval.
7. Workers are forced to declare their trade union affiliation to employers and public authorities.
8. The organisation of a national trade union centre is forbidden by government order, and laws or decrees place obstacles in the way of international trade union affiliation.
9. Elections of trade union leaders and workers' delegates are annulled by public authorities and people devoted to the authorities are installed in the leadership of the trade unions or as delegates of the wage-earners.
10. Militant workers suspected of activities or opinions of which the government does not approve are forbidden to stand for election to positions of leadership in the trade unions. Bans also exist on nominating worker representatives on public or semi-public corporate or industrial agencies.
11. Workers are deprived of their employment, rendered unemployed because of their trade union affiliation, or because they are the elected delegates of the workers.
12. The right to strike is banned, and penalties are imposed upon workers collectively stopping work.
13. Workers who are faithful to progressive trade union organisations are arrested, imprisoned, thrown into concentration camps, on the pretext of having engaged in subversive activities.
14. Trade union leaders are murdered while in prison; others are brought before special courts without normal and legitimate rights for their defence. Workers are killed by police opening fire on workers during strikes or demonstrations organised by the trade unions.
15. Some governments refuse visas to enter their countries to W.F.T.U. delegates, even when they are making enquiries for the preparation of reports to be submitted to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, or to take part in conferences or meetings to which the W.F.T.U. has been invited by the United Nations or by the specialised agencies of the United Nations such as the I.L.O. Measures are taken to forbid the functioning of the W.F.T.U. or of the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) in headquarters established by international trade union congresses. International trade union publications are banned or censored in some countries.

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THE W.F.T.U. must establish even more clearly the relationship existing between the character of the present workers' struggles and the many and varied forms of attacks on trade union rights.

In order to associate itself completely with the workers' struggles now in progress, the W.F.T.U. must analyse their content, and must give a concrete character to international solidarity by the decisions which must result from this analysis.

Having defined the general lines of what must constitute a real defence of trade union rights, our report[1] must examine how and under what conditions the workers and their trade unions are at present defending their rights.

LOUIS SAILLANT

1 This editorial is an extract from the report presented by the WFTU General Secretary to the June 1952 session of the Executive Bureau.

The World Federation of Trade Unions sends a Message to the Men and Women Workers of France and to the French C.G.T.

THE W.F.T.U., the National Trade Union Centres and all the workers of the world are following with the most fraternal attention the courageous struggles of the French people. In the factories and workshops, in the towns and villages everywhere, enthusiastic expressions of solidarity are giving proof of the deep and living character of international working class solidarity.

In greeting the French working class and the glorious C.G.T., the most representative trade union organisation in France, the men and women workers of the world are encouraging them by these expressions of confidence.

Following the arrest of the talented journalist ANDRE STIL, the French Government has dared to imprison the great patriot, JACQUES DUCLOS, Secretary of the French Communist Party, a man who was one of the great organisers of the French nation's struggle against the Nazi occupiers, who worked in 1934 to unite the people against fascism, and who was one of the founders of that Popular Front which brought the workers wage increases, the forty-hour week, paid holidays and the right to elect shop stewards.

To obtain the immediate release of JACQUES DUCLOS and ANDRE STIL and of all imprisoned militants, means to ensure a victory by the democratic forces over the illegal and fascist methods of the government.

The development of the French State towards fascism carries serious dangers to the life of the trade union organisations and to peace.

You are proving that, in the country in which Hitler and Petain failed, others inspired by the same political principles and the same spirit of anti-democratic and anti-working class crusade will also fail.

The W.F.T.U. greets and honours the victims of brutal repression by the French bourgeoisie—frightened men who are in subjection to American imperialism.

The W.F.T.U. greets the French people and its working class, who are fighting to preserve for France the feelings of friendship and of respect that the peoples of the world have shown towards her throughout her history.

The W.F.T.U. greets the workers who are uniting in a broad common front of defence against fascism and for their urgent and basic demands.

The W.F.T.U. greets the C.G.T. and all French trade unions, who will find in unity and in united action the forces needed to bar the way to fascism and war.

The World Federation of Trade Unions

THE APPEAL OF THE FRENCH C.G.T. OF JUNE 1, 1952

THE National Executive Committee of the C.G.T., meeting yesterday, published the following appeal :

The National Executive Committee of the C.G.T. approves and congratulates the men and women who demonstrated on May 28 against the arrival in France of the foreign General Ridgeway and who demonstrated for peace. It expresses its satisfaction with the great success of these demonstrations and with the spirit of strugle thus affirmed by the Peace Partisans. It salutes the victims of police brutality and honours the memory of the workers who have fallen for peace.

The National Executive Committee of the C.G.T. expresses the deep indignation of the working class at the measures of force taken by the government against the French Communist Party, the National Council of the Peace Movement and other democratic organisations.

It indignantly protests against the arrest of Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, long-standing C.G.T. trade unionist, in violation of democratic liberties and constitutional guarantees.

It also protests against the arrest of the journalist André Stil and of all those imprisoned for having demonstrated on May 28.

These arrests, searches of the headquarters of democratic organisations, the seizure of democratic publications, the closing of trade union offices during the day of May 28, and finally and most particularly, the arrest of Jacques Duclos, constitute the gravest blows to working class and democratic liberties.

By charging the existence of a plot, the government seeks to hide the sole and monstrous plot which exists in France at the present time, that of the ruling classes against peace, liberty and the living conditions of the working masses.

Already many demonstrations, work stoppages and strikes throughout the country testify to the anger of the working class and to its determination not to allow itself to be overpowered.

The National Executive Committee expresses its warmest congratulations—especially to the miners, to the steelworkers in the East and to the workers of Montlucon—to the hundreds of thousands of workers who immediately reacted by giving the signal for a mass movement which must continue and grow until Jacques Duclos and all the prisoners are liberated, until respect for the rights of association, assembly, demonstration and the press are imposed, and the demands of the working class satisfied.

The National Executive Committee urgently calls the attention of all workers to the importance of acting without delay to expand the action begun throughout the country, to intensify it so that it quickly becomes *a huge movement for unity of action of the working class.*

The gravity of the situation must not escape a single worker.

If the working class does not vigorously react, the aggression against democratic organisations, the arrest of militants and the searches would permit the government to go further in its policy of war and catastrophe.

The brutal attack against liberties in France is, in effect, taking place at the moment when aggressive provocations of the imperialist warmongers are developing and when the Pinay government has just agreed to the rearmament and the remilitarisation of Western Germany under the leadership of Nazi generals and those seeking revenge who committed so many war crimes on our own soil.

* * *

MEN and women workers in industry, agriculture, commerce, nationalised industries, public utilities and governmental services :

It is a question of war or peace, of fascism or democracy.

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Throughout Paris, in the most varied districts, powerful demonstrations took place against Ridgway's arrival, bewildering and overwhelming the tens of thousands of police mobilised on American orders.

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As soon as the news of the arrest of Jacques Duclos was known, the workers protested against this illegal act of the Pinay government. Here are the workers of the huge Renault automobile plant who demonstrated after having stopped work.

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Defend and save peace and liberty by your quick and determined action. *Free Jacques Duclos from the grip of the warmongers.* Strengthen, and organise wherever they do not exist, *your committees for the defence of peace.*

It is also a question of your living conditions, your wages, of endangered social security.

The government of the employers' leader Pinay, by its criminal attack on liberties, wishes to impose on you the crushing burdens of the war budget. That is the significance of the phoney law on the sliding scale for which it called for a vote of confidence.

You will secure comfort in your homes by winning the battle for wages, or there will be a deepening of discomfort and poverty, depending on your action and the determination with which you conduct it.

There will be work for all in a peace economy or, on the contrary, unemployment will increase if you let everything be sacrificed to war production, depending on your action and your determination.

COMRADES,

Faithful to the oldest traditions of defending peace, liberty and the living conditions of the workers, which are the glory of the C.G.T., faithful guardians of the example given by the splendid twenty-four hour strike of February 12, 1934, which made the fascist bands retreat in our country, together with all those who supported them in order to break the unity of the workers' organisations and the popular front, of which Jacques Duclos was one of the founders; proud to have to our credit the magnificent days of the sit-down strikes of July 1936, which have brought you the forty-hour week, paid vacations, general wage increases and shop stewards;

faithful to the memory of our dead fallen in the patriotic strikes which, in August, 1944, contributed to the liberation of our country and to the restoration of its independence;

faithful to the memory of all our heroes fallen in the difficult battles against the Hitlerite occupants :

The General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) asks you today to fight for the same causes : broaden the action already unfolding in the factories and in the localities. Carry it forward without interruption, with courage and perseverance !

The National Executive Committee calls upon all organisations and upon all workers to raise this struggle to a higher level.

It calls upon the Departmental trades councils, the national federations and the local and regional industrial organisations to co-ordinate and unify the action of the various enterprises, *so that the workers of all factories in the same locality, or in the same department, or all workers in the same industry on a nation-wide scale may unite their efforts in the same struggle.*

The National Executive Committee recommends that this action be developed under the banner of working class unity, thus exposing the leadership of the other trade unions who, by acting as strike-breakers, are becoming assistants of the grave-diggers of liberty and of the slanderers of the working class.

Christian workers, workers of the Force Ouvriere, and of all other trade union organisations, when your leaders ask you to act as strike-breakers they are betraying your own cause.

Fight in common with your fellow workers for your common defence.

—for the immediate liberation of Jacques Duclos,

—for the liberation of all patriots jailed for having defended peace,

—for the defeat of the plot against liberty, peace and the Republic,

—for the achievement of your economic and social demands :

—An immediate increase in wages, salaries and pensions, the suppression of the regional wage differentials,

—an automatic sliding scale applying to a new elevated wage level,

—the forty-hour week with the same wage as for forty-eight hours,

—vacation bonuses,

—unemployment benefit of 75 per cent of wages to all totally or partially unemployed.

Working Men and Women of France :

Organise meetings in your factory without delay, demand the liberation of Jacques Duclos, make your demands known and fight for their achievement.

Unite, stop work, organise demonstrations, strike in each factory.

Unify and co-ordinate your action in the localities, in the departments, and by industries on a nation-wide scale.

Forward in unity towards a mass movement of the workers, carried by such a unanimous and irresistible enthusiasm that it will save peace and liberty, ensure our bread and bring about the political changes which are demanded by the people.

Forward everywhere, in the certainty that you are nowhere isolated and that the C.G.T. gives you now, as it will in the future, the slogans which will co-ordinate your action and weld it together into a single whole.

To smash the plot against the workers' organisations, *join the C.G.T. en masse.*

* * *

The National Executive Committee instructs the Administrative Commission to follow closely the developing action and to take all necessary decisions for its conduct, its expansion and its unification on the national level.

Against Peron Demagogy . . .

THE ARGENTINE WORKERS STRENGTHEN THEIR BASIC UNITY

● By VICENTE MARISCHI

THE fight for united action, trade union democracy and independence, for the most urgent interests and demands of the workers, together with the fight in defence of peace, are developing to an ever-increasing extent in the factories and other places in the Argentine.

This is a consequence of the worsening of the workers' economic situation, resulting from the war economy which General Peron's government has forced upon the country by accepting and signing the agreements entered into at the Rio de Janeiro and Washington conferences, and recently in the "peace pact" with Japan, subjecting the life of the nation to the strategic interests of United States' imperialism.

The reservations expressed by the representatives of the Argentine government in various speeches and in international meetings do not in practice alter the reality of the pro-imperialist and warlike policy of the present government. It is deeds that count, not words.

With the signing of pacts and agreements which affect national independence and sovereignty, the Argentine can become involved in a war which may be decided upon by an extra-national body such as the Organisation of American States, which is controlled by the Washington government.

On September 19, 1950, an official newspaper, *Democracia,* warned the Argentine people they must "economise wherever possible" and added :

"Fuel and raw materials, foodstuffs, wood and petrol, meat and eggs are all strategic elements in modern war, and they must all be subject to the strictest economy."

Because of the government's policy of submission to United States' policy of imperialism, there is a shortage of raw materials such as wool and leather, which has reduced factory activity in various branches of production. The shortage of machinery, vehicles, fuel, metal and wood has become more acute, which causes, in turn, a further increase in prices. Obstacles are placed in the way of free trade with the countries which could supply the raw materials essential for our industry, particularly with the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

Further, the international agreement entered into by General Peron's government force a continual increase in the national budget, due mainly to the costs of war preparation and of repression of the working class and democratic movement. The 1951/1952 budget amounts to 14,946 million Argentine pesos[1] compared with 2,469 million pesos for 1944. Forty-one per cent of the budget is devoted to expenditure for military ends, the police and the forces of repression.

The Employers' Offensive and the Textile Agreement

The economic crisis and inflation are becoming more acute and the cost of living is increasing as a result of the war economy imposed upon the country by the government, while wages are frozen.

The leaders of the Argentine C.G.T. and the trade unions under government control have established collective work agreements for a two-year period—when the cost of living is rising from week to week!

An example taken from the textile industry will show the offensive carried on against the workers' gains and for a speed-up at the expense of greater exploitation of the workers. The leadership of the

1 45 Argentine pesos to £1 sterling at the present rate of exchange.

Peronist textile trade union, "Asociacion Obrera Textil," acting jointly with the Labour Secretariat of the National Economic Council, that is to say, the government, has imposed a new "agreement" which is fundamentally in the interests of the big capitalists.

This "agreement" establishes a 30% "increase" by way of a prize or bonus based on the conditions laid down in article 7, which says:

> "No worker shall have the right to receive this bonus unless he has put in his full working time, even though his absence for a whole day or part of a day be due to causes beyond his control, such as sickness or accidents not due to his own fault, industrial illnesses, work accidents, maternity, dismissal or the granting of permission to be absent or to leave work before time."

Nothing escapes the infamous laws of the "justicialist" leaders. It is of no concern of theirs that accidents are increasing as a result of savage speed-up. They do not care if workers are continually becoming ill through working under unhealthy conditions under laws for labour protection which are not enforced. It does not matter if acid, dust and moisture cause industrial illness, and they have no regard for the established rights of women workers who have children. The only thing which interests the capitalists is the greed for greater exploitation and higher profits.

This "agreement" in the textile industry, signed by the Finance Minister, Ramon Cereijo, on behalf of the National Economic Council, meets the long-standing aspirations of the capitalist and the Argentine ruling class to wipe out, in fact, the laws of sickness, work accidents, etc.

But this is not all. Article 13 proposes "to extend the working day to the maximum, including normal work-days and Saturdays and Sundays," and that both parties "undertake to do their best to achieve the desired aims." This meets the demands of the employers that the work-day be lengthened, and at the same time it exposes the servile role of the Peronist leaders of the "Asociacion Obrera Textil," and the sham "workers'" character of Peron's government.

The satisfaction of the oligarchy and the big capitalists, who say they oppose the "Justicialist" regime of the Argentine government, is shown by the editorial of the newspaper *La Nacion* of last September 28. Applauding this "agreement," the paper said: "Information which we have received shows that, as a result of the agreement, the attendance of office employees and workers in the establishments concerned is now perfect. The medical dispensaries of the large factories are now deserted."

And, as Peron stated in his letter to the Argentine Textile Federation, this "human capital" is rewarded in a resolution of the National Economic Council, signed by the Finance Minister, authorising the Federation to increase the price of their goods.

The industry had already made large profits in 1950 some examples of which are: "La Fabrica Argentina de Alparagatas," 29 million pesos; "Masllorens," 6,372,385 pesos; "Tehubal," 6,939,316 pesos and "Fabril Financiera," 55 million pesos.

While the exploitation of the workers is increased, the big employers are making larger profits. This is the attitude adopted towards the capitalists by this government which dares to state that it "has put an end to the exploitation of man by man."

The workers are showing their discontent with the impositions of the employers in the textile industry in the most varied ways. United front committees have been set up to fight for the workers' most urgent demands, in which Peronist, Socialist, Radical, Communist and non-party workers are taking part. Factory papers and manifestos are being published, in which the workers demands are put forward and the submissive policy of the Peronist trade union leaders denounced. Large meetings of workers are held in the factories. Action is also taken within the trade unions under government control. When mass pressure forces meetings of these trade unions to be called, the workers come to the meetings in order to fight against these submissive agreements and to demand that concrete action be taken to fight against the intensification of the employers' offensive, for wage increases and for the strict enforcement of social legislation, which is at present largely inoperative.

For example, work stoppages have taken place against compulsory Saturday and Sunday work and for a 30% increase in real wages in one of the most important factories, the "Grafa," which employs several thousand workers.

During this struggle of the "Grafa" workers, the government sent lorry-loads of police to suppress the movement with violence. Force was used to make the workers resume work, and those who refused were taken to prison, hundreds of men and women workers being arrested.

The men and women workers are thus able to contrast words with deeds, to learn by their own experience and to understand directly the full extent of Peronist demagogy.

The *Movimiento Pro-Democratizacion e Independencia de los Sindicates* (Movement for Trade Union Democracy and Independence) is applying the correct policy of the C.T.A.L. and the W.F.T.U., carrying on concrete actions for the workers' immediate demands, organising united action in the factories, working under the most difficult conditions within the govermental trade unions and fighting for trade union democracy and independence. In this way the movement is enlarging the struggle of the workers in the Argentine for their social and economic interests against the high cost of living and against the effects of war economy on the whole working population of the country.

The Workers In the Fight For Peace

The workers are taking an active part in the movement of the Argentine Peace Council, and are carrying on intensive work for the collection of signatures

for a peace pact between the five Great Powers and against the sending of Argentine troops to Korea.

Meetings of workers in the factories, on building sites, in railway depots, and gatherings of transport, textile, metal and other workers, have expressed their collective support for the peace pact and for a national plebiscite.

The recent National Congress of the Workers of the Argentine Chemical Industry, representing 25,000 workers, agreed unanimously in the course of a moving session of the Congress to support the call for a peace pact between the five Great Powers. The resolution which was adopted was sent to the President of the Republic and to the United Nations. Greetings were also sent to the mothers of Korea and of the United States, expressing the desire for peace of the Argentine workers.

A magnificent example which shows the fighting spirit of the Argentine seamen in the fight against war policy occurred in connection with the *S.S. Coracero,* which was due to leave for Korea. When the crew learned that the ship was loading material for the American invading forces, every man walked off the ship. The same happened with four other ships of the same company.

Hundreds of working men and women, staunch representatives of the working class and the people, are serving sentences in prison for fighting for increased wages in their respective industries, for having shown solidarity with the victims of governmental repression or for collecting signatures for the peace pact between the five Great Powers. But this repression has not been able to break the will of the working class to fight in defence of peace.

A high percentage of the 3,250,000 signatures collected in the Argentine for the peace pact has been collected by the active work of the country's workers and peasants.

These signatures have been obtained at the cost of great sacrifices by the workers: dismissal from work, expulsion from the trade unions and imprisonment, together with the many occasions on which the workers have been fired upon by armed police, causing injury and death.

This intensive work in defence of peace which is being promoted in the factories and workshops, and the great mobilisations of workers, such as that in Rosario, headed by the railwaymen, in which over 50,000 people took part, reveal the determined opposition to war and to the Argentine participation in Yankee aggression against the Korean people. It forced the C.G.T. leadership to make a statement in favour of a cease-fire in Korea when the armistice negotiations commenced last July.

It has also forced Peron to state publicly, in spite of the pacts signed with United States imperialism, that "foreign policy will be determined by what the people decide."

Strengthen the Movement For United Action

It is evident that the extent to which this is achieved depends upon the unity of the Argentine working class and people, on how they develop their struggle for an effective peace policy, for democratic liberties and for social well-being, against the drastic consequences of inflation and the high cost of living.

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The Peron dictatorship cannot silence the voice of the workers. Here are several newspapers which are published and circulated in the factories, in the mines, in the offices, organs of a genuine trade union movement which springs from and develops in the work places, cementing rank-and-file unity.

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One of the indispensable tasks for the success of the policy of united action recommended by the 3rd Congress of the C.T.A.L., and so clearly outlined by the W.F.T.U. General Council, is the need to organise and to carry out systematic propaganda to enlighten and educate the mass of the workers to a working class outlook, placing in the forefront the fight for immediate demands, no matter how small, in the factories and work places.

The *Movimiento Pro-Democratizacion e Independencia de los Sindicates* is vigorously developing this. The unity commissions in all industries and factories publish their own papers with the participation of the workers, for example: that published in the "Sudantex" textile factory, which is called *Sudantodos* (*menos los patrones*), (*Everyone sweats except the bosses*); *El Aguijon* (*The Sting*), published by the workers of the "Chacarita" transport corporation; *La Pulga*, (*The Flea*), published in the "Alparagatas" textile factory which employs 10,000 workers; *Articulo* 50, issued by the woodworkers, and papers published by the cold storage, building, port and other workers.

The movement regularly publishes its own organ *Unidad Sindical*, (*Trade Union Unity*), and also publishes special pamphlets containing reprinted from the W.F.T.U. Review: articles by Di Vittorio, Saillant, Toledano, and by the American delegation which visited the U.S.S.R., for example. These contribute greatly by their unity content to making known the experiences of working class struggles in the international field.

The consistent application of the unity policy of the C.T.A.L. and the W.F.T.U., as laid down by the Berlin meeting of the General Council, is the way to the solution of the workers' pressing economic demands, to the defence of independence and national sovereignty, democratic liberties and peace.

It is the development of united action among the rank and file, at the point of production, in the factories and workshops that these aims will be won.

The experiences of movements for economic demands in the Argentine during the recent period, such as the great struggles of the railwaymen, sugar workers, cold storage workers, transport and textile workers, fully confirm the correctness of that policy.

We are sure that we shall overcome the deficiencies and weaknesses which still exist, that we shall defeat the remnants of sectarianism which still prevail in our movement, and that we shall be able to transform the growing influence which the W.F.T.U. and its programme have among the masses of the Argentine workers into a powerful organisation in the factories.

Thus, and only thus, shall we succeed in winning the workers' demands, in re-establishing trade union democracy and independence and recover the right of workers to the leadership of their own organisations.

These are the urgent requirements of the working class, and the struggle for their achievement will be the best contribution which the working class can make as the backbone of the broad movement for peace.

A Plain Admission

A RECENT report of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States Congress (Report No. 1490 of April 30, 1952) on the subject of the Mutual Security Act of 1952, contains the following figures of the military expenditure of certain countries (in millions of dollars):

	1949/50	1950/51	1951/52	1952/53
Belgium-Luxemburg ...	**167**	**200**	**435**	**713**
Denmark	**45**	**56**	**123**	**152**
France	**1,594**	**2,325**	**3,460**	**3,890**
Greece	**115**	**179**	**188**	**188**
Italy	**475**	**641**	**847**	**1,075**
Holland	**210**	**228**	**395**	**474**
Norway	**49**	**67**	**115**	**150**
Portugal	**47**	**50**	**58**	**66**
Turkey	**175**	**221**	**253**	**292**
Great Britain	**2,105**	**2,665**	**3,660**	**4,750**
Western Germany ...	**1,036**	**1,190**	**1,952**	**2,679**
Canada	**451**	**933**	**1,619**	**—**
United States	**12,800**	**21,974**	**45,562**	**62,301**

Is there any need to look further for the reasons for the growing slump and the growing difficulties of the workers, in the countries subjected to the dictatorship of the White House?

These figures are well below the real amounts, for the governments of these countries have adopted the habit of camouflaging their military expenditure under the form of civil expenditure (police, equipment, transport, research, etc.).

Nevertheless, they give an idea of the catastrophic increase in war expenditure, amounting in round figures for the 13 countries quoted to **19,000 million dollars in 1949/50 and 77,000 million dollars four years later**—a fourfold increase.

What is Happening in Madagascar?

• By GASTON DONNAT

DESIGNATED by the C.G.T., I went to the large island of Madagascar during the months of January and February 1952 in order to inform the French workers of what is happening to their Madagascan brothers when I returned.

I received a very moving welcome everywhere I went. The presence among them of a representative of the C.G.T. gave the Madagascan workers a great deal of encouragement. They felt less isolated on their martyred island for they were able to see the fraternal support of the French and the world working class.

What struck me most forcibly during my trip was the appalling poverty imposed on the Madagascan people, and the police terror which exists in the country.

The Madagascans are Hungry

The overwhelming majority of Madagascan wage-earners are labourers, a great number of them working on the colonists' plantations. The colonialists, in fact, are not anxious to train skilled labour, and industrial training is practically non-existent.

While I was there, the labourers in the most prosperous zones were receiving 80 francs per working day.[1] If we take compulsory expenses such as rent and taxes into account and periods of unemployment, the workers can buy only 1.3 *kg. of rice* each day to feed himself and his family!! (Price of rice: 25 frs. per kilo). On such a ration people cannot live, they die!

And those are the privileged ones, the ones who have been able to find work; the others live as they can, at the mercy of seasonal and other work.

There is neither social security nor family allowances for the Madagascan workers. Labour legislation passed in 1938 by Governor Cayla, a savage colonialist, is scandalously reactionary and even that is not enforced! Thus, I saw young children doing the most exhausting work. Children work in the mines, others are forced to do night work, as, for example, in the Majunga spinning mill.

In Tananarive, just a few hundred yards away from the offices of the Labour Inspector, I saw women working on the construction of huge modern buildings for Europeans; they were climbing ladders to a height of three and four storeys with heavy loads balanced on their heads, yet this is officially forbidden!

The housing conditions of the Madagascan workers are tragic. In the towns, one room with neither water nor light might, with difficulty be found for 1,000 francs a month. At Majunga, Diego-Saurez, and Tamatave, the Madagascan quarters (Tanambaos) are hideous cesspools with pestilential odors. The inhabitants are crowded into ramshackle huts.

It is not astonishing that the mortality is terrifyingly high. At the present time, one child out of every three dies before the age of two.

Police Are Everywhere

Madagascar staggers under the impact of the appalling colonialist crimes of 1947:

—90,000 dead, often after unspeakable tortures,

—scores of villages completely looted,

—mass imprisonment and transportation.

Even today, the jails such as those of Sante-Marie and Nosy-Lava, are filled to bursting point. It was pointed out to me that the prisoners there are waging a very hard fight to bring down the political regime, for the last year there have been continual hunger strikes.

Hundreds of patriots and trade union militants, under expulsion orders, live in isolated places, far from their homes, under permanent police surveillance.

Not long ago, six patriots were shot at Fianarantsoa and during 1951, thirty more death sentences were passed.

In Madagascar the police are everywhere, they busy themselves with everything. A worker seen talking to a known militant is immediately followed, threatened and denounced to his employer.

The police act in such a way as to make the very existence of any democratic organisaiton impossible. At the same time, the gendarmes and armed units roam the roads under any pretext whatsoever and sow terror throughout the countryside.

Madagascar's Industries are very Rudimentary

There is no heavy industry, only a few industries for the processing of agricultural products for export (sugar refineries, meat canneries, rice mills, oil works, etc.). These industries only employ some tens of thousands of workers out of a total of 4 million.

[1] About 1s. 8d., or 25 cents.

The women of Madagascar are obliged to do heavy construction work.

The colonialists certainly have no desire to industrialise the island, and I noted only a small amount of capital investment, used mainly to modernise the equipment of existing factories, the immediate effect of which was to increase unemployment, as was the case at the spinning mill (F.I.T.I.M.) of Majunga, the Boanamary cannery.

Madagascar's Mineral Resources are Immense

There is no serious plan for the development of mineral resources. And it is officially stated that there is no certainty of finding the 10,000 million francs which would be necessary for the systematic exploitation of the very rich La Sakoa coal basin.

The imperialist octopus makes substantial profits from the extraction of graphite, mica and precious stones, carried out by an almost gratuitous labour force consisting largely of women and children.

On the other hand, the colonialists plan to increase the island's agricultural production.

At present, 92 per cent of the Madagascans are in rural districts and the value of agricultural products exported represents 90 per cent of the total value of exports.

This is the production of Madagascan peasants and European colonists.

The mass of the Madagascan peasants live in wretched poverty: the sale of their products barely suffices to pay taxes, fines, etc., which overwhelm them. Most of them have to do day labour for the colonists and to toil in workshops. It is pitiful to see the peasants in rags trotting up the steep streets of Tananarive, pulling and pushing rickshaws for from 5 to 10 francs a trip, while they are forced to rent their little vehicles at very high rates.

Good land is scarce in Madagascar. As a rule a peasant family in Madagascar has less than 2 hectares of land. The European colonists occupy thousands of hectares and these are the best! The Sugar Refining Company of La Mahavavy alone occupies 9,000 hectares of excellent land.

On the other hand, the Madagascan peasant has no credit, and his equipment is old and decrepit, while the colonists have the benefit of large loans, and have tractors and fertilisers at their disposal.

Further, the Madagascan peasant only obtains a yield of 1 ton of rice per hectare while the colonist obtains 4.

Under these conditions, the already precarious position of the Madagascan peasants is rapidly becoming worse, for they cannot afford to sell their produce at prices which are profitable to the colonists.

This situation will get still worse.

In fact, the colonialists want to expand the production of rice (no doubt to replace that of Viet-Nam which they are losing), of sugar cane, ground nuts, sisal, etc.

They have decided to construct large hydraulic works to serve 350,000 hectares of good land (nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the land at present cultivated) *for the profit of European colonists.*

These lands would be exploited by colonial companies and peasant families from Europe to whom large loans would be granted. This scandalous immigration project (100,000 immigrants have been mentioned) is certainly among the vast plans for the transfer of populations for the purpose of disorganising the peoples' resistance to the monstrous preparations of the warmongers.

A study of the trade planned for 1960 shows that the bulk of the increased production is to be exported. Thus a new and vast operation for the plunder of the Madagascans is being prepared to their detriment. This is sharpening the colonial character of the island's economy.

In the war plans, Madagascar appears to have been given the role of a supply base (rice, meat, strategic materials), a supporting and transit base (Diego - Suarez anchorage, aerodromes, hastily built roads across the island).

The Madagascan People Continue the Struggle

The victory by brutal force, guns and aerial bombings is only a temporary one. The Madagascan people have not been defeated.

I was conscious everywhere of a ferocious hatred of the colonialist butchers; it could be read in everybody's eyes.

All the Madagascan workers whom I was able to contact showed a great will to fight. They can no longer stand the exploitation and oppression under which they are suffering.

The trade union movement, which was developing before 1947,

was temporarily broken up during the tragic events. The state of siege, mass arrest and deportation of militants, beheaded the trade union organisations. By a system of terror and stool-pigeons, the colonialists are trying to prevent the reconstruction of the trade unions.

Meanwhile, starting in 1950, the workers in the Diego-Suarez Arsenal, during the course of a magnificent strike, set up a solid trade union, uniting Madagascans, Comorians, and workers from the Island of Réunion, and today the influence of this trade union extends over the whole region to distant plantations.

The meetings which I attended in Tananarive, Diego-Suarez, and Antsirablé gathered workers together who were resolved to fight in order to find a way out of their poverty. Trade unions have been able to come to life again in several centres on the island and are building serious foundations so that the movement can again go forward. A Congress is being planned. It will be held during the dry season, in June or July, 1952. Preparation is now taking place and we can be certain that it will mark an important point in the Madagascan working class movement.

The Madagascan Workers Are Uniting

Our brothers of Tananarive have made contact with the Madagascan leaders of the C.F.T.C. (Christian Unions) and unity was achieved within the "Joint Consultative Council" of January 1952. It is only a beginning, but there is no doubt that this unity will grow stronger.

The colonialists would like to use the immigrant workers of neighbouring territories to divide the workers.

Thousands of inhabitants from the Comoro islands are driven from their country by poverty. They form large colonies in Madagascar especially in Majunga. They are used as forced labour and until now had remained isolated from the Madagascans.

The same can be said for the many inhabitants from Réunion Island, driven from their island by unemployment.

But the Diego-Suarez experience where the most complete unity has been achieved between Madagascans, Comorians and Réunion Islanders will most certainly spread further, and already the initiative taken in Diego will enable the beginnings of fraternal liaison between these various ethnical groups to be established in Tamatava, Tananarive and Majunga.

Demands Will Be Won

It is by constantly strengthening unity that the struggle for economic social demands is being organised.

The colonialists have already had to give way on the important issue of wages. A decree of February 22, 1952, established new minimum wages with increases of from 30 to 120 per cent according to regions. The workers will not fail to note that the biggest increases were won in the Diego-Suarez region, where the trade union movement is solidly organised and is united.

Our brothers are also carrying on the fight for trade union freedom. In Tananarive, Antsirablé, Majunga and Diego-Suarez, many delegations have gone to the authorities to demand freedom for the functioning of their organisations and in most cases, despite the police, these organisations live and grow.

In several centres, the trade unions have just forced the meeting of joint commissions to establish a wage classification, for up till now only the goodwill of the employer served as guide!

The Madagascan workers, and let us have no misgivings on that score, will win better working conditions and greater safety measures from the employers and the Colonialist Administration; at the request of our comrades, the Madagascan leaders of the Tananarive C.F.T.C. have agreed to a joint campaign for the speedy passing of the "Labour Code" by the French Parliament.

Need for Solidarity With Madagascar

Martyred Madagascar needs the solidarity of the world working class movement. It must be able to count most particularly on the solidarity of the French workers, for the crimes committed by the

Prison! The symbol of Madagascan reality.

French colonialists are a *disgrace to their country which it will be very difficult to eradicate.*

The fraternal links between French and Madagascan workers in the same trade or exploited by the same employers can be increased with the industrial federations of the C.G.T. having a big role to play.

More frequent exchanges of delegations, even though difficult because of the great distance, must be made possible. On this subject, attention must be drawn to the fine example of the Paris Metro workers; they made collections which helped the Madagascan delegate to the 28th C.G.T. Congress to make the journey to Paris and to stay there for a fortnight.

More recently, thanks to the solidarity of the transport workers, the railwayman, Brother Raphael Rantoanina, was able to attend the African Transport Workers' Conference in Algiers, and passed through Paris where he got in touch with various trade union organisations.

Our Madagascan brothers need information and documentation. It would therefore be desirable to increase such activities as that taken by the Federation of State Employees who have just paid for five subscriptions to *World Trade Union Movement* for Madagascan militants from five different regions.

There must be action on behalf of the imprisoned patriots. I am sure that the decision of the Public Assistance Workers' Trade Union which has just undertaken to aid the Madagascan mid-wife, Charline Razanamalala, victim of the most severe punishment in the Anjanamasina penitentiary, will be very much appreciated by the Madagascan people. It would be desirable if many organisations imitated this gesture with regard to imprisoned workers whose names and places of detention are known.

It is also important to support by protests and petitions the grand fight being carried on in the prisons, especially in the Sante-Marie prison where two patriots recently went on hunger strike.

I think that it ought to be possible to undertake a campaign against immigration and make short work of official propaganda. The work of explanation is important, especially among the youth, for I met, in Madagascar, some of the young recruits of a contingent, who have been dispersed among the killers of the Foreign Legion and whom the colonialists count on turning into racist and fascist scoundrels.

* * *

In conclusion, my trip has made me certain that, supported by the active solidarity of the international working class movement, the Madagascan workers will soon overcome the difficulties arising out of the great drama through which their country has lived during these last few years. The next congress of the Madagascan Trade Union Federation ("Union des Syndicats de Madagascar") which is to be held soon, will mark an important stage in the rebirth of the Madagascan trade union movement.

SAVE AMADO HERNANDEZ!

AMADO HERNANDEZ, *President of the Congress of Labour Organisations of the Philippines (C.L.O.), and also an outsanding poet, has been sentenced to life imprisonment by a government under orders from Washington, which has not hesitated to make use of a crude forgery, a letter attributed to the W.F.T.U., in order to justify its sentence.*

The celebrated Turkish poet, NAZIM HIKMET, *has addressed the following moving message to all honest people throughout the world:*

"I was imprisoned for 13 years because I stood for life, for freedom, for national independence, for happiness and for hope. World opinion, desiring peace and happiness, opened the doors of my prison.

"At the present time there are many in prison —people who believe in happiness and peace throughout the world, in freedom and national independence, people who do not wish to kill or be killed. One such person is the Philippines poet Amado Hernandez. Broad seas and high mountains separate our countries. But in both countries all honest people are fighting for one and the same peace, for one and the same freedom, against one and the same enemy.

"The Philippine and Turkish peoples are as close to one another as those who share the same bread. In the same way as I, a Turkish poet, am at the same time a Philippines poet, in the same way the Philippines poet Hernandez is a Turkish poet.

"I call upon the Turkish people and upon all genuine people in the world—stretch forth a fraternal hand and tear Amado Hernandez from prison!

You have freed me. You must free him too. This you can do."

Nazim Hikmet

30.3.52.

IN SOUTH AFRICA

● By "UMSEBENZI"

Opposition to Malan Government Mounts

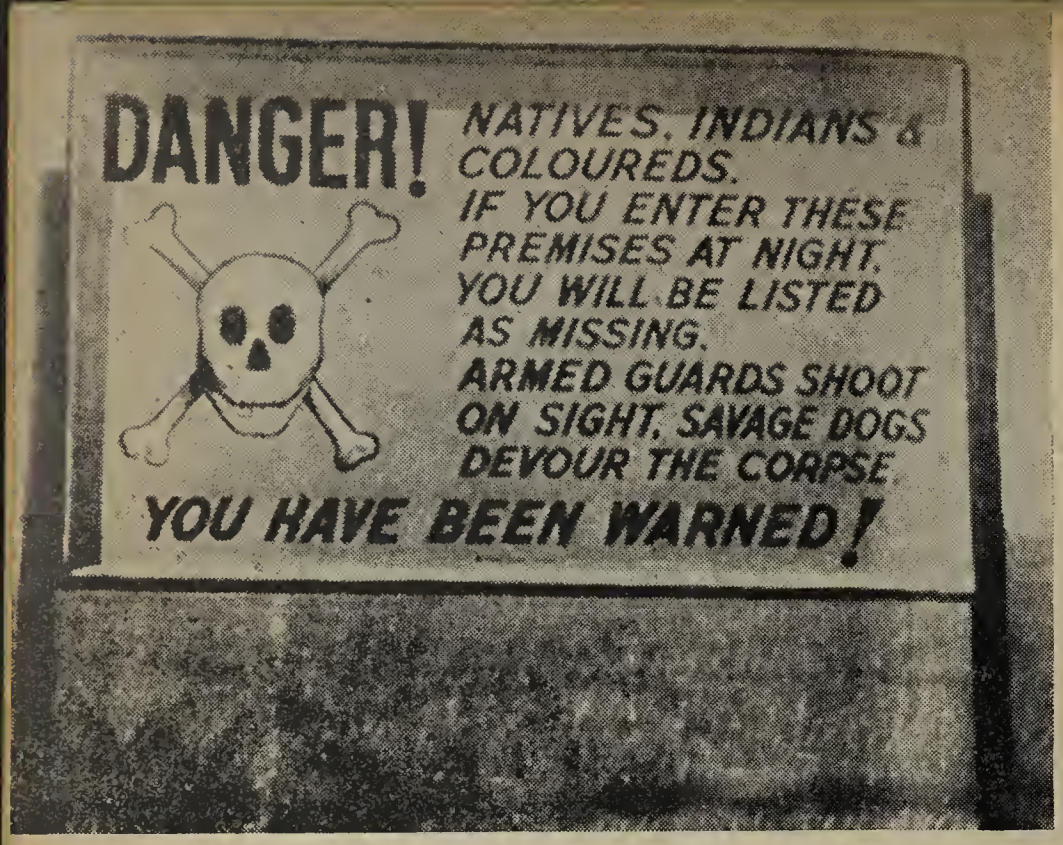
THE policy of the Nationalist Party government in South Africa, with its racial *apartheid* oppressive measures against all coloured people in the land and its anti-working class attacks, has made it the most unpopular and most hated government South Africa has ever had. This hatred has spread to the world arena, where, in the minds and hearts of all democratic and peace-loving people everywhere, South Africa's policies are anathema and stand condemned. In the last two years, the Nationalist government has added to the Statute Book new laws such as the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas Act, the Removal of Coloured Voters Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, all of which are designed to attack the already very limited rights of the people.

These Acts are now in operation—Acts based on ideas that were triumphant in Hitler Germany—and prosecutions and persecution are the order of the day. Hundreds of persons have been listed on the government's blacklist as "communists," under the Suppression of Communism Act, which is also being used at present to remove from Parliament the elected member of the African people, Mr. Sam Kahn, M.P., and Mr. Fred Carneson (Member of the Cape Provincial Council). The well-known and widely read newspaper *The Guardian* has been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act after an enquiry had been conducted behind closed doors by methods that have been described as going back to the "Star Chamber" in ancient England.

The Group Areas Act is being applied to force the liquidation of property interests of Indian traders at the behest of white traders who see in this a convenient weapon of getting rid of competitors and for big Indian businessmen to sell out at very low prices or else be driven out by government expropriation. Under the Group Areas Act, plans are being made to make every urban area a "paradise" of group areas, like kraals (corrals) for cattle and sheep, whereby Africans, Indians, Coloureds and whites will be compelled to live and to trade in their own areas, with the usually worst and most inadequately served areas allocated for the use of the "inferior" coloured race.

Not satisfied with its first chapter of unjust and oppressive laws, the present session of the South African Parliament is busy with another "witches brew," which has aroused the anger of wide sections of people of all races. Faced with mounting statistics of crime, with over 1,000,000 South Africans convicted of criminal offences during the past eleven months for offences such as being without passes and not paying taxes, the government has replied with more repression and has brought into being the Flogging Law, which will make it compulsory on all magistrates and judges, except in rare cases of old age or ill-health, to sentence persons guilty of "crimes of violence" to flogging with a cat o'nine tails, a weapon that has been discarded by most of the rest of the world as a relic of mediæval barbarism. By amending the Native Laws, the government has made it a criminal offence for an African worker to be absent from work, to defy his employer's orders, to spoil work given to him, thus, in general, reducing the status of the enslaved African worker, especially the farm worker, to that of a helot. Africans who commit offences under this new law will not have the right to appear before a court of law, but will be dealt with by specially appointed administrative officers with no legal defence permissible and no right of appeal. Both the flogging measure and the Native Law Amendment Act have been received with anger by wide sections of the South African people.

Added to this are racialist measures introduced such as separate entrances and counters for whites and coloureds at post offices, separate entrances into railway stations—to give only a few examples of this racial disease that has smitten South Africa, all of which combine to make for a state of racial tension which is deliberately fostered to cultivate and spread the idea of white superiority and to keep the races divided. The non-white races have responded to this in a movement aimed to secure the removal from the statute book of all unjust and racial laws and in dignified statements, which have received world-wide publicity, have called on the government to do this. They have embarked on a united movement of the peoples' political organisations to demonstrate their opposition to racial oppression and to continue to struggle until they achieve a democratic South Africa wherein all inhabitants of all races and colours can live in peace and co-operate for the common good.



Racism leads to outrages like this. (Photograph from "Spark," South African youth paper).

The Rising Cost of Living

South Africa is at present in an economic situation where the cost of living has risen and is continuing to rise at an unprecedented rate, with dire results on the living standards and the health of the people. At present, the official government cost of living index stands at 172.5 which is 72.5 per cent higher than what it was in 1939. But in reality the actual rise in the cost of living is far greater, especially for the poor people, because the official index does not measure their purchases, and as they have to buy in small quantities, often at black market prices, their plight is dire. Only the organised workers (mostly skilled workers in registered trade unions) have been able to obtain a sliding scale which bears some resemblance to the official index, but the great majority of workers, both white and black, do not receive cost of living allowances that bear any relation to the rise in prices.

Especially is this the position of the underpaid African workers, who have to suffer increased hardships and acute poverty, with widespread poverty diseases such as tuberculosis and pellagra being almost endemic. Yet the profits declared for the current year show increases over previous years not only in the mining industry, but in many of the manufacturing industries as well. The wool farmers and other rich farmers have been protected by government subsidies or Marketing Boards and have also obtained inflated prices for their products, which have all brought wealth in their pockets at the expense of the consuming public.

The high cost of living is having its effect not only on the low paid workers, but is enmeshing wider circles in other categories of workers, including the higher paid artisans and civil servants. Not long ago, 15,000 railway artisans conducted a two months go-slow strike winning concessions in their pay, and recently 1,000 artisans in the State steel works stopped work for higher wages. At present, the teachers throughout South Africa are conducting a movement for higher wages and have threatened a total stoppage of work if their demands for increased pay are not met. The reply of the big employers and the government is to try and bring about "higher productivity" by means of "incentive bonus" payments of wages, which are being looked upon with grave suspicion by the workers as a means of creating a reserve of unemployed labour.

The cost of living faces further increases in the impending budget as the Minister of Finance has declared in advance that the country will be "astounded" at the millions he has to find for war preparations to enable South Africa to carry out her warlike preparations in the Middle East (South Africa is one of the "guarantors" of this area with Britain and other countries) and for the "police" campaign in Korea. Undoubtedly, the budget will contain further burdens for the working people, in the form of higher taxation and a reduction in the meagre social services.

Attack Against the Trade Unions

The onslaught of the Nationalist government has had its repercussions on the trade union movement. A two-pronged attack was launched on the trade unions, firstly by agents of the Nationalist Party, who aimed to break up existing trade unions on racial lines, capture leading positions and discredit militants as "kafferboeties" (lovers of "Kaffirs"—Africans) which has been attempted with some success, particularly in the Mine Workers' Union (white), which is now in the hands of such National Party agents. The S.A. Trades and Labour Council, the national centre which brought all workers of all races together in one united movement, was seriously weakened by splits and disaffiliation of a number of unions whose leaders, playing the game of the Nationalist government, wanted the national trade union centre to throw out "communists" as required by the government's anti-Communist laws. They also wanted African unions removed from the national centre, which coincides with the Nationalists' policy for the trade unions.

The attacks of the enemies of the trade union movement have not yet met with the success expected in reactionary circles, for in a number of unions such as garment, transport and building, the nationalist agents have been rebuffed by the workers. The S.A. Trades and Labour Council has also, in spite of disaffiliations, held its own and has taken up the issues of the workers with the result that it is winning growing support not only from its affiliated unions but from the rank and file of those unions which ran away into the wilderness.

Acting in consultation with the Minister of Labour, a number of the unions which broke away from the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, on his "advice," formed a new co-ordinating centre with the intention of breaking the S.A. Trades and Labour Council. The policy of this body is to exclude African trade unions, and to collaborate with the government in its nefarious policies against the working people. Despite breakaways, the S.A. Trades and Labour Council still remains the most representative national trade union centre with nearly 100,000 affiliated members of all races and colours and attracts the most attention and prestige as a co-ordinating trade union body in South Africa.

The Industrial Legislation Commission

The second prong of the attack on the trade unions by the Nationalist government has been to make preparations for taking legislative action to enforce "apartheid" and anti-trade union measures against the interests of the workers of South Africa. To this end, a government Commission was appointed to examine industrial legislation, and the report and recommendations of this Commission have just been issued. It is

known that the government intends to act upon many of these recommendations, especially those which propose further breaking up of trade unions with "mixed" members (members of different races) and for the control of African trade unions. The Commission's recommendations are so bad that they have been almost universally condemned in South Africa not only by the trade union movement, but by employers and leading bourgeois newspapers. Briefly, the Commission's proposals envisage the setting up of a "National Labour Board," which bears a close resemblance to the National Labour Front of Hitler and to Mussolini's idea of what industrial machinery for the settlement of disputes should be.

Despite the fact that the overwhelming weight of evidence by trade unions and by employers' organisations opposed forcing the separation of "mixed" unions of white and coloured workers and favoured the registration and recognition of African trade unions, the Commission proposes a further dose of apartheid by compelling mixed unions to break up, by proposing separate industrial negotiations on the lines of race and colour, notwithstanding this interesting observation by the Commission in its report :—

> "It is true and obvious that unity of organisation strengthens the position of the workers vis-à-vis employers as a group. A united front, whether of employers or employees has always been more effective at the collective bargaining table than action of a series of unrelated groups. United, the voice of the employers or employees is heard coherently—divided, employers or employees contradict each other."

Thus the Commission acts "incoherently" and recommends the opposite to what it knows to be an irrefutable axiomatic truth.

Insofar as the African trade unions are concerned, the Industrial Legislation Commission recommends a whole series of proposals all of which added together can only mean the setting up of small organisations that will not bear the remotest relationship to trade unions, in local areas, unco-ordinated and unconnected industrially or geographically, with a government "fuhrer" in charge to keep an eye on the "trade union." Although African trade unions are not legally "recognised" under the industrial laws of the country, "de facto" unions do exist and there are also in existence the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and other African co-ordinating bodies. The Commission proposes that such bodies be prohibited and that any national trade union centre (such as the S.A. Trades and Labour Council) shall not be permitted to have affiliated African trade unions.

The intention of the Commission is to prevent the natural growth of the existing though small African trade union movement as it is bound to do with the developing movement and growing industrialisation in South Africa. The Commission's report has been condemned *in toto* by the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, by the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and the recently retired Secretary for Labour, Mr. Ivan Walker (a government official), has written a scathing attack on the Commission's recommendations comparing their proposals with Mussolini's fascist corporation.

Growing Opposition of the People

Such is the situation in South Africa, where the Nationalist government is busy fanning the flames of mounting racial tension and preparing steps to keep the African people as a source of cheap labour and prevent them from taking even a single step forward on the ladder of progress. But the resistance of the people is also mounting, and there is no doubt that whatever may be the hardships and difficulties, the racist and unjust policies of the Nationalist government will be swept away and replaced by policies based on social justice and racial equality with opportunities of advancement for all people that dwell in South Africa.

In July last year, at a meeting in Johannesburg of the National Executive Committees of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, and

Africans being forced to demolish their "homes" and move to another area.

☆

Workers in a Capetown factory vote to strike on May 7—the date set for the political strike in the Coloured Vote Campaign.

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On May 24, 1952, police arrested E. S. Sachs, General Secretary of the 40,000 strong South African Garment Workers' Union for refusing to obey a decree forbidding him to address meetings. A section of his audience being attacked by police when they protested against his arrest. The Garment Workers' Union immediately called a strike in protest.

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A section of the huge crowd at the April 6 mass demonstration in Freedom Square, Johannesburg.

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attended by representatives of the Franchise Action Council (the organisation of the Cape Coloured community), a Joint Planning Council was set up. This Council was given the task of co-ordinating the efforts of the various non-European bodies in a mass campaign against *apartheid* and all other forms of racial discrimination. These decisions have since been endorsed both by the conference of the African National Congress, and by the conference of the South African Indian Congress. The whole campaign reached a new stage with the mass demonstrations held on April 6, 1952. At Johannesburg, 15,000 people, despite government threats and press intimidation, packed Freedom Square at the call of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C.

In a recent interview, Dr. Dadoo, President of the S.A.I.C., has outlined the three stages in the struggle against the unjust laws. The struggle will begin by groups of disciplined volunteers who will defy *apartheid* and other discriminatory laws on set dates in the big centres of South Africa. Next, the number of volunteers will be increased, as well as the centres of the operation. The third stage envisaged in the plan will be mass action throughout South Africa, in both urban and rural areas. Among the laws which will be defied in this manner are the Population Registration Act, asking people to carry identity cards. The struggle will be directed to securing the repeal of six unjust laws: the Pass Laws, Separate Representation of Voters' Act, Group Areas Act, Suppression of Communism Act, the laws regarding stock limitation and cattle culling and the Bantu Authorities Act. The leaders of the democratic movement have made it clear that though the ultimate objective of both the Indian and African Congresses is to secure political equality for all in South Africa, the immediate objective of the present campaign is to obtain the repeal of these six repressive laws.

The spirit of the people is well summed up by Mr. J. Ngwevela, chairman of the Cape Western Region of the African National Congress:

> "People are aware that they must suffer for their liberation, and they understand that it is by unity and by carrying out the decisions of their national organisations that they will reach their goal."

The African National Congress has set a target of 10,000 volunteers by June 26 for the campaign of defiance of unjust laws; already this appeal is meeting with great response.

Trade Unions Support People's Campaign

The campaign is receiving solid backing from the South African Trades and Labour Council, whose Conference has recently issued a call to the people of South Africa "to replace the present government with a government which will be committed to a programme designed to further the interests of the people of South Africa, and which will undertake to repeal all anti-democratic measures, to restore the civil rights of the individual, to extend democracy and democratic rights, to reduce the cost of living, and to introduce industrial legislation which will safeguard free trade unions and the principles of free collective bargaining for all workers."

The movement of resistance organised by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, and supported by the Franchise Action Council, is growing rapidly. The very strength of this movement and the extent of Malan's repression have precipitated a national crisis in South Africa which has not left the white population unaffected. The ex-servicemen's Springbok Legion, angered by the thought that their

In London, British and colonial students preparing a poster picket-line to protest at South Africa House against the Malan government.

sacrifices in the anti-fascist war are being set at nought by the Malanazis, have welcomed the "Defy Unjust Laws" campaign and are organising support for it. White trade unionists, alarmed at the anti-trade union legislation being brought forward by Malan, and liberals who resent the government's attack on the *Guardian* (democratic newspaper) and Malan's open defiance of the South African Supreme Court, are also expressing their opposition to the Nationalist Party government.

The *Torch Commando,* an organisation of 200,000 members, largely consisting of returned soldiers, is another expression of the dissatisfaction of white South Africans with present government policy. The *Commando,* however, like the United Party and the Labour Party, despite their protestations of opposition to Malan, are themselves appeasing Malan. These three bodies have formed a "United Front" to fight Malan—but it is a "United Front" which deliberately debars Africans, Indians and Coloureds, and which makes it clear that it is opposed to the whole "Defy Unjust Laws" campaign of the non-European peoples. The attitude of these European organisations are summarised in the *Cape Times* (April 5) which warned the non-Europeans "to leave the struggle to the Europeans"!! Only through the unity of all races and nationalities irrespective of colour can South Africa's drive to fascism be halted and democratic liberties extended.

The mounting cost of living will draw ever wider spheres of South African people into the active industial struggles for higher wages and decent living conditions. The question of war and peace is also concerning many people in South Africa and they find it impossible to swallow the anti-communist coated pills that are being prepared which will make South Africa allies of former Nazis in Germany, Franco Spain, Hirohita's Japan, in the drive towards enveloping the world in a new blood bath solely for the interests of big armament manufacturers and colonial exploiters.

There is no doubt that the coming struggles of the South African people will not only win wide support on the continent of Africa, but will meet with international solidarity of the workers of the world and of the whole of the peace-loving people everywhere who hate oppression and racial discrimination.

IN MALAYA

WHEN the British military found the jungle war in Malaya was being won by the Malayan People's Liberation Army, they imported primitive Dyak headhunters from North Borneo to track down Malayan patriots. The result is shown in these photographs taken by a British soldier in Malaya who brought them back to England so that the world might know something of the atrocities being committed in this colonial war.

When the matter was raised in the British House of Commons, the Colonial Secretary admitted that the photographs were genuine

ABOVE: **This British soldier seems proud to be photographed holding the decapitated heads of two Malayan patriots. The inset shows another view of the heads on the ground with a severed hand.**

The "Civilising" Work of British Imperialism

but that they were "not authorised and should not have been taken." The taking of such photographs is now subject to a penalty of 200 Straits dollars.

He also claimed that the severed head was brought in for identification. This is because civilians who capture or give information to the capture of certain Malayan leaders are given large rewards amounting to as much as 250,000 Straits dollars (£30,000). Although he tried to persuade the British public that these were isolated cases, it has been confirmed by more than one soldier back from Malaya that decapitation is a regular feature of this shameful war.

ABOVE: A Dyak cleans the scalp of a Malay patriot. In the basket can be seen other severed parts of a body.

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Head-hunters wearing British uniforms photographed with a British soldier holding their grisly "trophy."

JAPAN —

The Last Three Months

THE correct deployment of working class strength in Japan today is of such general importance that the reasons for the recent increase in trade union activity and the prospects for the near future are questions which should be considered by the Japanese and the international trade union movement.

This increased struggle is basically a reaction to and an understanding of the causes of the worsening living conditions arising almost entirely from the U.S. war-drive and its economic consequences.

This war-drive is many-sided. One facet is the increasing military expenditure (£121 million in the last budget is monstrous for a demilitarised country). Another is the textile slump following a halt in U.S. stockpiling resulting in the total or partial unemployment of

By

Mary Wolfard

more than 40 per cent. of Japan's 330,000 textile workers. Another is the Special Procurement Orders placed by the U.S. military with Japanese firms who have so far supplied 70 billion yen worth of goods and received payment for only 10 million, resulting in unpaid wages and an epidemic of bankruptcies. Another facet is that the occupation imposed economic restrictions and concentration on military production which has given rise to unprecedented unemployment, coupled with the tremendous overworking of those employed who are paid no overtime and often dare not protest for fear of losing their jobs. Attempts are being made to whittle away the *Labour Standards Act,* which establishes minimum working conditions.

On the directly military side, and abetting the already widespread anti-Americanism, is the use of germ warfare and the napalm bomb against their fellow Asians in Korea and China by those representatives of imperialism who are degrading the already spattered United Nations' flag. Adding fuel to the fire of discontent is the American use of Japanese forces in Korea and the threat to send them to Indo-China, and the consequent, though illegal and therefore not admitted, conscription of young men to the Japanese Army still officially referred to as the National Police Reserve.

Knowing that the working class would not lie down meekly under such a barrage of provocation, the Yoshida government tried to stop organised resistance by introducing laws throttling the working class movement. The main and most dangerous of these is the *Subversive Activities Prevention Bill,* the text of which has still not been made public, but which is re-

Part of the 300,000 workers at the May Day demonstration in the Meiji shrine grounds in Tokyo.

ported to contain provisions for the setting up of a special committee with power to dissolve what it chooses to call "subversive organisations," to ban meetings and publications and to deprive individuals of their civic rights.

The *Special Bill on Criminal Activities* deals with opposition to the U.S. occupation which, although officially over, is being continued under the Security Pact. Heavy penalties are provided for words or deeds against the occupation or for revealing military secrets. How this can be used against the trade union movement is illustrated by the recent case of workers at U.S. Army Unit 229, stationed at Yokohama, who were charged with disclosing military secrets because they mentioned increased production when demanding a wage increase.

COMMON GRIEVANCES AND COMMON DEMANDS

One of the results of this multi-pronged onslaught is that the many common demands and grievances of the Japanese working class have overridden certain artificial barriers which kept workers not only in different organisations, but practically in different camps. It must be said that many of these differences were brought about and encouraged by bad and even treacherous leadership which today is literally being forced to take a unity line or get out by wide-awake rank and file. As an example, take the case of rank and file action in the All-Japan Miners' Union (I.C.F.T.U.). Dissatisfied with the leadership calling off the miners' participation in the April 12 strike, the membership called an Extraordinary National Convention from April 23-27, which voted the leadership's action "inadmissable" (146 to 93), passed a vote of 'no confidence' and elected a new leadership.

The working class has also won allies outside its ranks; the large scale requisitioning of land by the U.S. forces (over 70 thousand acre up to March this year) from the peasants has caused an increase in peasant activity and worker-peasant co-operation. Housewives, hit by prices which put even daily necessities way out of reach, are joining women's democratic organisations, and many Trades Councils now include both peasants' and women's representatives. Small and medium businessmen, hit not only by unpaid occupation bills but also by taking over of Japanese industry by U.S. monopolies and the consequent easing out of competition from lesser firms, as well as the catastrophic drop in purchasing power, are beginning to see where their interests coincide with those of the Japanese working class and are taking an independent line with regard to the military and economic occupation.

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Sachko Ito, 18-year-old worker in a Tokyo printing works. The superimposed poem, written by Sachko Ito, says:

"If we are to have beautiful Japanese clothes, we must build the world in the interests of the workers. Before we die we want to dress in beautiful clothes but now we are working in dust. Before I die I want money to take my mother to the hot springs. Before I die I hope for many happy years. Before I die, we must build a world in the interests of the workers."

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THREE AND A HALF MILLION STRIKE

The result of all these factors is almost a renaissance of the Japanese trade union and working class movements. There have been a large number of strikes despite the fact that 18 million workers are totally or partially unemployed and that thousands of workers are classified as 'temporary' and subject to a moment's notice. The most spectacular strikes were those on April 12 and 18, directed mainly against the anti-labour Bills and the occupation, but also in support of wage demands. The April 18 strike was particularly successful and it is estimated that some 3½ million workers took part. Of these 260,000 or 98 per cent of the membership came from Tanro (coal-miners), 90,000 from Shitetsu (private railways), 60,000 from Zenkoren (metal miners), 130,000 holding up 356 ships, from Kaiin (seamen), 100,000 clerical and 15,000 power plant workers from

The newspaper "Yama no Shinbun" (Mine Newspaper), edited by rank-and-file miners for the purpose of achieving unity of all miners in Japan. It has a large circulation and wide popularity among miners, despite attempts by rightwing mine union leaders to halt its publication.

Densan (electrical industry workers), 45,000 from Zenkoku Kinzoku (metalworkers), 30,000 from Zen Jidosha (automobile), 50,000 from Tekko Roren (steelworkers), 40,000 from Gosei Kagaku (chemical workers) and 75,000 from Shin Sanbetsu (National Federation of Industrial Unions.) In addition, some 6 million workers in Tokyo and Osaka were held up by the paralysed rail traffic.

Of the notable demonstrations, those of March 1 and May Day this year are the most important. On March 1, 100,000 workers rallied in Tokyo to protest against the *Subversive Activities Prevention Bill* and the *Criminal Activities Bill*. On May Day, 300,000 people demonstrated in Tokyo against rearmament.

Other meetings were held throughout the country, but it was in Tokyo that demonstrators battled with courage and vigour against the police and military and showed by their acts their opposition to the American occupation (by burning American vehicles, etc.) Several persons were killed and hundreds injured and arrested. Half a million workers demonstrated in Osaka. These meetings were called by Sohyo, which was formed as an ultra-right-wing trade union centre by the occupation forces, but which is another instance of the result of rank and file pressure forcing activity in the interests of the membership.

In Japan, a united trade union movement is growing under pressure from below and is part of the rising national liberation movement of workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and youth. This must not be allowed to disintegrate into ineffectual factional groups.

The force of repression must always be met with a greater force from the trade union movement that will eventually turn the tide against the repressive forces; while repression tends of itself to create unity among the repressed, this tendency must be strengthened by wise leadership. It must be remembered that unity is not an end in itself, but a weapon to be used against the oppressors.[1]

1For other information on Japan see article "Japan is Not For Sale," in **WTUM**, No. 4 (Feb. 16-29, 1952), "American Policy in Japan," No. 9 (May 1-15, 1952), and "Spotlight on World Labour," No. 10 (May 16-31, 1952).

Against the "General Treaty" of War

Common Action of the German Workers and the Workers of other countries

The signing by the Western Powers and Adenauer of the "General Treaty," which is intended to integrate Germany into the "Atlantic community," coincided almost to the day with the arrival in France of General Ridgway, the germ-war General appointed to head the Atlantic High Command. The synchronisation of these two menacing events revealed, if this is still necessary, the immediate intentions of the Western governments—the organisation of a war machine in the heart of Europe.

Commenting on the conclusion of the "General Treaty," Atlantic propaganda trumpets forth: "Western Germany—a sovereign State!" The German people are not taken in by this impudent lie.

Fine sovereignty, in fact, which, not content with sanctioning the permanent occupation of the national territory by foreign troops, goes so far as to stipulate that the military authorities will be able at any time to assume power should this be required for the maintenance of "public order."

Fine sovereignty, which accepts right away the political control of the Western Powers and which, by harnessing the country to the Atlantic chariot, widens and perpetuates the division of Germany.

Fine sovereignty, which accepts the formation of a German army, not in the service of the nation, but to back an anti-national policy above all, of American and German finance capital.

Fine sovereignty, finally, which, expressly submits itself to the dictates of the High Commissioners of the Schuman Plan, and which sacrifices the peaceful reconstruction of the country—the true interests of the German people—to a war policy which is sponsored by foreigners and repudiated by the German people.

The western governments were sadly mistaken if they thought they could impose this war treaty upon a resigned and passive Western Germany. The imminence of the conclusion of the treaty brought an unprecedented wave of indignation throughout the country. The scope of the demonstrations which took place before the signing of the treaty give an indication of the kind of resistance which the German people intend to organise against its ratification after the signing. This is a warning to the governmental majorities in the Parliaments of the Atlantic countries.

TELEGRAM

Sent to HERBERT WARNKE, President of the Free German Trade Union Federation by LOUIS SAILLANT, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, on the resistance of the German People to the signing of the General Treaty.

In this decisive hour for the future of the German people, when the German workers are waging a magnificent struggle for a united, peaceful democratic and independent Germany and against the "General Treaty," an instrument of war preparation, the W.F.T.U. expresses in the name of its 80 million members its full solidarity with the working men and women of the whole of Germany.

The "General Treaty" is fatal for the well-being and independence of the German people. Its signature by the Western Governments would signify the desire of the warmongers to transform Germany into a permanent seat of war and to sanction the division and occupation of its territory.

Among other fatal consequences for the German people, the "General Treaty" provides for the possibility for its initiators, the capitalist powers, to decree a State of Emergency at any time, particularly during strikes, and to use armed forces for repressive ends against the German people.

Taking into account the rebirth of fascist military forces in Western Germany, this amounts to a very serious threat to democratic and trade union rights and to the establishment of a military dictatorship in Western Germany. The bloody events in Essen, as also the draft of the law on the application of the General Treaty in enterprises, are a foretaste of this situation.

The W.F.T.U. sees in the German men and women workers the main force capable of stopping the drift of Western Germany in this dangerous direction. In these circumstances, they must know that they are not isolated. They have the workers of Europe and the whole world as loyal and sincere allies, who are strengthening in their respective countries the concrete mass struggle against imperialist policy.

The W.F.T.U. appeals to the workers of Germany to unite together still more firmly. Their unity will strengthen the defence of their democratic rights, the struggle for improvement of their material situation, and for peace among the peoples.

The German people will make an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace, which will stir the gratitude of all the peoples of the world, by vigorously opposing the "General Treaty" and declaring themselves for a peace treaty based on the Potsdam agreement, fully guaranteeing national independence, the democratic future of the nation and the development of the democratic and social rights of the German people.

Long live the struggle of the German people for peace!

Long live the solidarity of the workers of all the world with the workers of the whole of Germany!

LOUIS SAILLANT
General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

The waves of Atlantic propaganda having been smashed by the wall of popular opposition, the Adenauer government has resorted to the use of out-and-out terror. On Sunday, May 11, 20,000 young men and women met in Essen, in the Ruhr, forming a caravan of peace. They were members of trade unions, of Socialist and Christian youth organisations and of the Free German Youth. They were demonstrating for peace and for the unity of Germany, for the slogans advanced by hundreds of thousands of trade unionists of Bavaria, Stuttgart, Hamburg, Dusseldorf and other important centres. The police opened fire. A young worker from Munich fell dead beside his badly wounded comrades.

This act of terror, a veritable preamble to the "General Treaty," served only to increase the indignation of the German people and their opposition to the Adenauer government. Work stoppages and demonstrations immediately increased in extent. Seventy thousand strikers demonstrated in Dusseldorf, 60,000 in Cologne, 60,000 in Mannheim and 50,000 in Brunswick. Over 150,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Hamburg. On May 25, fifteen days after bloody Sunday, a mighty demonstration took place in Essen, at the scene of the murder, proving that terror could not hold the workers back.

The fight against the ratification and introduction of the "General Treaty" of war is growing continually in strength. Broader unity of all sections of the population is being forged in defence of national interests, which are being sacrificed by the Adenauer government, and the struggle is being organised in wider and more varied forms. The Soviet proposal for the establishment of a single government for the whole of Germany and for the conclusion of a real peace treaty is meeting with a magnificent response throughout Germany.

The German people's fight against the "General Treaty" is of major importance for the maintenance of peace in Europe. The German workers, the workers of all the countries of Europe and of the whole world, have the same enemy—American imperialism and its agents. They are replying to the monstrous alliance of the armament kings by strengthening the common struggle of all workers.

They all know that the best way of showing solidarity with the German people is to intensify the fight against war preparations, against the occupation of countries in Europe and throughout the world.

The unbroken united front of all the workers will shatter the front of the imperialist instigators of war. **Jean Wetzler.**

A Stakhanovite works more with his Brain than with his Muscle

Ferenc Lugesi, the best coal-hewer in Hungary, re-filled my glass with golden Tokay in spite of my protests, saying, "Drink up! He who likes good wine cannot be a bad man."

It was September 1, the miners' national day, in Tatabanya. There had been a great ceremony, a distribution of rewards to leading workers before a large crowd of miners dressed in their best clothes, their wives in fine wide skirts, and groups of children. The old men, with long white moustaches, proudly wore the old traditional dress, short jackets and velvet caps, and in the booths and shops everything, including good things to drink and eat, were being sold by the State at half price to celebrate the occasion.

After drinking a toast to peace with Lugosi, we naturally returned to the topic of his work. The previous month he had fulfilled his norm by 300%, beating his own record, and I asked him, "But aren't you tired at the end of your day's work, after producing so much?"

"Sometimes," he replied, "when I'm not in good trim, then the output is poor. But generally things go all right. When I leave the pit, I go to the club and play billiards for relaxation. Then I eat, and I've a good appetite. Before I go to sleep I lie and think over the work I've done that day, and what I'll do the next day. I think over the difficulties I've met, and nearly always an idea comes to me which makes my work easier."

"You see," he concluded, "I try to work with my head more than with my hands."

As I asked my questions, I thought of the workers at home, of all those in the capitalist countries for whom such an output would mean considerable physical effort, overtime and added fatigue.

In the countries in which exploitation of man by man has been, or is being, abolished instead of lengthening the working day and imposing speed-up which wears the workers out and kills them, an appeal is made to men's creative genius, to their love of their trade, to their intelligence, and they have the feeling, the certainty, that they are no longer producing for an exploiter, but for themselves, and for their brothers.

A great deal is said about productivity in the capitalist world. For the big employers this means intensifying exploitation, leaving the worker with only ten or twenty per cent of his extra production. And in this crazy world this brings overwork for some and unemployment for others, while the capitalist draws scandalous profits.

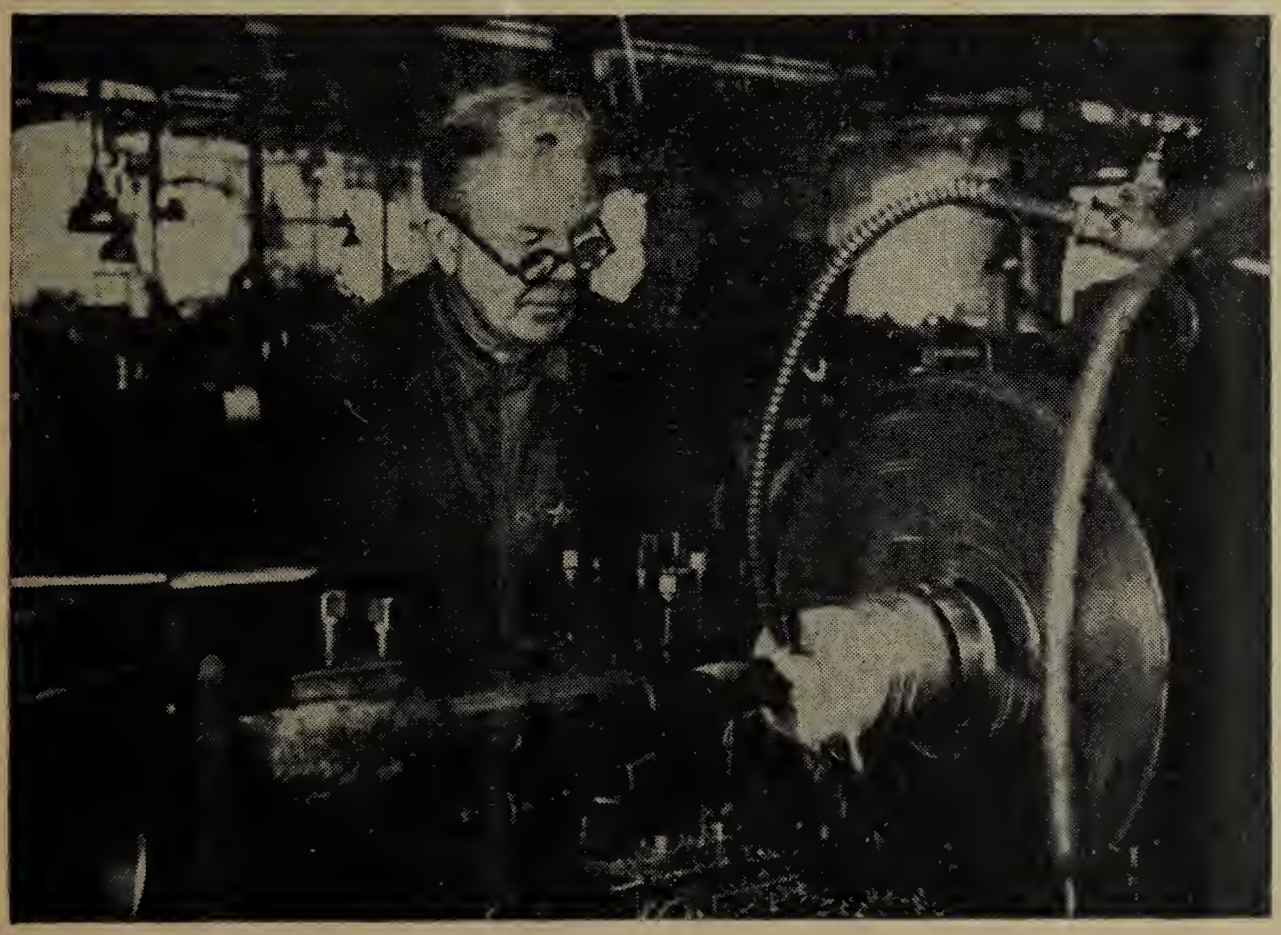
The Stakhanovite is not overworked. Medical examinations are made. Let us look, for example, at the medical card of the Hungarian blacksmith, Sandor Szoczei. Pulse, blood pressure, practically the same at the beginning and the end of the day's work, with a maximum at the end of the second hour of work. By way of comparison, the medical card of the average worker shows increasing fatigue after the sixth hour of work, shown by a much higher pulse and blood pressure. Sandor, however, is neither more nor less robust than the average worker, but he is interested in his work, and he thinks out and measures all his movements. He has increased and improved his production by finding a method of heating the iron only once in forging the coupling bars of locomotives.

He is not a steam hammer, but a leading worker who must take care of himself.

Certainly there have been gigantic and enthusiastic efforts carried out by the workers at decisive times. I am thinking of the epic of Dnieprostroy in the U.S.S.R. It was necessary to build socialism, the source of well-being, freedom and happiness. Tens of thousands

ABOVE: Most of the workers in the Szeged Textile Combine are women. They are able to increase their productivity by working several Soviet machines at once.

BELOW: An apprentice, member of the best team in the workshop school.



LEFT: An elite worker in the Hofherr Tractor Plant.

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of workers, peasants and technicians made tremendous sacrifices. They built their magnificent dam with spades, picks and wheelbarrows. There have been desperate—and victorious—efforts for the construction of the liberated areas in the U.S.S.R. There were even harder efforts during the war, when the crushing of fascism called not only for heroism at the front, but also for intensive work in the rear.

But now there are no more navvies on the giant Soviet construction sites, but machines which do the work of a thousand men, which lessen human fatigue, which permit a growth in the general well-being, and which will continuously decrease the length of the working day when the nightmare of capitalism has been banished.

The Stakhanovite gains from his work. I have seen Ferenc Lugosi's pay-checks. A miner earns an average of 890 forints a month (one forint is nearly eightpence), a coal-hewer earns between 1,200 and 1,300 forints a month, and a Stakhanovite from 1,800 to 2,000. Lugosi, however, earned 2,400 forints in June and 1,800 forints in 13 working days in July. He spends his holiday free of charge in one of the palaces placed at the disposal of the workers by the government, or he takes a trip to one of the neighbouring Peoples' Democracies. All leading workers have wages of this order.

In the U.S.S.R., a worker who fulfils the norm by 150% receives 200% of the basic wage. That is, the extra production is paid for at double rate. I have seen miners who earned more than qualified engineers, drive to the pits in their cars, go down into galleries lighted with neon lighting, work machines which will soon cause the individual pneumatic drill which shakes the body and shatters the muscles to disappear like a bad dream.

This is the application of the socialist principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

How far removed we are—at the opposite pole—from the hymns to productivity chanted by the exploiters and their friends, the breakaway trade union leaders. Work is honoured in all its forms. A Stalin prize in the U.S.S.R., or a Kossuth prize in Hungary, may be awarded at the same time to a composer, an honoured worker, a great scientist, a peasant, for all have produced in the interests of their country, of their people.

Another thought came to my mind later when I was discussing with Imre Muszka, the best turner in Hungary, at Galateto, another magnificent palace placed at the disposal of the people.

He had just told me that he was giving courses and lectures in the factories and in the palaces of culture on the new processes which he had discovered.

"So you're half a teacher!" I exclaimed.

Imre gave a wide smile. "It's true enough," he said. "I hadn't thought of that."

This is another aspect, not the least important, of the Stakhanovite movement. Men and women, workers and peasants, in the Peoples' Democracies, and still more in the U.S.S.R., have all the means for improving their skill and knowledge, and thus reaching the highest positions.

And the technical, cultural and political uplift, together with the continual improvement in the living conditions of the workers and peasants, particularly of those who work best, breaks down the barrier between manual and intellectual work and the differences between worker and peasant, which continue in a socialist regime without being antagonistic.

The mighty development of science, freed from capitalist obstructions, the enthusiastic effort of the workers, is creating an abundance of consumers' goods, the progressive disappearance of capitalist survivals in men's minds, and bringing about the transition from socialism to communism and the application of the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Stakhanovism is a decisive element in the advance along this glorious path, while the development of productivity under the capitalist regime tends to increase the exploitation of man by man.

Pierre Delon,
General Secretary of the French Technical and Supervisory Employees' Trade Union.

Bengal Workers Get Together

A delegate meeting of the principal public services unions was held in Calcutta last April 12. It was called by the Calcutta Tramways Workers' Union and included representatives from the Indian National Trade Union Congress (affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.), the West Bengal Provincial T.U.C. (affiliated to the W.F.T.U.), the Corporation Clerks' Union, the Port Trust Employees' Association, and many others.

The meeting was called to try to raise the falling living standards of the 90,000 public utility workers who between them are responsible for the running and maintenance of Calcutta's tram, bus and railway services, for its water, electricity and gas supplies, for its street lighting and upkeep and for its postal, port and dock facilities.

A resolution passed unanimously states:

"This meeting draws the attention of all citizens to the fact that these public utility employees do not enjoy even a minimum living wage based on the high-price level prevailing in Calcutta. On the contrary, basic wages are as low as Rs. 25/-[1] per month and inadequate dearness allowances are being further cut in some concerns (as in the Electric Supply Corporation), and have generally remained static despite the rising cost of living index during the last two years. The real value of these wages has further declined due to the recent increase in the price of rations, wheat and atta[2] which constitute the staple diet of the majority of the workers. In all these concerns, the respective employers are intensifying rationalisation drives with the object of increasing the job load per worker, intensifying and speeding up labour and retrenching as many as possible on flimsy pleas.

"The overwhelming majority of workers have no provision for quarters or decent housing and live in appalling conditions of overcrowding and privations. They have no adequate safeguard against old age, disability, and sickness or unemployment, and even the Indian government's social insurance scheme has not been extended to cover them. Medical facilities in most cases are either quite inadequate or practically non-existent.

"On top of these comes the most frequent injustice of all—the denial to these workers of the right to collective bargaining for redress of

1 1 Rupee equals 1/6d. or 21¼ cents.

2 Common wheat flour or meal.

their grievances and the legal right to strike. The majority of their government registered trade unions are not recognised by the employers for the purposes of negotiations and representation."

The resolution goes on to say that the public utility workers must draw public attention to the fact that their conditions are worsening while "profits and 'surplus' budgets go on increasing at the expense of the workers and the tax-paying public alike." To this end, these workers must unite and a joint conference must be held; for this purpose, a Preparatory Committee is to be set up.

"The Preparatory Committee shall be empowered to co-opt representatives of additional unions which desire to participate in the proposed conference. Participation is cordially invited from all public utility workers irrespective of their political views or trade union affiliations and solely on the basis of the genuine desire of all honest workers, without distinction, to join hands in their common interests, viz., the united defence of the workers' rights and joint mobilisation for realisation of their just demands."

The resolution makes it clear that there is no intention of setting up a new central organisation of public utility workers cutting across already existing organisations. All those who believe that 'unity is strength' are cordially invited "to mobilise behind the workers' demands and rights the indispensable support of Calcutta's 250,000 citizens, their progressive parties, organisations and leaders, the newly elected legislatures and Municipal Councils, the Press, etc., and to strengthen the spirit of mutual co-operation and solidarity between different sections of the public utility workers."

West Bengal Provincial Committee (AITUC).

In the United States: Growing Resistance to the Union-Busting Drive

One of the most significant features of the labour scene in the United States today is a sharpened, broad-gauged drive against the trade unions and the rights of the workers by American Big Business. This drive is joined by the Truman administration, the agent of Wall Street, although the President himself, for demagogic reasons (this being an election year), is trying to sound pro-labour. This explains his refusal to invoke the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Act to break the steel strike and his use instead of his so-called "emergency" powers to "seize" the steel mills against the opposition of the most recalcitrant sections of industry and the Press. (The steel owners are contesting the legality of the "seizure" before the U.S. Supreme Court).

The steel operators have raised the fake "seizure" issue, charging the Truman action with being "socialism" and "nationalisation," as a handy propaganda weapon against higher wages, against the union shop and against labour in general and in order to impose a price increase for steel to fatten their already swollen profits. They never took issue with past seizures —the railroads, for example, were seized in August 1950—they have always welcomed seizure as an effective strike-breaking weapon which did not reduce their profits one penny.

Until recently the anti-labor drive was directed mainly against the progressive unions by means of red-baiting attacks, Smith Act indictments, "loyalty" oaths and exploitation of the war hysteria. Now it is being broadened against the labor movement as a whole along especially savage lines because of the growing resistance by workers to efforts to saddle the burden of war economy onto their backs. Led by the steel owners, the war against labor is being joined by the coal operators and other sections of industry.

Even such rightwing leaders as William Green and Philip Murray, who have long tried to tie the A.F.L. and C.I.O. to the Truman-Wall Street war program, are being attacked. One large full-page ad by a large business front charged Green and Murray with deliberate sabotage of war production.

On the governmental front, the attack takes the form of preparing additional anti-labor legislation such as a new Smith Act, which would authorise the government to take over trade unions and administer them in times of strike, the Humphrey Commission which is holding hearings designed to "strengthen" the Taft-Hartley Act, particularly to try to destroy the progressive unions, attacks on the Wage Stabilization Board for being too "lenient" in granting wage increases, a ban on industry-wide collective bargaining and a proposal to subject unions to anti-trust laws.

This drive is both caused by and stimulates a rapidly developing struggle for wage increases, against speedup, for shorter hours and in protest against higher prices, taxes and rents.

Among the most important of these struggles is that of 650,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.) for wage increases and other demands. Negotiations with the steel owners began six months ago on a new contract to replace one expiring December 31, 1951. The following is a brief chronology of events:

Negotiations during December were unsuccessful, the company refusing the workers' demands unless price increase in excess of those permitted by the government were granted

On December 17 a strike was voted for January 1, 1952. At the same time the right-wing union leaders called for a union conference on January 3 to consider President Truman's request to defer the strike until the Wage Stabilization Board could act!

On December 27, the union leaders postponed the strike until January 3.

On January 3, a conference of 3,000 delegates postponed strike action for 45 days, till February 21, to permit W.S.B. to make a recommendation.

On February 21, the leadership postponed the strike for another month until March 23.

On March 15, a further postponement until April 4, then April 8, was made.

On March 18, the Wage Stabilization Board made recommendations for wage increases and other improvements totalling 23 cents an hour.

The Steelworkers' Union accepted the recommendations, but the employers refused because they were dissatisfied with the recommendation to raise steel prices by $3 a ton, insisting on a larger increase.

On April 8, President Truman issued his "seizure" order and requested Murray to call off the strike.

Again Murray, tied to the coattails of the Truman war program, and accepting the phoney "national emergency" argument, dutifully called off the strike.

Then followed a confusing period for the 650,000 steelworkers, who were anxious to exert their economic force by striking for their demands. When a lower court ruled the seizure illegal they went on strike and would have stayed out for weeks if called upon to do so. Then the Court of Appeals upheld the government's seizure, and the strike was again called off until a final ruling was made by the Supreme Court. Thus the steelworkers have been prevented by the government and their leaders playing the government's and employers' game from striking and enforcing their demands which their great economic strength would have enabled them to do. In fact, they were boxed into an unsatisfactory position by a government trying to solve its problem of breaking the strike and at the same time appearing to be friendly to labor (election year).

In view of Truman's long record of pro-labor talk and anti-labor actions, of strike-breaking and restoring the rule of injunctions, the reliance of the right-wing Steel Union leadership on the government to obtain wage increases, instead of on the power of the workers themselves, betrays the workers' interests.

At their Convention on May 14, the steelworkers unanimously voted to strike if the 6-month old dispute with the employers is not settled soon on the workers' terms. Shouting delegates chanted: "No contract, no work!" Their resolution stated: "We cannot and will not continue indefinitely to work in 1952 for 1950 wages and working conditions."

On June 2, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the government's seizure of the steel mills illegal and ordered them returned to private operation. The steelworkers immediately went on strike to enforce their demands.

Other recent examples of increased opposition to rising prices and the wage freeze are the strike of 77,000 telephone workers in 43 states who won in their 12-day strike wage increases of from $4 to $7 a week, and the strike of 31,000 commercial telegraphers employed by the Western Union Telegraph Company.

On April 30, 90,000 oil refinery and pipeline workers in 22 C.I.O., A.F.L. and independent unions formed an unprecedented coalition and went on strike for wage increases. On May 15, the oil unions reluctantly agreed to accept a 15 cent an hour increase recommended by the W.S.B., and contracts are being signed. In five north-western states, 40,000 C.I.O. timber-workers struck on April 29 to enforce wage increases. There were several other important strikes and others are scheduled for late May and June.

While this growing resistance is largely for wages and economic demands, political activity against anti-labor legislation and the general repression and attacks on civil liberties is also growing as workers understand more clearly the relationship between the war program and their living standards.[1] Growing sections of the workers are rejecting the claim that the United States is in an "emergency" and requires an economy geared to armaments and a garrison state, and are awakening to the need to defend their rights.

John Wolfard.

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[1] See **WTUM**, Nos. 4 and 7, 1952, "Spotlight on World Labour," for articles on these movements.

LEFT: **Picketline of the oil workers' strike.** RIGHT: **Police trying to break the picketline of telephone workers in one of the plants of the Western Electric Company, manufacturing subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.**

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

GREECE

Irving Brown: The Ambassador of Bloody Repression

IRVING BROWN has been known for a long time as a trade union disrupter and a loyal agent of the American State Department. Recently he has appeared as one of the chiefs of the ICFTU which is installed in Brussels and entirely devoted to the Americans.

Nevertheless, there are some who do not know the infamous role played by Brown in the Greek tragedy for many years. Each time the Monarcho-Fascists undertook a new terror campaign against the patriots, the provocateur appeared as though "by accident" in Greece.

At the end of February 1947, on the eve of the proclamation of the "Truman doctrine," bringing about the subjugation of this country, Irving Brown appeared on the Greek scene. Immediately after his arrival, the Tsaldaris government expelled the leadership of the General Confederation of Labour, elected at the 8th Congress. The disruptors introduced into the GCL at that time are still in the leadership.

The Greek workers, however, have refused to recognise the traitors appointed by the government. They continue to regard the men they themselves elected as their leaders.

During Brown's stay in Greece, the police, by a strange coincidence, arrested 500 chairmen and secretaries of trade union branches in Athens and Piraeus. Later, it became known that this repression was the direct result of instructions given by Brown to Zervas, the then Minister of Public Security. A few months later, this chief of the so-called "free" trade unions made a second appearance in Greece and again his arrival resulted in hundreds of victims.

The trips to Greece by this agent of Wall Street have become more frequent and always coincide with a new wave of fascist terror.

At the end of 1949, all decent people in the world expressed their indignation at the savage tortures inflicted by the Monarcho-Fascists on the prisoners on the island of Makronissos.

Again Brown appeared in Greece. He went to the Makronissos prison in order to present, on his return, the atrocities of the criminal Monarcho-Fascists as "communist propaganda."

In 1950, the traitors of the General Confederation of Labour were preparing to call their "Congress," and once more Brown went to Athens to encourage them. 118 trade union leaders, transported three years ago, were brought before a military tribunal. Two or three days before the opening of the "Congress" of the trade union traitors, the special military tribunal gave its verdict. Eight of the accused, of whom three were women, were condemned to death, and thirty others to long terms of imprisonment.

More recently, the American occupiers and their Monarcho-Fascist stooges staged the trial of the hero of the Greek people, Nikos Beloyannis. Brown, avid for blood, had been dispatched to Athens. This time the trade union gangster made no bones about the fact that he had come to Greece to strengthen the anti-working class terror.

Irving Brown... ing (drawing by Mitelberg).

On February 15, 1952, the newspaper *Vima* reported Brown's opinions in these terms: "the leader of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions expresses his anxiety at the 'excessive indulgence' (!) shown to Communists." And this Fascist paper added, "Arriving the day before yesterday, the leader of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Irving Brown, explained the reasons for his trip to Greece. Brown is travelling in Western and Southern Europe the better to organise the fight against the influence exercised by the Communists in the transport trade unions and the seamen's and dockers' organisations. The ICFTU considers that the trade unions must go over to the offensive in the fight against Communists." According to this agent of the warmongers, the "undermining work of the Communists" places Greece under the threat of finding "aid" from the United States cut off.

Assured of Brown's support, the traitors of the General Confederation of Labour demanded the supreme penalty for Beloyannis. It is another page of shame and infamy inscribed in the long history of the crimes of Brown and his Greek stooges, a page stained with the blood of heroes of the Greek people.

COSTAS THEOS, General Secretary of the Greek General Confederation of Labour, in *Trud*, 18 April, 1952.

FRANCE

The Sliding Scale

THE sliding scale for wages, salaries, old age and disability pensions is a guarantee during periods when the policy of the ruling class leads to price increases, not only as a consequence of that policy, but as a means of reducing the purchasing power of wages.

The bitter opposition of the capitalists, of the government and of the

savagely reactionary parliamentary majority to the passing of a law establishing a real sliding scale shows their determination to use such a procedure more than ever.

For us, the sliding scale is a method of guaranteeing against the constant and rapid decline in wages.

We could not agree that it should be applied to wages which are frozen with a new 15 per cent devaluation as is true today.

We intend to fight for the application of the sliding scale to wages which are first to be immediately increased by 15 per cent.

But we must also make clear that we could not agree to the principle of a sliding scale acting in a downward, as well as an upward direction, while hourly wages are 50 per cent of what they were in 1938. We do not intend to limit for all time the share of wages in the product of labour. The role of a trade union organisation is to fight unceasingly against capitalist exploitation and to win the highest possible wages at the expense of capitalist profits. This must be carried on until we achieve, as an article in our constitution makes clear, the ending of the system of wage-earners and employers.

We shall never agree to allow ourselves to be tied to a sliding scale linked to government statistics, which are so shamefully rigged, which is apparently what the government would like.

Obtaining the sliding scale which the workers want requires that it be supported and imposed by the mass action of the workers.

Extract from BENOIT FRACHON'S Report to the Administrative Commission of the CGT, *Le Peuple,* 15.5.52.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Law of Humanity

DECAPITATIONS in Malaya . . . U.S. germ warfare and ill treatment of prisoners and napalm bombing in Korea . . . blood money in Malaya . . . the spraying of crops with chemicals, the destruction of homes, the concentration camps . . .

These are ways in which the imperialists defame the name of Britain or spread American civilisation.

They have no shadow of morality on their side. That is self-evident.

They have no shred of international law to justify their methods. That may need chapter and verse; I shall give both.

Rules of war exist, and have existed for centuries.

They are based on standards of conduct for nations which are needed just as much for a community as for its individual members . . . .

The novelty of some method or weapon of warfare, or the absence of any treaty about it does not exempt it from the limitations of International law.

For the rule has been applied not only to warfare in general but also to specific weapons and targets.

1. To inflict injury as an end in itself is not permitted.

2. Weapons which cause unnecessary suffering or unavoidable death are forbidden under any circumstances.

3. Only such violence is permissible as is reasonably necessary.

4. Use of violence is limited particularly in connection with civilian life and property.

Expanding (or dum-dum) bullets were banned by The Hague Declaration of 1899. By this and The Hague Declaration of 1907 it was forbidden:

"To employ arms, projectiles or material calculated to cause unnecessary injury."

Attack or bombardment of towns, villages, or buildings, "which are not defended," is similarly prohibited.

The Hague rules of 1923 prohibit bombing even against an otherwise legitimate target, if this would involve indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population.

In 1932, the League of Nations Disarmament Conference adopted a resolution that "air attack against the civilian population shall be absolutely prohibited" . . .

The Geneva Conventions of 1949 bring us up to date. Four Conventions, signed by the representatives of 59 nations, including the five Great Powers, deal with various aspects of war including the treatment of prisoners of war and the protection of civilians.

They apply even where a state of war is not recognised by one party and to "armed conflict not of an international character," that is, colonial wars.

The Powers agree to respect the rules laid down even if one party to a conflict has not signed the conventions.

Particularly serious war crimes are carefully defined, and the governments agree to take action to make the rules which prohibit them effective.

These grave breaches of the law are:

—Wilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments.

—Wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health.

—Unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement.

—Compelling a prisoner of war or a civilian to serve in the forces of a hostile power.

—Wilfully depriving a person of his right to a fair trial.

—Taking of hostages.

—Extensive destruction and appropriation of property not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly.

MAURICE TARLO in *Daily Worker,* (London), 5.5.52.

BRAZIL

Why Prices are Rising in Brazil

EVERY price increase is a further blow at the people's budget. The Brazilian working class is starving, and its blood is being shed for the profit of a privileged handful who are amassing fantastic profits as a result of the high cost of living.

The increase in the price of one product alone—meat—is forcing the population of Rio de Janeiro to spend an extra 122 million cruzeiros a month. Following recent increases in the prices of 19 products, the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro are spending an extra 270 million cruzeiros a month.

It is neither the peasant, the small shopkeeper nor the small butcher who receives this money. The lion's share is swallowed up by the big capitalists and landowners.

The profits of the great industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises have increased relatively more than the increase in the cost of living. In 1948-1949 they were 69 per cent higher than the preceding twelve months. Last year the profits of a half-dozen important limited companies was 891 million cruzeiros, as against 531 million in 1950 (an increase of 68 per cent).

The most direct cause of the rise in the cost of living is the criminal war policy of the government, which is causing an exorbitant increase in military expenditure and war production. The government is openly spending about 8,500 million cruzeiros among the three military Ministries.

Further millions of cruzeiros have been granted for the purchase of warships and arms, and for the construction of naval and air bases for United States forces.

About twenty thousand million cruzeiros will be invested in the "Lafer Plan" to equip the railways and ports which are to ensure speedier transport of our strategic raw materials to United States' war industries.

Voz Operaria, (Rio de Janeiro), 12.4.52.

U.S.A.

They're Twisting My Arm!

ONCE upon a time two Tunisians were reading the *New York Times.* One of these, named Abu, said to his friend, "Hakim, did you see this headline: U.S. JOINS RELUCTANTLY WITH COLONIST POWERS"?

"I did not," said Hakim, inspecting the article by Thomas J. Hamilton. "Could it be that someone is twisting Truman's arm?"

"It is obvious," continued Abu, "that U.S. policy toward colonial peoples is causing them much pain."

"Then why don't they change the policy?" asked Hakim.

"They prefer the pain. Mr. Hamilton writes that when the question of Libyan independence came up in the U.N., the United States delegates voted with the other colonial powers only 'after painfully obvious hesitation'."

"What brave diplomats to stand such pain!" exclaimed Hakim.

"And did you notice, Hakim, with what painful reluctance they laid down the law to Iran in that little matter of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company?"

"I did indeed, Abu. What heroism! All their policies give them pain and reluctance, but they don't care."

"They give me a pain, too," said Abu, "Now as Mr. Hamilton writes, the U.S. delegates voted with even greater reluctance against placing on the agenda the complaint we Tunisians issued against France."

"Shall we all be sorry for the U.S. delegates?" asked Hakim.

"Let's not," said Abu.

"You see," continued Hakim, borrowing the paper, "the United States, according to Mr. Hamilton, has to rely on the co-operation of the colonial powers because they need them 'to save the free world from totalitarianism'".

"This deserves some serious thought," said Abu.

"It does indeed. We Tunisians had better not think of freedom or national liberation for the time being."

"Neither should the Koreans, the Malayans, the Indo-Chinese, the Iranians, the Burmese—"

"That's enough Abu. I get the idea."

Abu shook his head. "Isn't it a strange world, my friend?" he asked. "None of us people in Africa and Asia can be free. If we are free, there won't be a 'free world'."

"I guess the 'free world' can't exist unless we're not free, Hakim."

Hakim nodded. "Do you know what would happen if the Acheson gang in the U.N. ever got a really free world?"

"They'd faint dead away, my friend."

"I would be very reluctant to see that happen," said Hakim, "and I would find it a very painful experience. But I sure would enjoy it!"

"Me, too," said Abu.

Ted Tinsley in *Daily Worker*, (New York), 2.5.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

May 7

THE CHEMICAL WORKERS' TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL decides to organise an international protest demonstration on June 25 against the use of bacteriological weapons by the American forces in Korea. It calls on all workers in the chemical and allied industries to unite in a broad protest movement against the use of weapons of mass destruction and to demand an immediate end to the use of bacteriological weapons.

May 15

UNITED STATES—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C.I.O.) in its Convention unanimously calls for the repeal of the Smith and McCarran thought-control laws and for the abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

LEBANON—The railwaymen's trade unions, now on strike, demand the nationalisation of the company owning the Damas-Homs railway line.

May 16

FRANCE—At the call of the three trade union centres, the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and the F.O., the shop assistants do not start work until 10.30, after demonstrating for the retention of two consecutive rest days.

—A protest demonstration against transporting American war material takes place in the Montauban station. Demonstrators throw cases of arms, munitions and equipment from a freight train onto the railway line.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—The Council of Ministers issues new decrees for the improvement of the labour legislation in line with proposals made by the trade unions.

WESTERN GERMANY—One hundred and seventy thousand workers in Hamburg and 50,000 workers in Mannheim demonstrate against the contractual agreements. Demonstrations also took place in Wuppertal and other places.

GREECE—The new trial of the trade union leader Tony Ambatielos is postponed until August.

UNITED STATES—The International Fur and Leather Workers' Union announces at its convention a gain of 10,000 new members in the past two years. A programme is adopted calling for a 30-hour week in industries with severe unemployment, an organising drive, an end to inter-union-raiding and the establishment of unity.

JAPAN—Forty-three thousand workers in the five largest metal mining companies of Japan strike for 24 hours for higher wages.

—The *Subversive Activities Prevention Bill*, the *Public Security Examination Commission Bill* and the *Public Security Investigation Department Bill* are passed by the Japanese House of Representatives with a reduced majority of 194 to 103 although the Yoshida 'Liberal' Party has now over 280 seats in the House of Representatives.

GUATEMALA—The government presents a draft law on agrarian reform to the Chamber of Deputies, which is examined by a special commission presided over by V. M. Guttierrez, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala.

May 17

GERMANY—Five hundred thousand people in Berlin demonstrate against violence by the Adenauer police on the occasion of the youth demonstration at Essen.

May 18

HONG KONG—Five officials and members of the trade union at the Hong Kong Military Hospital are among 18 people deported from the British colony.

May 19

WESTERN GERMANY—A conference takes place at Stuttgart with more than 100 representatives of various organisations fighting for peace and against remilitarisation.

ITALY—Five hundred thousand share croppers and agricultural workers in Tuscany strike for 24 hours and take part in great demonstrations organised

by the unity trade unions to get their collective agreements discussed and to stop the dismissals and expulsions.

CHINA—Jose Ventorelli, member of the Chile Peace Committee, and James G. Endicott, Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress, support the call for an Asian and Pacific Region Peace Conference.

May 20

WESTERN GERMANY—One hundred thousand workers in Frankfurt and tens of thousands of workers in Bielefeld, Bochum and Reintligen demonstrate against the law on factory committees and against the contractual agreements.

BELGIUM—The workers of several engineering factories of Charleroi stop work and demonstrate for social security improvements and a higher standard of living, despite the opposition of the reformist trade union leaders.

UNITED STATES—Ten thousand oil workers of the Sinclair Oil Company resume work after obtaining 15 cents an hour wage increase.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—Three non-European and three European trade union leaders receive notice from the Minister of Justice forbidding them as "named" Communists to take any part in public life. Among them are J. J. Marks, president of the African Mine Workers' Union and of the Transvaal African Congress, I. Wolfson, secretary of the Tailoring Workers' Industrial Union, R. Fleet, secretary of the Hairdressers' Union, D. J. Du Plessis, vice-president of the Union of Laundering, Cleaning and Dying Workers, and E. Sachs, general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union.

—The South African Garment Workers' Union announces a one-day strike in protest against the Government order against their general secretary.

May 21

IRAN—The Soviet government protests to the Iranian Government against the activities of the American Military Mission in Iran which actually places the Iranian Army, with the consent of the Iranian government, under the direct control of United States General Staff.

FRANCE—The Congress of the Printing Workers' Federation of the CGT decides to withdraw from the the International Printing Workers' Federation closely linked to the ICFTU.

—In spite of the violent repression which is being carried on and the incessant splitting manoeuvres, the CGT obtains more than 72 per cent of the votes in the election of delegates to the Joint Factory Committee in the large Citroen plant in Paris.

GREAT BRITAIN—The T.U.C. General Council decides not to re-register the ½ million-strong London Trades Council, which means that this long-established organisation of London workers will no longer have T.U.C. recognition or backing.

ISRAEL—Two thousand employees in the municipal services strike for 20 hours for a 15 per cent wage increase.

May 23

WESTERN GERMANY—The representatives of the German youth from various provinces demonstrate in Bonn against the contractual agreements. Large demonstrations and strikes took place in Aix-la-Chapelle, Essen, Kiel, Wupperthal; 1,600 delegates to the Women's Peace Conference, which is meeting in Bonn, goes on record for a united Germany and for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty.

CHILE—In Santiago, a National Conference in Defence of Civil Liberties meets with over 500 delegates. The conference protests against the American-Chilean military pact, a serious threat to democracy. It proposes the organisation of a continental Congress for the defence of civil rights and democracy.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—The Secretariat of the FDGB calls on its members to unite with the Western German trade unionists to strengthen the fight against the contractual agreements.

FRANCE — Many demonstrations against the arrival of General Ridgway take place in Paris. The workers stop work in many factories.

—In Paris and throughout France the workers and the rest of the population join with the Algerian workers to demonstrate against colonialist oppression and the deportation of Messali Hadj. In the towns of Montbéliard and Havre two Algerian workers are killed by the police.

—Faced with the firm resolution of the dockers who refuse to handle war material, and the impossibility of finding other labour the port authorities of the Bastia port are forced to reopen the employment bureau, closed since March 4.

UNITED STATES—The Commercial Telegraphers' Union (AFL) reaches agreement with the Western Union Telegraph Company providing for 10 cents an hour wage increase, thus ending an 8-week old strike for 30,000 workers when they ratify the agreement.

—The conflict begun three years ago between 3 railwaymen's trade union organisations and 130 private railway companies ends with an agreement for retroactive wage increases; the railways, which had been under army operation are returned to their private owners.

INDIA—The Indian government publishes its budget for 1952. While famine is ravaging the countryside, the subsidies for food products drop from 250 to 150 million rupees; military expenditure increases by 1,980 million rupees.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—The progressive newspaper *The Guardian* is banned.

May 24

U.S.S.R.—The Soviet government addresses a note to the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France on the peace treaty with Germany.

AUSTRIA—The second conference of shop stewards is held in Vienna. The 400 delegates demand the establishment of normal trading relations with the U.S.S.R. to give work to the unemployed.

CEYLON—Peter Keuneman, an official of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, is elected to parliament for Colombo Central with a 7,000 majority over Goonesinha, Minister of State.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—Mr. Sachs is arrested while addressing a meeting of 10,000 people in front of Johannesburg City Hall. More than 50 people are injured by the police. The Garment Workers' Union calls a protest strike.

ITALY—Industrial workers and tramwaymen hold a one-hour strike in Turin at the call of the united trade unions for the defence of trade union rights. They refuse to recognise the validity of agreements signed between the employers' organisation and the ICFTU trade union organisation.

May 25

FRANCE—André Stil, editor of *l'Humanité*, is arrested for having appealed, in an editorial, to the people of Paris to demonstrate on May 28 against the arrival of Ridgway in Paris.

May 26

WESTERN GERMANY—Against the clearly expressed will of the majority of the German people, the contractual agreements are signed in Bonn by the Ministers of the Western Powers and Adenauer, sanctioning the division of the country and the remilitarisation of Western Germany.

ITALY — Printworkers in Genoa, Venice, Naples and Milan hold a 24-hour strike for wage increases. No newspapers appear in any of the five provinces.

BELGIUM—The 5,000 workers of the Iseghem shoe factory return to work after a seven-week strike, having obtained a wage increase of from 43 to 65 centimes an hour for men and from 75 centimes to 1.50 francs for women.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—Most of the clothing workers go on strike

in protest against the arrest of their general secretary, E. Sachs. The latter, released on parole, is again arrested for having addressed a trade union meeting.

PAKISTAN—Journalists observe a day of protest against the new Security Act which allows the government to censor and suppress newspapers and to force journalists to reveal their sources of information.

JAPAN—A government survey reveals that one million Japanese are living in air-raid shelters, tents and under bridges because of the housing shortage.

WESTERN GERMANY—Demonstrations against the signing of the contractual agreements are held in Western Germany and in the German Democratic Republic, particularly in Chemnitz, Halle and Magdeburg.

—Printers are on strike in protest against the signing of the contractual agreements. No newspapers appear.

ITALY—Two thousand people demonstrate in front of the Town Hall in Rosolina, in the Po plain, demanding the reconstruction of houses and roads. Brutal police intervention results in injury to several demonstrators. Four hundred women demonstrate in Contarina against a government decree stopping the payment of compensation to flood victims; they are also attacked by the police.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—Two thousand five hundred delegates from the whole of Germany take part in the 4th Congress of the Free German Youth in Leipzig.

UNITED STATES—The Sailors' Union of the Pacific (AFL) calls a strike to enforce contract negotiations with the Pacific Maritime Association, which represents 25 steamship companies. Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, charges the SUP with striking to further its attempts to raid the ILWU and the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards.

—The leaders of the oilworkers' union announce that the strike is drawing to a close as agreements continue to be signed. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the workers have returned to work.

CHINA—A trade agreement is signed between China and India under which China will deliver 100,000 tons of rice to India within the next few months.

May 28

GREAT BRITAIN—The Annual Conference of the Electrical Trades Union calls for the signing of a peace pact between the five Great Powers, the outlawing of atomic and germ warfare and the admission of China to the United Nations. The assistant general secretary calls for a meeting between the WFTU and the ICFTU with a view to agreement on common objectives.

—The Minister of Labour reports that 175,946 textile workers and 45,628 clothing workers were on short time at the end of March.

INDIA—Bus and tram conductors go to work in their underclothes to demand a wage increase and free uniforms.

BELGIUM—Six thousand metalworkers of Gand, some of whom have been on strike since May 12, return to work after winning 400 francs bonus for three months and the promise of 40 centimes an hour wage increase from August 1.

FRANCE—Paris is under a state of siege as mighty demonstrations take place against the arrival of Ridgway. The workers and the population clash with the police in all parts of the city and strongly resist the savage brutality of the police. One demonstrator is killed and many injured. In the morning, the police close the "Bourse du Travail" and the offices of the Paris Regional Trades Council. Demonstrations against Ridgway also take place throughout France. At 10 p.m. the government arrests Jacques Duclos, secretary of the French Communist Party, in spite of his parliamentary immunity.

May 29

FRANCE—Workers stop work and demonstrate in many factories against the arrest of Jacques Duclos, demanding his release.

GREAT BRITAIN—The official index of the Ministry of Labour shows that there is now a nine-point gap between wages and prices, as compared with a four-point gap a year ago. Wages have remained stationary at 127 points for the third month in succession, despite price increases.

WESTERN GERMANY—In many factories the workers stop work to protest against the Adenauer government's war policy. In a number of coal areas, in Cologne, Wupperthal, Leverkusen, the miners go on strike.

JAPAN—During a commemoration ceremony for a worker who was killed three years ago, the police kill three demonstrators and arrest 103 people.

May 31

SOVIET UNION—The construction of the first Communist undertaking, the Volga-Don Canal, about 63 miles long, is finished. The five seas, Baltic, Arctic, Vaspian, Azov and Black Sea are now linked to each other.

GERMANY—In the American sector of Berlin a demonstration is held against the signing of the contractual agreements and against the law on the factory committees.

AUSTRIA—Meetings of the Austrian Youth at Linz and Graz affirmed their will to fight against the remilitarisation of Austria and for peace.

June 1

Throughout the world, men and women celebrate International Children's Day under the watchword of the fight for peace, in defence of the life and health of children.

June 2

AUSTRALIA—An Arbitration Court fines the Waterside Workers' Union £500 (Australian) for contempt in refusing to lift its ban on overtime. The ban was imposed because the Court refused to hear a claim for higher pay.

HONG KONG—Eleven members of the Hong Kong Chinese Tramways Workers' Union are arrested and deported to China for 'activities prejudicial to the good conduct of the colony.' Secretary and chairman are reported to be among them.

June 3

GREAT BRITAIN—The annual conference of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers decides to press for a 6d. an hour wage increase and for two weeks annual paid holiday.

—The annual conference of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers decides to press for substantial wage increases.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

JULY 1—15, 1952 ★ No. 13

United French Workers Defend Peace, Wages, Freedom . Henri Raynaud

Advance of Trade Union Unity in Chile . . . . . Orlando Millas

Economic Research in U.S. Trade Unions . . . . . Elinor Kahn

Algerian Trade Union Movement Forges Ahead . . . Braham Moussa

W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau's Appeal for Development of Workers' Struggle in Defence of Trade Union Rights and Freedoms

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Joint Franco-German Working Class Struggle Against War • W.F.T.U. Protests Against South African Arrests • German Workers Fight For Peace • Spotlight on Poland, U.S.A., India, Great Britain • and other regular features

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SUPPLEMENT—Resolutions of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, Vienna, June 9 - 14, 1952

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

BY THE

EXECUTIVE BUREAU

OF THE

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

VIENNA, JUNE 9-14, 1952

Supplement to No. 13, 1-15 July, 1952, World Trade Union Movement.

APPEAL

- ***For the Development of the Struggle of the Workers***
- ***For the Defence of Trade Union Rights and Freedoms***

Men and women workers of the world!

The World Federation of Trade Unions, loyal to its noble duty as a defender of the vital interests of the workers, declares its firm resolve to fight against the offensive launched by the warmongers and their lackeys on the economic and social rights and the democratic liberties of the workers.

This offensive is tending to subject the workers of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries to even more savage exploitation and greater poverty. To this end, serious attacks are made on democratic rights, won by the workers after long and difficult struggles.

But the working class, all working people, are strengthening their fight for the improvement of their working and living conditions, for the defence of social legislation, trade union rights, democratic freedoms and peace. The protest movement is extending. Strikes are increasing. The unity of the working class is being strengthened.

With a view to breaking the resistance of the workers to the policy of hunger, poverty and war carried on by the imperialists, reactionary governments are introducing anti-working class laws, banning strikes. raiding trade union offices, seizing or banning their newspapers, dismissing and persecuting militants and firing on peaceful workers' demonstrations.

The imperialists strive to prevent any demonstration of international working class solidarity. They forbid exchanges of trade union and working class delegations between all countries by the practice of scandalous discrimination.

The offensive by the reactionary forces is assuming an increasingly fascist character.

In order to introduce this anti-working class policy, the imperialists are making use of their agents in the trade union movement.

The leaders of the "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions" continue their splitting activity. They are trying to prevent the achievement of united action for the workers' economic and social demands or to smash it where it exists. They try to weaken the trade unions, to divert them from their fight for their rights and freedoms, against fascism and war. They support the anti-working class policy of the capitalist governments and the employers, both in the various countries and within the ILO and the United Nations.

The coalition of reactionary trade union leaders, imperialist governments and employers has enabled the ILO to bury the 19 complaints presented to the United Nations by the World Federation of Trade Unions with regard to brutal violations of trade union rights in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries.

However, neither imperialist repression nor the treachery of reactionary trade union leaders can break the will of the workers. The struggle is continuing and developing.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau expresses its fraternal solidarity to the workers in their just fight.

All the experience of the international working class movement teaches us that it is essentially by united action that the workers can defend their rights and attain their ends.

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls upon the workers and the trade union organisations of all viewpoints and of all countries to broaden their activity in order to halt the offensive of reaction, against all manifestations of fascism and to take part in rallying all democratic forces against the policy of war and repression.

Men and women workers!

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau calls upon you to strengthen and develop the fight for the defence of trade union rights and democratic liberties, linking it closely with the fight for economic and social demands, for national independence and for peace.

Be vigilant and take action against the attacks directed against trade union organisations.

In order to do this it is necessary to make these organisations still more powerful and more active and to unite around them the broad masses of the workers.

Brothers and Sisters!

Let us organise a strong reply to the offensive by reaction against the economic and social rights and freedoms of the workers.

Let us expose the attacks by the capitalist governments on trade union rights and organise broad protest campaigns.

Let us force respect for trade union democracy in the organisations in which reactionary trade union bureaucrats are violating trade union rights.

Let us expose more actively the splitters who are betraying the interests of the working class and who reject joint action by the workers.

Let us achieve united action of workers of different trade union affiliations and the unorganised workers in order to ensure the success of our struggle.

Let us call the unorganised into the trade unions and set up trade unions wherever they do not yet exist.

Long live the unity of the workers of the world!

Long live the resolute action of men and women workers for their rights and democratic freedoms, for peace throughout the world!

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau.

Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Appeal to the Workers of All Lands on the Rearmament of Germany and Japan

Men and women workers!

The World Federation of Trade Unions draws your attention to the criminal plots of the warmongers, who desire to maintain the division of Germany and are striving to restore German fascism and Japanese militarism with a view to involving the peoples in a new bloody slaughter.

Carried out under the direction of the American imperialists, the remilitarisation of Western Germany and Japan aims at transforming these countries once more into bases for aggression in Europe and the Far East.

In their war preparations, the imperialists are increasing the exploitation and plunder of the working people by introducing anti-working class and anti-trade union laws, and using fascist methods to crush working class struggles.

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls upon the workers of the world to support the just struggle of the German and Japanese peoples for their independence, for freedom and democracy, and against the imperialist plans for the remilitarisation of Germany and Japan.

Our duty, and the duty of the workers of the whole world, is to prevent the warmongers from carrying out their monstrous plans and their new bloody conspiracy against mankind. We shall succeed if we are united and resolute in this joint struggle.

The World Federation of Trade Unions particularly calls upon the workers in the countries in which the militarist General Treaty is to be submitted for ratification to organise widespread protests demanding the cancellation of this treaty.

The W.F.T.U. greets the German and Japanese workers, who are fighting against the remilitarisation of their countries, thus demonstrating their great desire for peace between the peoples.

Down with the militarist "General Treaty" imposed upon Western Germany by the warmongers!

Long live united, democratic and peaceful Germany!

Down with the military agreement between the American imperialists and the Japanese militarists!

Long live peaceful, independent and democratic Japan!

Long live world peace!

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Resolution on International Day, June 25th, 1952

The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, taking up the appeal launched by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, calls upon all trade union organisations, all men and women workers, to take part in unity in the day of active international solidarity for the heroic Korean people and for the defence of peace.

On June 25th, 1952, in collaboration with the Peace Committees, the workers will demonstrate for:

— the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on a fair and reasonable basis, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country;

— the unconditional banning of weapons of mass destruction and condemnation of the crime committed by the American aggressors in using bacteriological weapons on the Korean front and in North East China.

— the denunciation of the scandalous and inhuman methods of repression used by the American military leaders in the prison camps for Koreans and Chinese Volunteers.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau is convinced that the men and women workers of the world will boldly develop every initiative in order to strengthen the world front of the Defenders of Peace on the occasion of June 25th, 1952.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Resolution on the Participation of the Trade Unions in the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Countries

The World Federation of Trade Unions warmly supports the appeal of the Preparatory Conference for the calling of a conference of Peace Partisans in the Asian and Pacific countries. This Conference is faced with the important and noble task of uniting all peaceful men and organisations of the Asian and Pacific countries with a view to drawing up effective measures for the strengthening of peace and security in these countries.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau recommends that all trade union organisations in the Asian and Pacific countries actively participate in the preparation for the Conference of the Partisans of Peace as well as in the Conference itself, to be held in Peking.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Resolution on the Defence, Extension and Improvement of Social Insurance and Social Security

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, meeting in Vienna (Austria), after examining the preparatory work of the International Conference on Social Security and Social Insurance, decided upon by the General Council in Berlin, November 1951, approves the two resolutions adopted by the Working Committee in its two meetings on February 4 and 6, 1952, one dealing with the organisation of the Conference, and the other with the draft programme to serve as a basis for discussion.

The Executive Bureau fixes December 1952 and Vienna as the time and place of meeting.

With this in view it confirms the calling of the Sponsoring and Preparatory Committee on June 18 and 19.

The Executive Bureau confirms that this Conference is open to all trade union organisations, to all interested associations and groups, to all people of whatever profession, social position or opinion in favour of social security desiring to work in its defence in their countries.

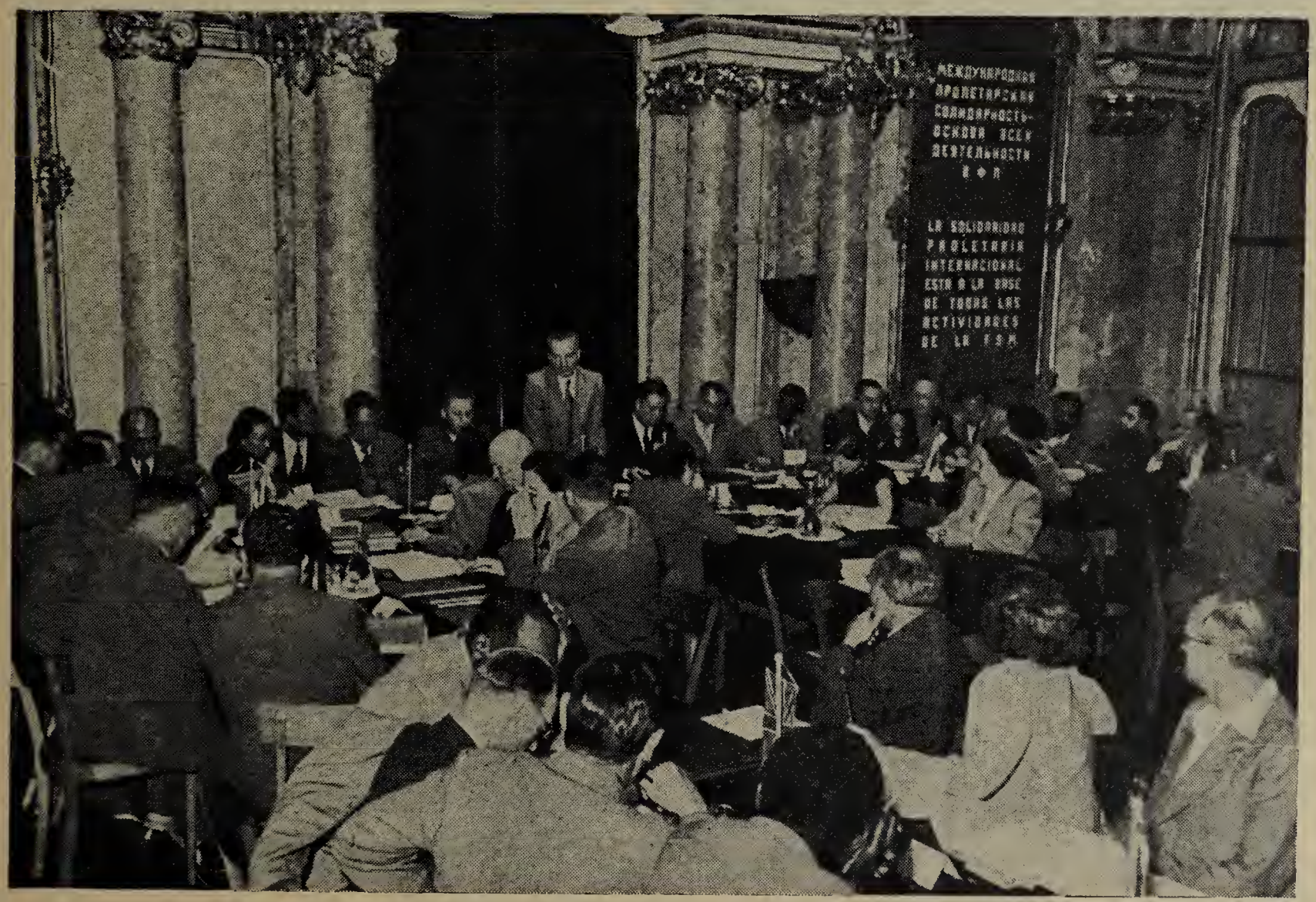
The Executive Bureau draws the attention of the National Centres and trade union organisations to the growing importance of the action taken by the workers for Social Insurance and Social Security in the capitalist countries as their living conditions become worse due to the policy of excessive armament and war preparation.

It stresses the link between action for Social Security and the present day struggles of the workers for the increased purchasing power of their wages, and against the policy of poverty and famine.

The Executive Bureau stresses the particular importance of Social Security problems in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Savagely exploited by the colonialists, the workers of these countries, suffering inadequate social legislation (further limited by racial discrimination) and sometimes deprived of any social laws whatever, feel the need and urgency for mass action in favour of Social Security. They have the right to the support of the workers of other countries to obtain advanced

A view of a part of the conference room during one of the meetings of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau which has just finished its sessions in Vienna.



social legislation, particularly Social Insurance and Social Security.

The Executive Bureau considers the participation of the working masses in the preparation of the International Conference is essential to its success. The workers must therefore undertake the preparation of the Conference in close unity for the defence, extension and improvement of Social Security in the various countries.

The job of the trade union organisations is to establish this unity by taking the initiative in setting up action committees for Social Insurance and Social Security in the factories. It must also extend this unity to the local and national committees which will be concerned more particularly with the organisation of national conferences of either one or many trades. These conferences will elect national delegates to the International Conference. They will draw up reports and communications which can be presented and examined during the International Conference.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Louis Saillant, W.F.T.U. General Secretary, giving his report to the recent session of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. At his right is A. Le Léap, General Secretary of the French C.G.T., Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., and L. Soloviev, Secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, and member of the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee.

Resolution on The Situation of the Workers in the Countries of North Africa

After examining the situation of the workers in North Africa, the Executive Bureau denounces before the workers of the whole world the savage colonial oppression and the hateful repression directed against the patriots who are fighting for the independence of their country.

Colonial oppression deprives the workers of North Africa of the most elementary human rights and liberties; there is an absence of any effective social legislation or Labour Code in Morocco and Tunisia, and legislation existing in Algeria is violated; national culture is stifled in these countries and illiteracy reigns; the workers are subjected to racial discrimination and are deprived of medical care and of the possibility of receiving education; trade union rights are everywhere grossly violated; the Moroccan workers are forbidden to set up trade unions. The colonialists subject the North African peoples to the most savage repression; they fire on the workers' peaceful demonstrations; they throw trade union militants and fighters for freedom and national independence into prison. This harsh situation of the workers in the North African countries is the result of the domination of French and American imperialism which is turning these countries into strategic bases in order to use the peoples and territories of North Africa for a new world war.

The workers and trade union organisations of the North African countries are waging a courageous fight against colonialism and for their national independence and freedom. In this fight against their exploiters they are fighting stubbornly for their demands and for their economic, social and cultural rights. They are rightly denouncing the splitting activities of the agents of imperialism who have placed themselves in the service of the colonialists and the enemies of the working class.

Resisting attacks against them, the workers of North Africa are developing and strengthening united action.

The World Federation of Trade Unions in the name of 80 million workers united in its ranks, affirms

its solidarity with this just fight of the North African workers for national independence, for the improvement of their economic position, their rights and democratic liberties, and the unity of the trade union movement.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau greets the workers of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco who are struggling against the imperialists' crimes. It denounces the savage repression carried out against these peoples. It demands the release of all imprisoned trade union militants and fighters of the national liberation movement and an end to prosecutions of democrats.

The W.F.T.U. supports the demands of the Algerian people for terminating the deportation of Messali Hadj and demands his return to Algeria.

The World Federation of Trade Unions protests indignantly against the death sentences on five patriots passed by the Tunis Military Tribunal. It calls upon the workers of all countries to demonstrate for the cancellation of these sentences and for the release of these fighters for freedom and national independence.

Convinced that only through the unity of all the workers can those conditions indispensable to the successful outcome of the peoples' liberation struggle be fulfilled, the Executive Bureau calls on the North African workers to organise United Action Committees in the factories, workshops, towns and villages.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau denounces the opposition to united action and the attempts to hinder this development by the splitters, who thus show their true character and at the same time reveal the demagogy of the statements by the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U., A.F.L., and the French organisation, Force Ouvriere, which pretend to defend the workers' and peoples' rights.

In fact, the North African workers realise that the I.C.F.T.U. leaders help to maintain the regime of exploitation and colonial oppression in North Africa.

The Executive Bureau asks the General Assembly of the United Nations to examine and give satisfaction to the just national demands of the Tunisian and Moroccan peoples to be presented to its next session. It makes the following recommendations to the trade union organisations of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia :

— to achieve united action of the workers regardless of political or religious opinions in the fight for their basic interests. Above all, this unity must be organised from below, at places of work, for specific demands around which can be united broad masses of workers;

— to link more closely the fight for economic and social demands and for respect of trade union rights and freedoms with the struggle against colonial repression, for the release of those imprisoned and deported, for national independence and peace;

— to denounce systematically the acts of the splitters which are aimed at sowing distrust and hatred among the workers in order to disunite them and to weaken their forces.

The Executive Bureau in greeting the struggle carried on by the peoples of North Africa, calls on the workers of the world to support the action of the workers and peoples of North Africa against imperialist oppression, for national independence, for the improvement of the workers' economic position, for democratic rights and freedoms, for the unity of the trade union movement and for peace.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Resolution on the Amalgamation of Two Trade Unions Internationals

The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions has examined the proposals of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat for the amalgamation of the Trade Unions Internationals of Seamen and Dockers, and of the Land and Air Transport Workers.

Taking into consideration the favourable results of the collaboration of these T.U.I.s, the Bureau supports the proposal for the amalgamation of these two Trade Unions Internationals.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Decision on the Nomination of W.F.T.U. Secretaries

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, at its 20th session in Vienna, takes the following decision :

Brother *Luigi Grassi,* W.F.T.U. Secretariat representative in charge of the Trade Departments, and Brother *Henri Jourdain,* Secretary of the Trade Unions International of the Metal and Engineering Industries, are appointed Secretaries of the W.F.T.U.

This decision, which comes into force immediately, will be submitted for ratification to the next session of the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee in accordance with the Constitution.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

Telegram of Greetings to W.F.T.U. President Brother Di Vittorio

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau warmly greets its President and assures him of its entire confidence. The Executive Bureau in opening its session profoundly regrets your absence due to the arbitrary decision of the Italian Government to withdraw your passport. We protest against this anti-democratic action, which strengthens still further the feelings of friendship of the 80 million members of the W.F.T.U. for their esteemed President.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 10th June, 1952.

Protest Telegram sent to President Einaudi of the Italian Republic

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau meeting in Vienna on June 9th 1952, has learned of the reason for which its President, Giuseppe Di Vittorio, is unable to preside over its sessions.

It strongly protests against the arbitrary measure of withdrawing his passport taken by the Italian Government in disregard of the Constitution of the Italian Republic and in violation of his prerogative as elected deputy of the Italian people.

This fascist-like act is an attempt to make it impossible for the General Secretary of the largest Italian trade union organisation, the President of the most powerful international trade union organisation, to participate in the present session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council and to continue to carry out his zealous work on behalf of the workers of the world.

By this act taken against its President, an attempt is being made to limit the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The Executive Bureau once more affirms that no arbitrary measure and no violence can break the international solidarity of the workers nor hinder the development of the W.F.T.U. which supports the workers of the world in their courageous struggle for the winning of a better future of peace and justice.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 10th June, 1952.

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W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau's Appeal

- *For the Development of the Struggle of the Workers*
- *For the Defence of Trade Union Rights and Freedoms*

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With a view to breaking the resistance of the workers to the policy of hunger, poverty and war carried on by the imperialists, the reactionary governments are introducing anti-working class laws, banning strikes, raiding trade union offices, seizing or banning their newspapers, dismissing and persecuting militants and firing on peaceful workers' demonstrations.

The imperialists are striving to prevent any demonstration of international working class solidarity. They forbid exchanges of trade union and working class delegations between all countries by the practice of scandalous discrimination.

The offensive by the reactionary forces is assuming an increasingly fascist character.

In order to introduce this anti-working class policy, the imperialists are making use of their agents in the trade union movement.

The leaders of the "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions" continue their splitting activity. They are trying to prevent the achievement of united action for the workers' economic and social demands or to smash it where it exists. They try to weaken the trade unions, to divert them from their fight for their rights and freedoms, against fascism and war. They support the anti-working class policy of the capitalist governments and the employers, both in the various countries and within the I.L.O. and the United Nations.

The coalition of reactionary trade union leaders, imperialist governments and employers has enabled the I.L.O. to bury the 19 complaints presented to the United Nations by the World Federation of Trade Unions with regard to brutal violations of trade union

rights in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries.

However, neither imperialist repression nor the treachery of reactionary trade union leaders can break the will of the workers. The struggle is continuing and developing.

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau expresses its fraternal solidarity to the workers in their just fight.

All the experience of the international working class movement teaches us that it is essentially by united action that the workers can defend their rights and attain their ends.

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls upon the workers and the trade union organisations of all viewpoints and of all countries to broaden their activity in order to halt the offensive of reaction, against all manifestations of fascism and to take part in rallying all democratic forces against the policy of war and repression.

Men and women workers!

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau calls upon you to strengthen and develop the fight for the defence of trade union rights and democratic liberties, linking it closely with the fight for economic and social demands, for national independence and for peace.

Be vigilant and take action against the attacks directed against trade union organisations.

In order to do this it is necessary to make these organisations still more powerful and more active and to unite around them the broad masses of the workers.

Brothers and Sisters!

Let us organise a strong reply to the offensive by reaction against the economic and social rights and freedoms of the workers.

Let us expose the attacks by the capitalist governments on trade union rights and organise broad protest campaigns.

Let us force respect for trade union democracy in the organisations in which reactionary trade union bureaucrats are violating trade union rights.

Let us expose more actively the splitters who are betraying the interests of the working class and who reject joint action by the workers.

Let us achieve united action of workers of different trade union affiliations and the unorganised workers in order to ensure the success of our struggle.

Let us call the unorganised into the trade unions and set up trade unions wherever they do not yet exist.

Long live the unity of the workers of the world!

Long live the resolute action of men and women workers for their rights and democratic freedoms, for peace throughout the world!

The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau,
Vienna, 14th June, 1952.

United, the French Workers are Defending Peace, Wages and Freedom

By **HENRI RAYNAUD**,
Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (G.G.T.)

FOR the last few weeks events have been occurring in France which, by their importance, are claiming the attention of workers in all countries.

The reactionary measures taken by the French government are assuming a clearly fascist character. The illegal arrest of Jacques Duclos, that courageous fighter for peace, the arrests, provocations, the police operations against peace demonstrators, militants and trade union headquarters, all reveal the launching of a veritable plan directed against the workers and the people of France, a plan inspired by the American imperialists and carried out by Baylot, the Socialist Prefect of Police, who has returned from the United States especially for this purpose.

By these measures Mr. Pinay (one of the most responsible leaders of the French National Employers' Council and the present Prime Minister) wants to curb the mounting forces of peace and the powerful united action movement of the French working class.

Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the C.G.T., on June 7, 1952, was able to make the relevant statement that:

> "In arresting Jacques Duclos and inventing a plot, the Pinay government is pursuing very definite objectives. Above all, it aims at eliminating all opposition to the policy of war and poverty."

For, after all, who is Pinay? He is one of the leading employers in the fur and leather industry, a former Vichyite[1], who came to power with the help of the right-wing socialists, who agreed that he should be allowed to carry out his "experiment."

However, Mr. Pinay's "experiment" at government (and the right-wing socialists could not have been ignorant of it) could only be the introduction of measures extolled by the reactionary employers. It meant the intensification of the policy of poverty, an increase in anti-working class repression, the speeding-up of war preparations, and an even more servile submission to the wishes of the American imperialists.

Mr. Fougerolle, President of the Paris Chamber of Commerce, wrote soon after Mr. Pinay's coming to power:

> "The Pinay experiment is not an experiment: it is a collection of measures which was worked out several years ago by most of the Chambers of Commerce, as well as by the French National Employers' Council."

☆ ☆ ☆

MR. Pinay came to power after the fall of Edgar Faure and the failure of two of his predecessors to form a government.

However, this fall and this two failures were the result of the united drive by the working class for their demands, and especially for increases in wages, whose purchasing power was continually subject to severe attacks because of the rise in the cost of living.

For it is a fact that in spite of the savage opposition of the government and the employers, the French working class, led by the C.G.T., and thanks to united action, had won great successes in its fight for wage increases. Between September 1950 and September 1951, it won an average wage increase of 36%, over 26% of which was won during 1951.

All that largely upset the warmongers' plans, and the Americans were continually complaining about the situation.

The policy of war preparation, super-armament, the continuation of the criminal war in Viet-Nam, the policy of continually rising capitalist super-profits could not go side by side with the application of a sliding scale which would guarantee the purchasing power of wages, nor with a general increase in wages and salaries.

Having decided to freeze wages, to refuse the sliding scale, and to continue the ruinous war policy of his predecessors, Mr. Pinay could only have as his first objective that of bringing the working class to heel and especially that insolent C.G.T. which resists all the blows delivered against it.

To achieve this aim, Mr. Pinay sought to fool the workers with the bluff of a so-called price reduction.

But this sinister comedy no longer deceives anyone in France. The workers did not believe in *a real fall in the cost of living* while the present policy continues, for the good reason that facts are facts.

Official statistics themselves admit that the cost of living has risen by more than 5 per cent since September 1951.

By refusing to raise wages and salaries, which come to a total annual figure of about 4,000,000 million francs, by 15 per cent, the government is stealing 600,000 million francs from the working class, which is exactly the annual cost of the Viet-Nam war.

The French workers do not intend to allow this to go on.

Despite the comedy of price-reductions, despite the sharpening of anti-working class measures in the factories, despite the growth of unemployment in certain industries, despite the splitting manoeuvres of the leaders of the "Force Ouvrière"[1] and despite the refusal of united action by the leaders of the French Confederation of Christian Workers,[2]

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1 Supporter of the traitor Pétain, Hitler's gauleiter in France who established his government in Vichy.

1 Force Ouvrière: Breakaway centre under right-wing socialist leadership, affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., and whose chief is Léon Jouhaux.

2 French Confederation of Christian Workers: led by Gaston Tessier and inspired by the Vatican.

The Purchasing Power of the French Workers has fallen since 1939

Here is an example of the expenses of a household in 1939 and today:

	(in francs) 1939	(in francs) April 1952
1 litre (about 1¾ pints) of wine ...	2.75	80
250 grams (about ½lb.) of butter	5.50	200
6 eggs	6.70	90
250 grams of beefsteak	7.50	200
1 kg. (2.2lbs.) of sugar	6.25	118
1 kg. dry beans	7	175
500 grams of laundry soap ...	3.20	90
Cleaning of a man's suit ...	15	600
200 grams of wool	16	640
Total	69.90	2,193

In 1939 this represented 7 hours and 20 minutes work for a skilled Paris metal worker, who at that time earned 9.54 francs an hour.

TODAY the same skilled worker, earning 152 francs an hour, would have to work twice as long, 14 hours and 30 minutes, to buy the same articles.

they have continued the fight in the factories for wages and have united with the whole population in the fight against war.

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THE workers of the whole world have followed the important and courageous demonstrations of the French workers and people against Ridgway's arrival on May 28.

They know how the workers throughout the whole of France have stood up victoriously to savage police attacks. They know that, frightened by this demonstration of the people's will, the government, violating its own laws, has arrested André Stil, chief editor of *L'Humanité,* and Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Communist Party, Chairman of the Communist Parliamentary Group and a militant well-known to workers throughout the world.

The arrest of trade union militants and the many police raids which took place during the ensuing days have not resulted in the slightest success for the police provocation.

All these measures have made the workers angry and indignant, and have made them determined to do everything possible to force the release of André Stil and Jacques Duclos and all those imprisoned for peace activities, to force the reinstatement of all workers arbitrarily dismissed or suspended, and to defeat the plot against France.

On June 1, 1952, the C.G.T. National Executive Committee issued an appeal to the workers. It asked them to act without delay, to extend, to broaden and to unify the action they had begun, to carry it on ceaselessly, with courage and perseverance, for the release of Jacques Duclos, for peace, freedom and bread.

In this appeal, the C.G.T. declared itself ready to assume full responsibility for unifying this action on the national level.

Besides the release of J. Duclos and the imprisoned patriots, besides the need to defeat the plot hatched against freedom, the C.G.T. put forward the following objectives in the way of demands:

—immediate increase of wages, salaries and pensions;

—automatic and complete sliding scale on re-assessed —wages;

—ending of zonal wage differentials;

—the 40-hour week with the same wage as that now paid for 48 hours;

—holiday bonus;

—an indemnity of 75 per cent of wages for total and partially unemployed workers.

The appeal of the National Executive Committee of the C.G.T. also called upon the men and women workers in industry, agriculture, commerce, the nationalised industries, public and State services, to strengthen the peace committees in the work-places everywhere.

Action has become stronger and broader since this appeal was issued.

On June 4 and 5, despite the lies of the press which, on orders, shouted "defeat," hundreds of thousands of men and women workers went on strike for peace and against the fascist measures.

Despite police measures, provocation, and hundreds of preventive arrests, the workers expressed their determination to obtain the release of Jacques Duclos, André Stil and the others who are in prison.

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AS was to be expected, the divisionist leaders jumped in to help Pinay in his fascist measures.

Already on May 28 they had tried to smash the fighting spirit and unity of the rank and file of the workers. They again tried to torpedo the movements of June 4 and 5, and they are continuing and increasing their manoeuvres. The leaders of "Force Ouvrière," the Christian unions and others are doing everything they can to break united action in the factories. They are no longer satisfied with allowing Pinay to try his experiment; they are supporting him by trying to smash the workers' action.

While Léon Jouhaux, President of "Force Ouvrière," together with Mr. Villiers, President of the Employers' Federation, sign an appeal for the government's war loan, Bothereau, General Secretary of "Force Ouvrière, becomes the unsuccessful champion of a regrouping of the so-called "free" forces of the trade unions, which is nothing more than another attempt to set the workers against one another.

Profits of the French Employers are as much as 45 times the 1938 level

Here are examples of a number of companies which have published their balance sheets for 1951:

	Revealed profits in millions of francs 1938	Revealed profits in millions of francs 1951
Compagnie des Hauts Fourneaux de CHIERS ...	5	345
Les Chargeurs Réunis ...	3.3	330
OLIDA (food)	9.5	336
Tréfileries et Laminoirs du Havre	15.4	429
Cartonnierie de la Rochette	3.4	215
Total	36,6	1,655

This is 45 times the Revealed Profits of 1938

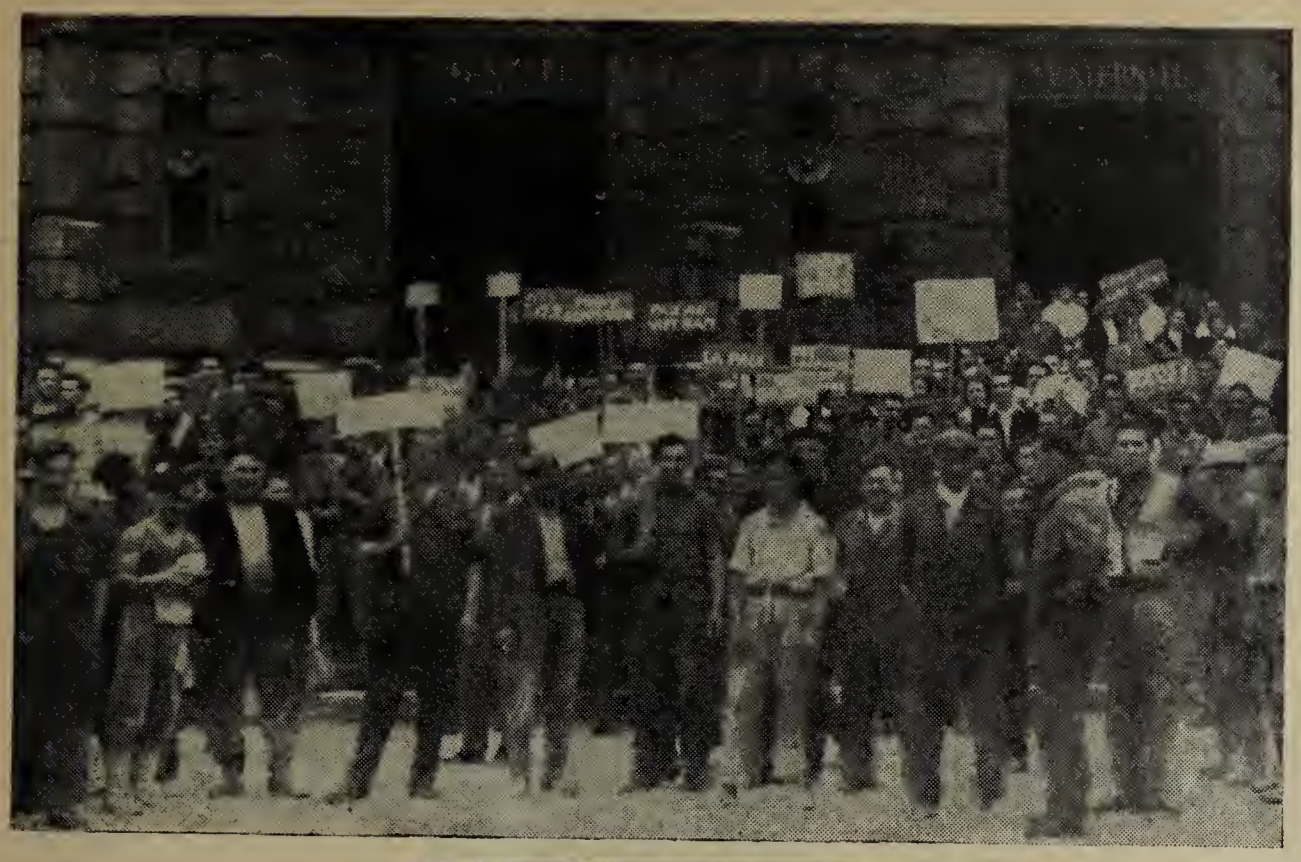
Another example:

—Out of 105,534 companies who have declared their income, here are the revealed profits of 509 companies:

9,733 million francs in 1946
57,987 million francs in 1950

Or an Increased Profit of 500 per cent.

Of course, this is only the revealed profit. A large part is camouflaged under various headings, such as "Special Reserves," without counting what is set aside as "Capital increases."



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In Ivry, a Paris suburb, several thousand workers quit work and marched to the Place de la Mairie on May 30, demonstrating for peace, liberty and higher wages.

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The walls of France also proclaim — Ridgway, microbe killer, go home.

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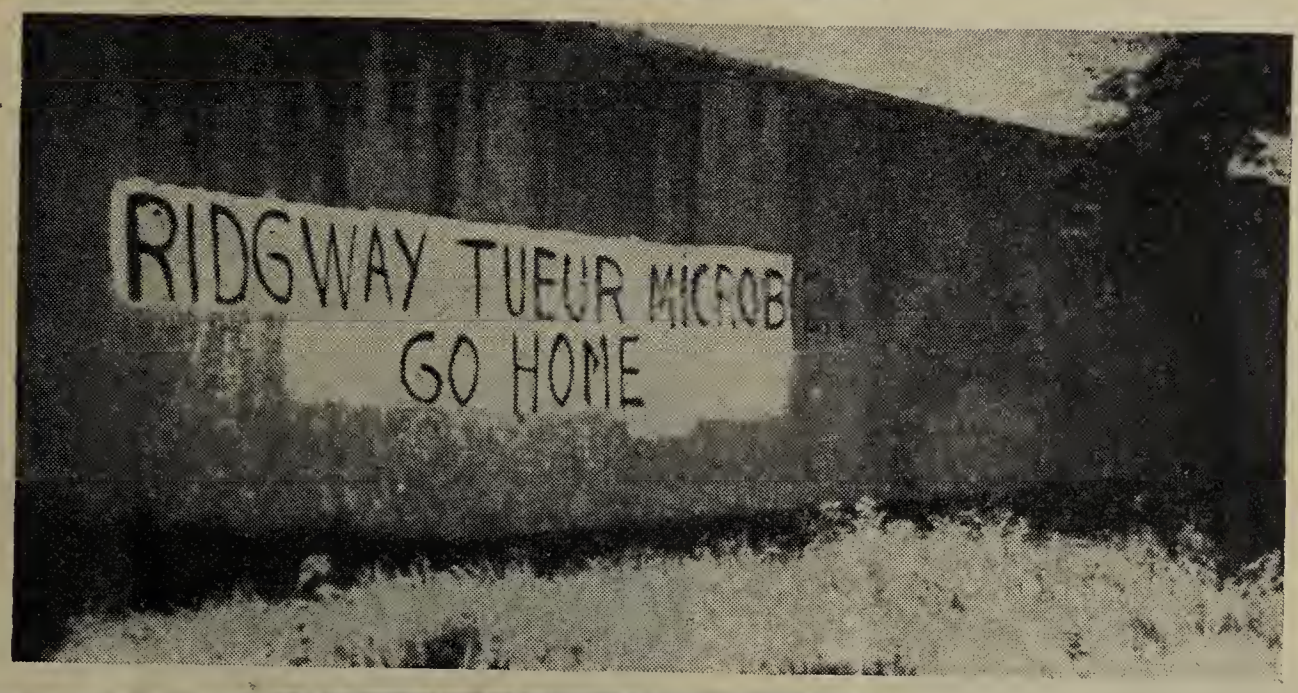

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One of the many demonstrations which took place in Paris on May 28, despite the government ban, against the germ General Ridgway, during which the workers routed huge forces of repression.

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The revelations of one of these people, Molinié, an active member of "Force Ouvrière" for the postal, telegraph and telephone workers, on the volume and the origin of the funds which they have received. and continue to receive, which include millions of francs from the employers and from Mr. Villiers himself, is awakening increasing disgust among the mass of the workers.

The loyal, intelligent and untiring efforts of the workers, manual and non-manual, for unity, against the manoeuvres of the splitters, the continuous denunciation of these manoeuvres, must permit the successful development of united working class action.

Let it be emphasised that the C.G.T., through Benoit Frachon, has renewed its proposal for joint action which was made to the leadership of the other trade union centres on September 10, 1951, and to which no reply has so far been given, though there is no doubt that this proposal corresponds to the deepest wishes of the mass of the workers.

The French working class is thus engaged in a hard struggle, but it knows the outcome, and it is aware of the considerable issues at stake.

There are many aspects to this struggle, and inequalities which reflect the diversity of the situation.

But it is not a fire made of straw. It is a fight which will spread and develop with time. Harassing actions are becoming more widespread, and will force the employers and their governments to give way, just as they were forced to do in June 1936 during the great strike movement and occupation of the factories when the 40-hour week, paid holidays, shop stewards and other advantages were won.

That is why the fight must be carried forward in unity and in the greatest variety of forms, taking into account the particular situation in the factories, offices and administrative offices, to win wage increases and other immediate demands. It will be more and more clearly linked with the determination to secure the release of Jacques Duclos and others who have been imprisoned for their part in the fight for peace and national independence in order resolutely to open the way to necessary changes in the present policy of poverty, war and fascism.

In waging this fight with calm resolution, the French workers are aware that it is taking place at a time when great struggles are also taking place in Japan, in western Germany, in the colonial countries, and even in the United States.

This vast fighting front of the workers, which is supported by the mighty successes of peaceful economy in the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, by the considerable development of the peace forces throughout the world, uniting hundreds of millions of people, must triumph.

The French working class, with the C.G.T. at its head, will do everything possible to contribute to the victory of the peoples in their fight for peace, freedom and social progress.

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Below: The inscription on the door of a factory shows the aims and slogans of the movement: liberty, peace, our wages, Free Duclos, Long live the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour), Down with Pinay, Ridgway Go Home.

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Above: Called by the trade unions of the Paris region, many strikes took place on June 4 in various branches of industry, particularly in engineering. Our photo shows stay-in strikes in two engineering factories in the Paris region.

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The Algerian Trade Union Movement Forges Ahead

By BRAHAM MOUSSA

Secretary of the Co-ordination Committee of the Algerian Trade Unions

ALGERIA, a country which has been under the domination of French imperialism for more than a century, is subjected to colonialist oppression which stifles its economy and the legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people.

One million three hundred and thirty thousand native peasants each possess an average of 5 acres of poor land while a small group of colonists hold the best properties varying from about 25,000 to 250,000 acres. The large mines are also in their hands. The colonialists thus have a stranglehold on the fertile lands and on the wealth above and below the ground of Algeria.

In addition, the trade balance for 1951 (more than 80 percent of trade is with France) gives the following official figures: 203,000 million francs of imports as against 135,000 million for exports, a deficit of 68,000 million francs. Exports consist mainly of mineral and agricultural products, while imports consist of manufactured goods. That shows just how deeply the colonial character of Algeria is stamped on its economy.

One of the results of this system is an intensive unemployment which is chronic for a very large part of the population, and seasonal for agricultural workers. These conditions place the labour market entirely at the mercy of the employers, enabling them to evade the official wage rates, although these are low enough. The employers are further helped in this matter by the colonialist administration which is completely at their service.

Under the pretext of economic difficulties due to the colonial system which operates in full force, social legislation is almost unknown, and in all cases where social legislation won by the workers in France has been extended to Algeria as a result of workers' struggles carried on throughout Algeria, it is of a very restricted character. In this respect, social security is typical; a French worker transplanted to Algeria would never recognise the caricature of social security in Algeria as an application of the French system.

Unemployment compensation does not exist, industrial medicine has never been applied, family allowances, extremely small in industry and trade, are non-existent in the countryside. Child labour still exists, especially in agriculture where the working day lasts from sunrise to sunset, that is from 12 to 14 hours a day.

It must be added that Algeria has 400,000 registered tuberculosis cases and a single sanatorium with 250 beds, that thousands and thousands of families live in shanty towns or in caves hollowed out from the very earth, and that it is not a rare sight to see children quarrelling with the dogs over their food around a dustbin. There are at present 1,300,000 children who do not go to school and the problem of schooling becomes worse every day.

A regime characterised by hunger, poverty and illiteracy, can only maintain itself by force; that is why the repression strikes at trade union and progressive militants, who fight against colonialist oppression by indicating the road that must be followed in order to win greater well-being and freedom. But the repression, savage as it is, has not been able to impede the development and vitality of an extremely powerful trade union movement in Algeria which is fighting courageously despite the tremendous difficulties created by colonialism, as for example, the attempts to separate the Algerian workers of European origin from their brothers of Moslem origin, by making the former believe that they benefit from the colonialist regime, and the latter that the workers of European origin are their enemies.

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THE Algerian trade union movement is being forged in the struggle, and today constitutes an invaluable weapon in the hands of the workers of this country. Its influence both in town and country is considerable, despite the organisational difficulties due, of course, to the repression, but also to a large degree, to the sparseness of the population extended over a large territory (10 million inhabitants to about 190,000 square miles).

Both the composition and leadership of the Algerian trade union movement must reflect the character of the country. That is why there is a growing tendency to train young Moslem cadres, who under the best conditions can stimulate trade union action to obtain the best results both on the social and economic front and in the open fight against the colonialist regime for national liberation. This is, in fact, an indispensable condition for bringing about a radical change in the economic and political conditions of Algeria, and consequently, for improving the living standards of the workers in complete freedom.

To this effect, the fourth Algerian Trade Union Conference which was held in Algiers in January 1950 was decisive. All the delegates representing the trade union organisations understood perfectly the necessity for bringing forward into the trade union leadership a greater number of cadres of Moslem origin and to work steadily at the job of training them. This has already

been achieved to a considerable degree. The machinery for co-ordinating the work of the three Trades Councils (Algiers, Oran, Constantine) was established and renders invaluable service at the present time, playing a similar role in Algeria to that played by the C.G.T. Executive Bureau for the French trade unions.

Among the best organised sections of workers and consequently those with the best fighting spirit, are the dockers, tobacco workers, miners, gas workers and electricians, railwaymen, engineers, tramwaymen, municipal employees, workers in the food industry, in hospitals, building and timber, post office, telephone, telegraph, State employees in general, and workers in the chemical industry. These sections have carried on extremely important struggles, forcing both employers and the Algerian colonialist administration to give way not only on wage demands, but on social demands as well. As to wages, for example, an average increase of 60 per cent was won during a 14 months period from 1950 to 1951.

Apart from the many and varied actions undertaken by the workers in various industries and by State employees, reference must be made to the big movements which took place during this period and which contributed greatly to securing wage adjustments: the tobacco workers' strike in September 1950 (6 days), the gas workers' and electricians' strike in March-April 1951 (23 days), the miners' strike of M'ZAITA in September, October and November 1951 (60 days), the BLIDA hospital workers' strike in April-May 1951 (45 days), those of the dockers, tramwaymen and agricultural workers of Constantine and Oran, and of Ain-Taya in the Department of Algiers, and of the chemical workers and bakers. All these movements made it possible to win better wages for the most desperately poor of the workers and also to satisfy a number of other demands which had been outstanding for many long months, nay, for years.

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THE agricultural workers are certainly the most difficult to organise in a country in the grip of colonialism such as Algeria, taking into account also the vast territory covered by each regional Trades Council. Fairly large groups of agricultural workers

During the harvest season these young unemployed workers from the Algiers region walk hundreds of miles in search of work.

A meeting of dockers in the House of the People in Oran during a strike against loading ships for the "dirty war" in Viet Nam.

have, nevertheless, been formed and they are carrying on the fight with exemplary courage in spite of the savage repression in all its forms, imprisonment, dismissal, etc., which strikes at these workers at the smallest sign of trade union activity, as for example, the imprisonments and sentences which followed the strikes at Descartes and Oran.

The Co-ordination Committee of Algerian Trade Unions, like the Trades Councils, aware of how important it is to achieve and strengthen unity between town and rural workers in the best interests of both sections, is doing everything it can to help the agricultural workers in their struggle. Thus, an Algerian Agricultural Workers' Conference was successfully held in November 1951 in Algiers, at which there were 138 authentic delegates of the agricultural workers. Excellent practical results can be expected from this Conference. Good results have already appeared in the setting up of some trade unions as well as by action, sufficiently important to have forced the big landowners' and employers' associations to discuss and even to give satisfaction to the agricultural workers engaged in the struggle. As an example we can cite the struggles carried on by the agricultural trade unions of Descartes (Department of Oran), of Ain-Taya (Department of Algiers) and South Constantine.

The 4th Algerian Conference also raised the problem of agrarian reform by demanding the land for those who work on it, thus putting forward in Algeria, a political problem of considerable importance. This was taken up again by the Agricultural Workers' Conference in its charter of demands which puts forward a whole series of economic, social and political measures indispensable to the life of a worker and his family.

It is important to point out that there is a growing understanding among the town workers of the necessity for helping their brothers in the rural areas as a result of which they are intensifying their solidarity with them.

In this way the Algerian Agricultural Workers' Conference was financed to a considerable degree by the distributive and industrial trade unions in the towns as well as by the State employees' unions, each one adopting one or more delegates and pledging themselves to assist in their work of forming trade unions, as well as on organisational questions and in the fight for their demands.

Solidarity also is shown by the effective help given by the town workers to their rural brothers who have been imprisoned, in monetary help and also by very important strike movements.

Wherever effective trade union action has taken place in Algeria it has borne fruit. For example, among State employees (civil servants, railwaymen, gas and electricity workers, etc.), the workers succeeded in obtaining, among other things, equality of wages with the same categories in France, and a social security system similar to that existing in France; the tobacco, engineering, building and chemical workers have in many cases succeeded in winning wages far above the official minimum, as well as the introduction of certain social measures not yet law in Algeria, among these being the provision of creches, holiday camps and old-age and disability pensions.

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ALONGSIDE the fight for demands, the struggle for national liberation is forging ahead with tremendous force among the Algerian workers who are drawing in all sections of the population including the children; the latter took part in the street battles against the police on the First of May in Oran and on May 27th in Algiers.

The workers understand perfectly that the principal cause of their poverty and their lives of slavery is the colonialist regime imposed and maintained by brute force.

The thirst for freedom is continuously assuming more concrete forms. The people are demanding the abolition of this hateful regime and freedom to decide their fate for themselves. The working class is perfectly aware that this is the indispensable condition for any radical change in its situation. The French colonialists, however, are certainly not disposed to let themselves be deprived of their privileges as slave-holders. Especially as Algeria is the keystone of the French colonialist structure.

For this reason the repression strikes with such ferocity at the national movement. Hundreds of patriots are imprisoned after horrible tortures, revived according to Hitler methods, and are sentenced to 5 or 6 years in prison. One year in prison is the sentence for a worker distributing a leaflet in support of the Tunisian people's struggle. The penal code is altered in order "legally" to suppress the fight for the national independence of Algeria.

Progressive newspapers are seized, May Day is banned, and many workers condemned to as much as a year in prison for demonstrating on that day. Deportations began with Messali Hadj, President of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedom.

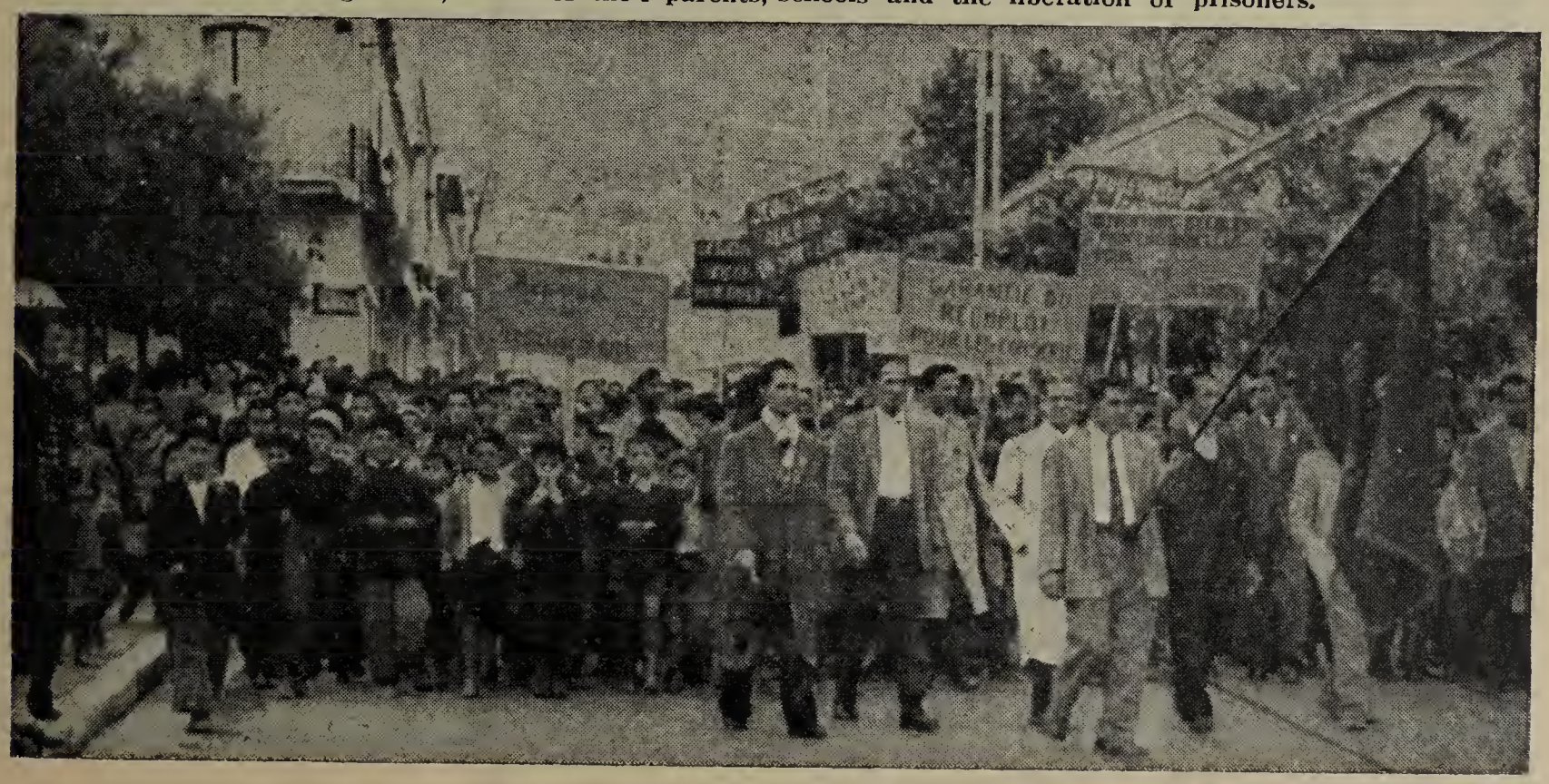
But nothing will be able to stop the march of the national movement to its objective—national independence for Algeria, based on the unconditional support of the French working class and the powerful W.F.T.U.

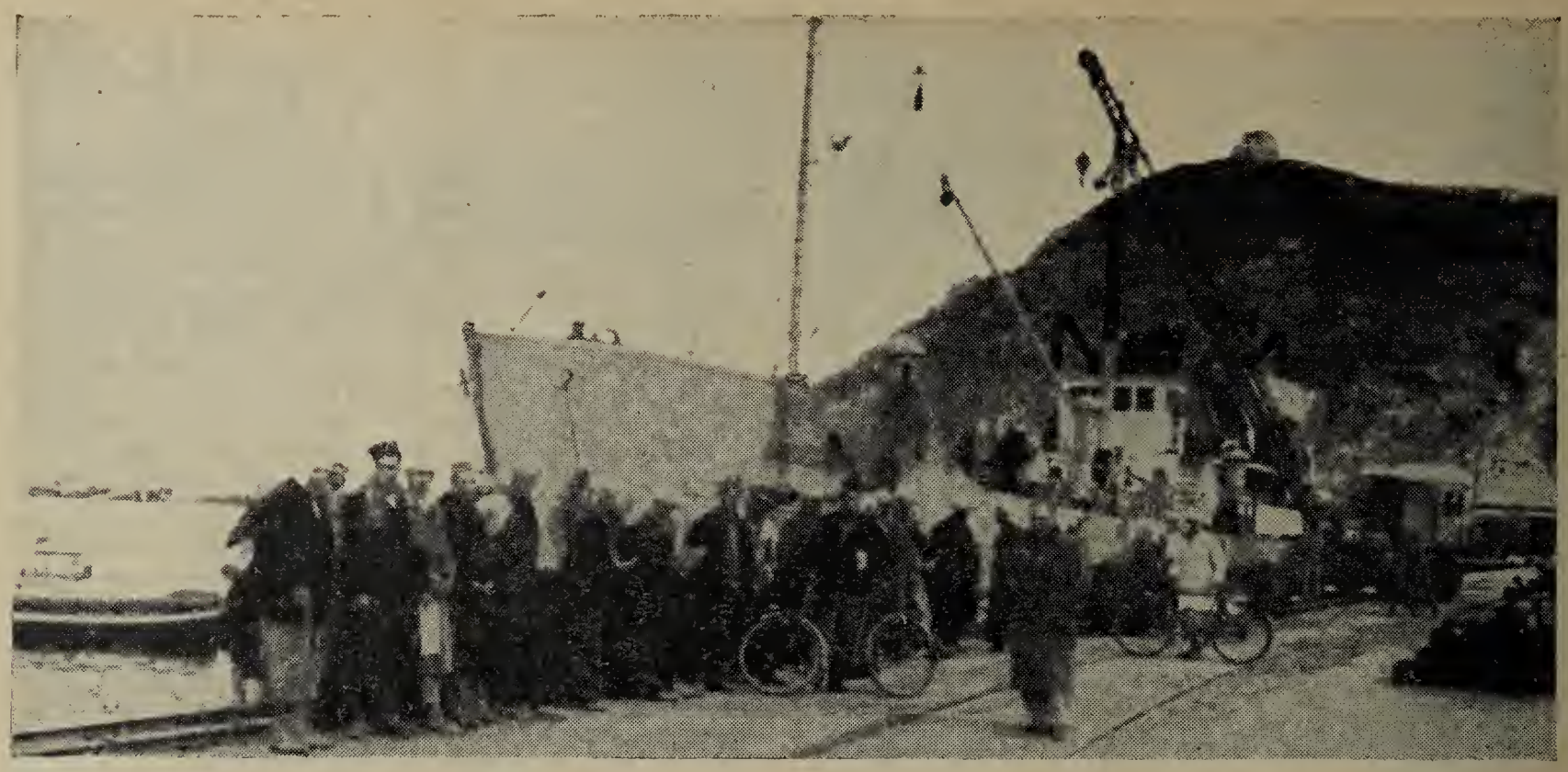
On this point the 4th Algerian Conference was decisive. It took a clear stand against colonialism, calling on all trade unions to take action for national liberation. This orientation could only have been taken after very extensive explanatory work, during which it was explained that it is not possible to speak of greater well-being and freedom in a country under colonialist oppression in all its forms, which prevents freedom of expression or thought, any economic development which would ensure the Algerian workers and their families their daily work at decent wages and with decent living conditions. The time had come to make the people understand just how necessary the complete abolition of the colonialist regime had become, to give them a taste for the happy life which could be theirs in a country with such immense natural wealth.

These ideas have now found their way into the heart of the trade union movement, for the experiences of every day are themselves proof that the road outlined by the 4th Algerian Conference is the only correct one. Those who hesitate, and most particularly Algerians of European origin, must, however, be convinced. The work of explanation is therefore continuing through fraternal discussions within the trade union organisations.

Thus, every day we can see important progress being made. Recent events are still further proof of this progress; the great demonstrations on April 28th for the release of the Blida patriots; the magnificent First of May demonstrations in which nearly 100,000 workers took part, in spite of the ban and the mobilisation of colonialist repressive forces; the powerful strikes for wage increases, trade union rights and for the release

During the May Day demonstration in Blida. Algeria, children participated en masse demanding bread, work for their parents, schools and the liberation of prisoners.





A picket line of dockers on strike to enforce their demands at Nemours, Oran.

of the workers arrested on the First of May, which took place on May 7th at the call of the trade unions; May 23rd, the great national day of the Algerian people's struggle against the colonialist crimes and the enforced exile in France of Messali Hadj, President of the M.T.L.B. (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedom), a day which assumed a very broad character in Algeria; general strikes in several towns, and many demonstrations with which the Algerians in France courageously associated themselves, supported by the French workers. The French workers support the Algerian people's liberation struggle in the knowledge that the more they help this fight, the better it will help their own fight for peace and freedom. The Algerian workers are thus daily showing that they cannot be intimidated by the criminal repression unleashed against them in the form of imprisonments, deportations and murder, by those who are maddened at the mounting wave of the peoples struggling against their oppressors.

The fight now being carried on by our Tunisian brothers for their own national liberation has enabled us to push the work of explanation much more deeply within the ranks of the Algerian workers. The solidarity given by the Algerian trade union movement to the Tunisian people is proof of its understanding of this problem. Thus, together with the Algerian Front,[1] the Algerian trade unions organised a day of solidarity with the Tunisian people on April 27th, 1952. We should also point out that the formation of the Algerian National Youth Front in which the youth of the C.G.T. took part, will also contribute considerably to the struggles for national liberation.

The Algerian trade union movement is also well aware that by fighting for national liberation, it is fighting for peace, and that by taking action for peace it is working towards the defeat of those forces throughout the world and especially in North Africa, which are striving to maintain imperialist hegemony.

The example of the Algerian dockers, who, in spite of the most terrible hardships, consistently refuse to load ships with material for the "dirty war" in Viet Nam, is a most vivid example of the maturity of the trade union movement in our country.

The tasks of the Algerian trade union movement are immense and its responsibilities very great. But great also is the faith of the Algerian working class in its country's future. That is what gives us confidence.

1 The Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Freedom includes all anti-colonialist parties and groups in Algeria.

The German Workers are Fighting for Peace

(Telegram from the Federation of Free German Trade Unions to the W.F.T.U.)

The Executive Bureau of the F.D.G.B. thanks the World Federation of Trade Unions for the great help which it has given by the telegram which it sent on the occasion of the signing of the General Treaty. The German trade unionists are aware of the great responsibility which they have for the preservation of peace. They have replied to the signing of the General Treaty by Adenauer with protest strikes and great demonstrations throughout Western Germany and by a mighty protest movement in the German Democratic Republic. They have thus made known to the whole world that the workers do not recognise this treaty and that this war pact of Adenauer's is not considered valid by the German people. The assurance that the international working class, organised within the World Federation of Trade Unions, declares its solidarity with them, will lead them to strengthen their struggle against this shameful treaty and for the overthrow of the Adenauer government. The Free German Trade Unions assure the World Federation of Trade Unions that they will do everything in their power to bring about the unity of the German working class, the guarantee of victory. The firm will and the united fight of the whole German working class, supported by the workers of the whole world, will prevent the carrying out of the General Treaty of war. The re-establishment of the national unity of our country and the conclusion of a peace treaty will be a mighty contribution to peace. Long live the fight of the international working class for peace and progress.

HERBERT WARNKE

4.5.52.

Labor Movement — Chile

A GOOD EXAMPLE . . .

The Advance Towards Trade Union Unity in Chile

By ORLANDO MILAS

Economic Adviser to the Confederation of Workers of Chile

A CONGRESS to amalgamate all workers' and office employees' trade union organisations and to set up a single centre is being organised in Chile.

In this way a long-felt wish of the Chilean working class will be realised.

The advance to complete trade union unity is being made in a period when important events are occurring every day, in a period of the polarisation of the forces of peace, national independence, and democracy on the one side, and the forces of war, colonisation, fascism and reaction on the other. Great popular demonstrations fill the streets. Never have there been so many strikes, many of which have had an undoubtedly significant character. These strikes have been won after weeks of struggle during which the solidarity of the trade union organisations and the solidarity of the broad masses have been put to a severe test.

In these circumstances, in the fire of growing struggles, the unity of manual and non-manual workers is being forged, this being a fundamental condition for the regrouping of all those desiring better living standards, progress, freedom, national independence and peace.

The task of the patriotic forces in this situation is the achievement of certain changes in the economic structure of the country, such as the nationalisation of copper, the re-establishment of sovereignty in foreign trade, agrarian reform, the development of heavy industry and currency stabilisation, all of which require a more democratic State machine. The conditions of the struggle in Chile have neither been simple in the past nor are they so now.

Facing Repression

IN 1947 American imperialism unleashed a terrorist offensive against the Chilean people.

The anti-Chilean offensive was then consolidated by the passing of a fascist law which the American agents have named by its complete antithesis "Law for the Permanent Defence of Democracy," which constitutes a fine example of "Western democracy." By virtue of this law, which is a veritable conglomeration of monstrosities and juridical aberrations, all democratic activity in Chile is banned. Thus, as a result of this law, 35,000 citizens were struck off the electoral lists. It also forbids them from being members of trade unions. A long list of "offences" has been drawn up: insults to the President, Ministers or Prefects; lack of respect for them or for the government in general; propaganda for progressive social changes; "Communist activities"; "incitement or participation in strikes," etc. All these "offences" are enumerated, but are neither described or defined in detail, while severe penalties are given in full detail. The legal procedure in connection with political and trade union repression is carried out without the slightest guarantee, and the slanderous statement of some policeman almost always prevails over any proofs the accused may bring forward in his own defence.

The trade unions have to submit lists of all candidates for the leadership proposed by their members. The government then crosses out the candidates that do not suit it, thus forcing the trade unions to elect their leaders from among those that remain. Almost all strikes have been declared "illegal," and are punishable by prison sentences of 5 years and sometimes more.

Chilean patriots, however, have been able to put up a resistance to the terror thanks to their unity.

Putting every other consideration aside, emphasis was placed from the first day on the unity of all workers without distinction of any kind, in order to win back civil liberties and national independence. This unity was forged in the growing struggles for concrete demands.

The Workers Defend Their Trade Unions

IT was always clear to the workers in the trade unions that the maintenance of unity was of first importance. In Chile there is only one trade union for each enterprise, factory, mine or office. The trade unions of different branches of production are linked together through their Provincial Trades Councils and their respective National Federations. Trade unions can be affiliated to the Confederation of Workers of Chile on the local level as well as on the national and provincial level.

A view of the huge trade union unity demonstration organised in Santiago de Chile on May Day. In the background is the Presidential Palace, the residence of Videla. The fascist laws prohibit any demonstration in this place, but the Chilean people did not knuckle down to the ban.

To hinder trade union activity, the dictatorship expelled 50,000 workers and their families from the centres with the largest working class concentration and sent them more than 600 miles from their places of work. It threw thousands of trade union leaders into the Pisagua concentration camp and into innumerable other places of detention, lost in the desert, in the high Cordilleras mountains, or in the almost uninhabitable southern islands. It muzzled the democratic press. Faced with this great wave of police repression and arbitrary imprisonments and the constant governmental interference in trade union life, the workers had to determine what forms their future action would have to take in the new situation.

They therefore decided to strengthen the united trade union front in each branch of work, to meet section by section in order to deal with the most urgent and immediate problems facing the workers and thus, through pressure from below, to force even those leaders appointed by the police to re-establish the functioning of the trade unions, their sports clubs, dramatic groups, social assistance services, etc., until meetings could be called.

All this was not easy. Some of the police-appointed leaders were despicable informers who went from door to door denouncing the most conscientious and fighting militants to the police. The method of government interference employed in the trade unions made resistance impossible at first. What happened in the huge Chuquicamata Copper Mine in this connection is very characteristic: the leaders were taken to the Pisagua concentration camp, then a new leadership was elected and that too, was sent to Pisagua together with hundreds of workers. The process was repeated several times. More than 1,000 workers and their families were violently expelled from the mine which was surrounded and occupied by large deployments of military forces on a war footing. The military commandant, Major Labra, called a trade union meeting at which an armed soldier was assigned to each group of three workers. All those who wished to speak had to be accompanied to the platform by a soldier. Several workers daring to protest in low voices were expelled from the meeting. The Major then drew up a list of 5 candidates for the trade union leadership—from elements already bought over and appointed by the American company—and put their names to the meeting. Confronted with stony silence, Major Labra gave the order to a Labour Inspector to close the meeting, declaring that these five candidates had been unanimously elected by the assembly. The new leaders then proceeded to call meetings under the protection of a huge array of military forces, while in Chuquicamata an increasingly frenzied fascist terror held sway.

From Very Minimum Demands to General Demands

WHEN the repression began, certain trade union sections in the big mines, which had previously taken part in great class battles, were sometimes engaged in struggles for what appeared to be very insignificant demands; thus, in several "saltpetre works" in Tarapaca province there was a fight for a weekly supply of soap for the shower. Through these small demands the movement began to get into its stride, renewing the workers' confidence in their ability, through unity, to win an improvement in their conditions. At the same time, the contact maintained in the trade union sections made it easier to keep policy in line with events. The distribution of illegal newspapers and leaflets was a tremendous help. In addition, the prolonged stay of troops in the big workers' centres resulted, despite all the efforts of the commanders, in fraternisation by all the workers

with conscripts, regulars, non-commissioned officers and the young officers. It very soon became possible to develop struggles on a small scale for general demands. One after another, all the police-appointed leaders were put to the test, some of them rallying to the trade union movement. Others were forced, at least for a little while, to come part of the way with the unions, but for most of the rest, life was made impossible.

Defeat of Fascist Terror

ACTIVITIES showing hostility to the lackeys of the dictatorship were springing up everywhere. Many examples could be cited. Here is a typical one. In the "El Toco" saltpetre enterprise, comprising the "Prosperidad" and "Rica Aventura" firms, every day as each worker finished work, he went to make some demand to one of the five police-chosen leaders; or he demanded that one of them accompany him while he made certain demands of the management. There were thus four thousand workers who, at the end of each of the three shifts, disturbed the five individuals both by night and day. Next, all the workers' families began to act in the same way, the women insulting them and even beating them up, reproaching them with being so slow in dealing with the workers' business. Suddenly, one night, the five leaders disappeared from "El Toco." No one dared take their places, and the election of a new trade union leadership in accord with the workers' aspirations took place immediately.

The enemy, seeing the persistence of the workers' fighting spirit, unleashed a still more savage wave of repression, but it no longer produced the same effect, for the working class reacted more and more rapidly and maintained rank and file unity in a single trade union. That enabled the expulsion one after another of all corrupted elements in the trade union leadership in record time.

In the coal-mining areas, where the repression was particularly violent, it was necessary to resort to widespread strike action. In June 1951, the coal miners went on strike for more than ten days under the slogan "Free elections of trade union leaders." The President of the Republic, Gonzales Videla, declared that he considered the fight against the workers in the coal mines "as one of the first battles of the third world war." And it was, in very truth, an implacable war from which the Chilean people emerged victorious. The victory in the coal mines had immense repercussions throughout the country. Their example was immediately followed by the trade unions which had not yet succeeded in establishing their independence.

The Confederation of Workers of Chile (C.T.CH.) maintained and broadened its organisation. It is the

The Chuquicamata Mine, shown here, is at an altitude of more than 10,000 feet and is one of the richest copper deposits in the world. The Chilean miners work there for 10 and 12 hours a day, and even more, for low wages. They are housed in miserable shacks by the company.

main force stimulating trade union unity. The General Secretary of the C.T.CH., Bernardo Araya, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, three years' exile and exorbitant fines for the sole "crime" of being the leader of the workers' centre. A member of the National Council of the Miners' Federation, Roberto Lara, only a few weeks ago completed a three-year prison sentence for the same reason.

Even though a great many cadres from the C.T.CH. and the Federations have been imprisoned, these organisations are continuing to function with the constant and resolute support of the mass of the workers until the C.T.CH. again becomes legal. In those unions temporarily led by police stooges, the workers themselves have demanded that leaders or militants of the C.T.CH. and the Federations should attend their meetings and have the right to be heard.

Thus, little by little, the Chilean people have won certain freedoms from the dictatorship through mass struggles. Among these struggles attention should be drawn to the movement in February 1949, which secured the closing of the Pisagua concentration camp; the popular struggles in Santiago in August 1949 against the high cost of fares, and the powerful national strike in February 1950, which brought down the Cabinet of repression and secured the repeal of the so-called "extraordinary powers" of the President of the Republic.

A Single Trade Union in Each Enterprise

BEFORE the fascist repression there were a number of trade unions and federations outside the C.T.CH. Several of these belonged to the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), an organisation led by anarcho-syndicalist elements, or to another organisation, which was also called the C.T.CH., led by Socialist Party militants and affiliated to the Inter-American Regional Organisation (ORIT). Further, during the repression, as the American war policy in Chile brought increased poverty for the mass of the workers, a new sector, the non-manual workers, entered the trade union struggle, organised in the National Junta of Office Employees of Chile (JUNECH). This organisation did not have the experience of a workers' organisation, but it very quickly distinguished itself by its militancy.

The policy of the C.T.CH. has invariably been to defend at all costs the existence of one single trade union in each enterprise, to avoid any division. A victory has been won in this direction, and there is not a single enterprise in which the enemy has succeeded in splitting the trade union. When the trade union is led by elements belonging to the C.G.T. or to the Socialist centre, or by those who prefer to keep the union outside any centre, this position is respected by all the members, including supporters of the C.T.CH., who also pay their dues to the other centre. When the trade union is regularly affiliated to the C.T.CH., the fullest guarantees of trade union democracy are given to all sections organised within it. As for those leaders who are active within the government parties, bourgeois and semi-bourgeois, and in general in the parties which adopt anti-unity positions, we have learned not to judge them en bloc with pre-conceived ideas, but to examine each case individually. In practice, it has proved possible to collaborate in favour of trade union unity with the majority of them when we have raised the matter with them. As for the industrial federations, the rule has been to establish a single federation in each branch of industry.

The Essential Guarantee— Rank and File Unity

FURTHER, the C.T.CH. has consistently striven to give a wider expression to rank and file unity. The tenacity with which it has worked in this direction has at last attained positive results. First of all, trade union liaison committees were set up in selected localities, branches of industry and provinces. Then national liaison committees were set up. Several of these lasted a very short time and only took part in a few joint actions. We succeeded, however, in consolidating the Workers' National Unity Movement (MUNT), a liaison committee bringing together federations affiliated to the C.T.CH., the C.G.T. and certain other centres. Later appeared the Liaison Committee for Trade Union Unity (CRSU), covering the federations which did not belong to the MUNT. The CRSU from its foundation maintained close contact with the MUNT, and gradually improved its links with the non-manual workers. It organised a number of public meetings with the non-manual workers, adopted certain joint agreements, co-ordinated the struggles in several industries and provinces, then took part with the JUNECH in a national committee against speculation and rising prices, and finally set up the National Committee of Workers and Employees, which brings together all the trade union organisations in the country.

Unity in Action

WHAT was the decisive factor which made this unity possible? It was the great movement of strikes which welded the trade union organisations solidly together in the fire of struggle, rapidly clarifying for all their members the problems which had for years been the sources of disputes and misunderstandings. Trade union unity was further forged in an atmosphere of deep national hatred of the dictatorship, while four great mass movements were arising and spreading with an overwhelming spirit—the peace movement, the movement for the restoration of civil liberties, the movement for the nationalisation of copper and the movement against the high cost of living. The workers and their trade unions are playing a fundamental organic role in these movements, representing the most consistent and advanced force in the defence of Chilean interests. A number of victories have already been won. The government has been forced by mass pressure to cancel the contract relating to education which it had signed with the United States, and also that concerning the handing over to the United States of the territory in the region of Arica which Mr. Truman was demanding for the establishment of a "corridor." Popular pressure also prevented Gonzalez Videla from carrying through his plan to send Chilean soldiers to support American aggression against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. Within recent weeks a powerful movement has developed in Chile against the military treaty with the United States. Trade union unity is being attained in the degree to which the rank and file of the various federations and workers' and employees' centres take a position and organise themselves to fight against American war preparations, for peace, for national independence, for the abrogation of the fascist law for the "Permanent Defence of Democracy," for the solution of the problems arising in the country and for international working class solidarity.

The Splitters are Systematically Exposed

THE strikes for economic demands have exposed certain groups of splitters organised by American agents, such as the Confederation of Trade Union Leaders of Vina del Mar and the leadership of a Copper Confederation under the patronage of the American Anaconda and Braden firms. The anti-unity elements and the agents of the imperialists have been exposed and thrown out by the workers from every organisation. This was the case, for example, with Ibanez Martin, former General Secretary of the Socialist centre, who was expelled by unanimous agreement.

Among the non-manual workers, the participation of their leaders Carlos Grebe and Santiago Alegria at the Berlin meeting of the W.F.T.U. General Council, as well as the attendance at the Moscow International Economic Conference of one of their leaders, Brest, have been of inestimable importance.

The different sectors of the Chilean trade union movement now recognise the help given by the World Federation of Trade Unions in the development of unity, and the mass of the workers feel deep attachment to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Towards Complete Trade Union Unity

ON May Day a great unity meeting was organised in Santiago, following the recent triumphs of the movement of the coal, saltpetre and copper miners, and at a time when strikes were in preparation among the teachers, leather workers, office workers and other sections. Two basic resolutions were adopted at this great mass demonstration:

—To demand the complete repeal of the fascist law for the "Permanent Defence of Democracy," preparing for a national strike to achieve this deeply-felt patriotic demand;

—to set up a unity commission responsible for laying the basis for the calling of a congress to amalgamate all the trade union organisations of workers and office employees within one united centre.

Organisations and leaders of different ideologies and political viewpoints are taking part in this unity movement. It would be false to pretend that the differences which exist on many problems have been eliminated. There are even some who are not convinced of the need for unity, who do not want it, yet who are carried along by the mass pressure from the rank and file of their organisations and are forced to act in line with the pressure of the unity movement. What is important is the development of long-term joint activity and united struggles, which have shown that, over and above existing differences, members of all trade unions and their honest leaders are in agreement on economic demands, for workers' solidarity, against the rise in prices of consumers' goods, for trade union independence and democracy, for the re-establishment of civil liberties, for the abrogation of the fascist law on the "Defence of Democracy," for an amnesty for all political prisoners and those persecuted for political activities, for national sovereignty, for the nationalisation of copper, for agrarian reform, against the domination of Chile by American imperialism, and for peace.

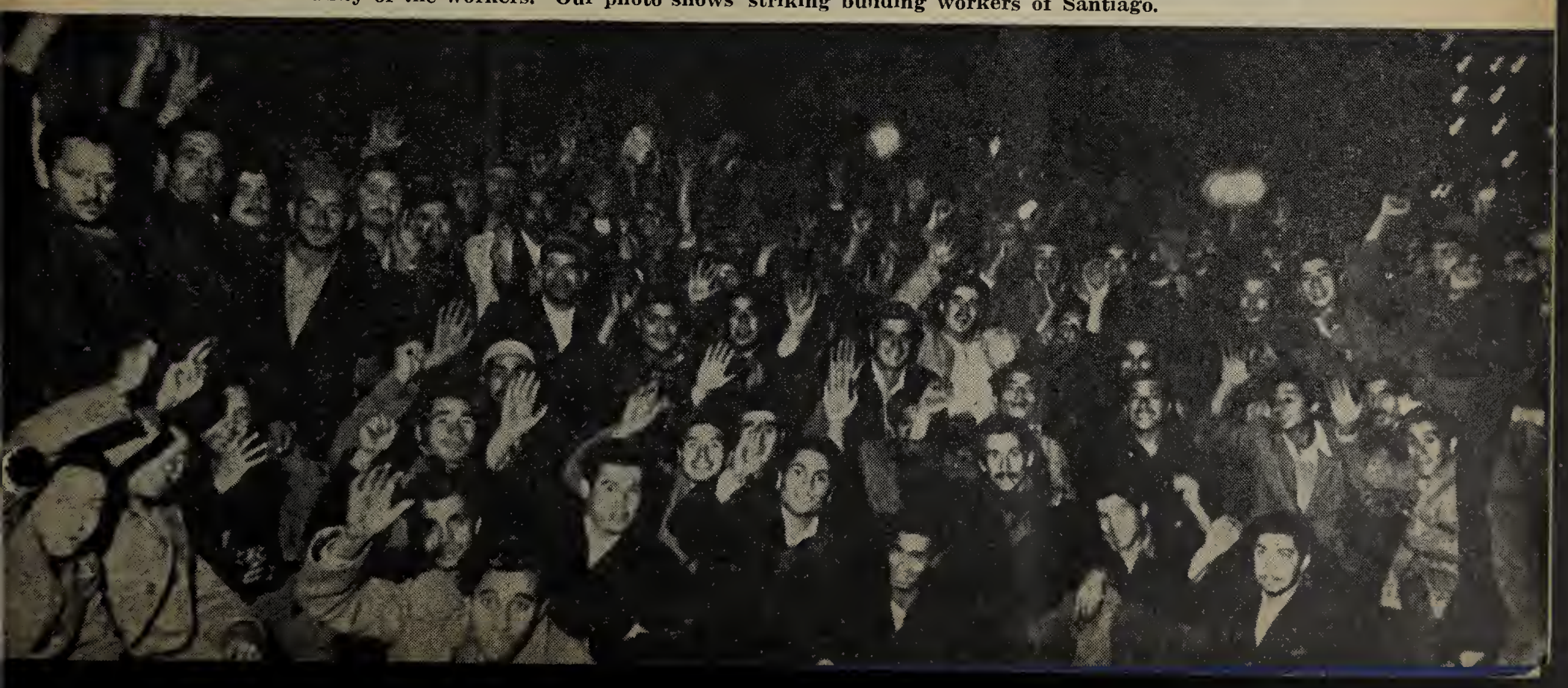
These struggles which are developing for basic objectives have revealed the possibility of establishing a unity platform based on this programme, which will meet with the basic aspirations of all the workers.

The American imperialists evidently take a poor view of the development of these events, and we can expect further provocations and further aggression against the Chilean workers' and people's movement. The fight is hard and difficult, but to the extent that trade union unity is organised among the rank and file it will constitute a decisive factor on the side of the anti-imperialist forces.

During recent years, Wall Street has implacably sacrificed Chile to its policy of world domination, aggression and war. This policy has brought poverty and famine to Chile, and is precipitating the country towards a serious crisis which is developing within the framework of the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. The whole Chilean nation understands more and more clearly that its interests are opposed to those of the American multi-millionaires and that it is vitally urgent to stop the development of fascism and to go forward resolutely towards national liberation.

The working class is the backbone of this movement. The consolidation of unity of the manual and non-manual workers and their trade unions will be one of the decisive factors for victory, a victory for Chile and for peace.

In Chile strikes succeed each other day after day and they are won thanks to the firmness and the unity of the workers. Our photo shows striking building workers of Santiago.



Economic Research in U.S. Trade Unions

By
ELINOR KAHN

WORKERS in the United States, confronted by intransigent employers using deliberately misleading government statistics and utilizing deliberately restrictive government regulations, are trying to fight their way toward decent living standards and economic security.

Today, most large U.S. trade unions maintain research departments, frequently large and elaborate. But trade union research, usually a part of the top executive and administrative echelon of a national union, is a product of trade union policy, and its achievements and usefulness must be examined within that framework.

Thus in unions committed to full, unqualified support of the war program, the rank and file worker seeking an answer to a bread-and-butter question may find himself drowned in a sea of phrases about "equality of sacrifice." In only a few unions and in a small number of independent research centers can workers find constructive assistance in their daily struggles.

Distortion of government statistics is no new phenomenon in the United States, but it has reached unheard of heights in the present period. So has distorted use of distorted figures in trade union publications.

Trade union pressure—stimulated by independent work of trade union research workers forced a major change in the U.S. government's methods of estimating unemployment during the 1930's.

In the post-World War II recession, marked by high unemployment before the current war boom was launched, only the research and legislative staffs of the now-independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (U.E.) took issue with the government's deliberately understated unemployment estimates and compiled and published its own series.

In March 1949, U.E. (then a

C.I.O. affiliate) first issued its own unemployment estimates. C.I.O. wrote to all C.I.O. research directors expressing "regret" that U.E. had decided to issue its own estimates and attempted to repudiate the U.E. study without even having seen it.

At the same time, C.I.O. offered a wholly gratuitous and unwarranted commendation to the Bureau of the Census for "performing a good job in preparing statistics on employment and unemployment." C.I.O. also attacked U.E.'s exposure of hidden unemployment (i.e.—underemployment —workers employed less than 14 hours a week).

Finally, C.I.O. tried not only to minimize the original U.E. study but to force U.E. to halt its independent research. C.I.O. pointedly requested U.E. to refrain from "publishing estimates of unemployment or attacking the Census Bureau and, by implication, the Administration" without first clearing the matter with the C.I.O. Research Department.

A.F.L. and C.I.O. Research Support War Program

COMMITTED to full support of the inflationary, anti-working class program of the present administration, *Labor's Monthly Survey,* the A.F.L. monthly economic bulletin, a propagandist's pæan of praise for American "free enterprise," can offer little sustenance to the A.F.L. member trying to cope with the realities of the rapid decline in his real wage since World War II. The *Survey* was forced to concede this in part in its November, 1951, issue when it admitted that "the average American living standard is lower today than it was 7 years ago." The same issue admitted that the American worker "today pays more money to Uncle Sam for 'cold' war than he paid at the peak of military hostilities in World War II."

Notwithstanding these statements, the *Survey* gave full and uncritical support to the U.S. position in the U.N. General Assembly, demonstrating its fidelity not to its members but to the most open schemes and manœuvres of U.S. big business. The fact is that *Labor's Monthly Survey* is not directed at the rank and file worker, only too well aware of his own economic problems, but is aimed at the press-public-government audiences as reaffirmation of A.F.L.'s subordination of economic problems to its political commitments.

The C.I.O. *Economic Outlook,* a monthly bulletin which is intended to aid officials and shop stewards in key mass production industries

of C.I.O.—steel, auto, textile, rubber, etc.—is no less a purveyor of war propaganda than its A.F.L. counterpart. *Economic Outlook* accepts completely the conclusion that the United States must "go down the road of mobilization again" and reacted to the opening of peace talks in Korea last July with the warning that "Peace may soon come to Korea. . . . But new Koreas may arise. . . . We cannot let down our guard."

Said the *Outlook,* "Labor shares the basic production objectives of the present mobilization program." Like the A.F.L. research directors, their colleagues in C.I.O. tend more and more to become self-proclaimed specialists on the problems of production from the management viewpoint and less and less concerned with the welfare of their worker-members. Those who once knew it forget or ignore that their initial purpose and function was to arm the workers in economic struggles and strengthen labor in collective bargaining. They accept willingly the complicated formulas of the Wage Stabilization Board, which are designed not only to freeze wages but to freeze trade union activity and frustrate any genuine struggle of workers for their demands.

This is underscored in C.I.O. economic publications by the closer-than-blood ties of C.I.O. to the Truman administration. It is hard to distinguish between an *Economic Outlook* issue devoted to Point 4 and a State Department release on the same subject. In its early years *Economic Outlook* reflected the policy of C.I.O., itself born of the mass struggles of workers who found neither leadership nor direction in the craft-dominated A.F.L. It was then, as it no longer is, a weapon in the hands of the workers in their struggles.

Workers' Interests Betrayed

ONE finds Solomon Barkin, Research Director of the C.I.O. Textile Workers' Union writing in the I.L.O.'s *International Labour Review* of June 1950 that

> "Management has become more considerate in its methods, thus minimising the human costs, and more willing to consult with unions to arrive at mutually acceptable agreements which allow for change and promote efficiency and yet assure to workers more benefits and lower personnel costs."

Barkin knows better. He heads a staff of 10-15, most of whom spend their efforts on technical engineering and time studies. In mid-January, 1952, the Textile Workers' Union released a research study directed by Barkin showing that textile profits—in gross and per worker—were at all time peaks. The report was issued one week after the union had decided *not* to seek wage increases for Northern cotton and rayon workers. It was estimated in November 1951 that there were 700,000 textile workers in the country still unorganized, and that 80 per cent of the textile industry was located in southern states of which only 15 per cent was unionized.

What difference can Barkin's fine technical articles in a dozen magazines, or his profit studies, make to the Georgia or Massachusetts mill worker? What is their effect in an industry marked for months by a wave of employer terrorism in Southern mill towns culminating in December 1951 in the murder of a union official by strike-breakers? The answer is: considerable. The effective collaboration of the research staff in the Textile Union's appeasement program has deprived the rank and file textile worker of protection he should be receiving from his union.

In 1950, of 209 national unions —107 A.F.L., 33 C.I.O., 69 independent—some 81 maintained formal research departments. Research departments existed then in 39 A.F.L. unions, 22 C.I.O. unions and 20 independent unions.

Only a small number of trade union researchers are today performing a rounded, constructive job in the interests of their members. In the larger A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions, this is not for lack of staff. In December, 1948, the Research Department of C.I.O.'s United Auto Workers then operated on an annual budget of $100,000, employing six economists, three wage analysts, three industrial engineers and a librarian. C.I.O. Textile Workers, with half that budget, then employed four industrial engineers, and five economists and statisticians.

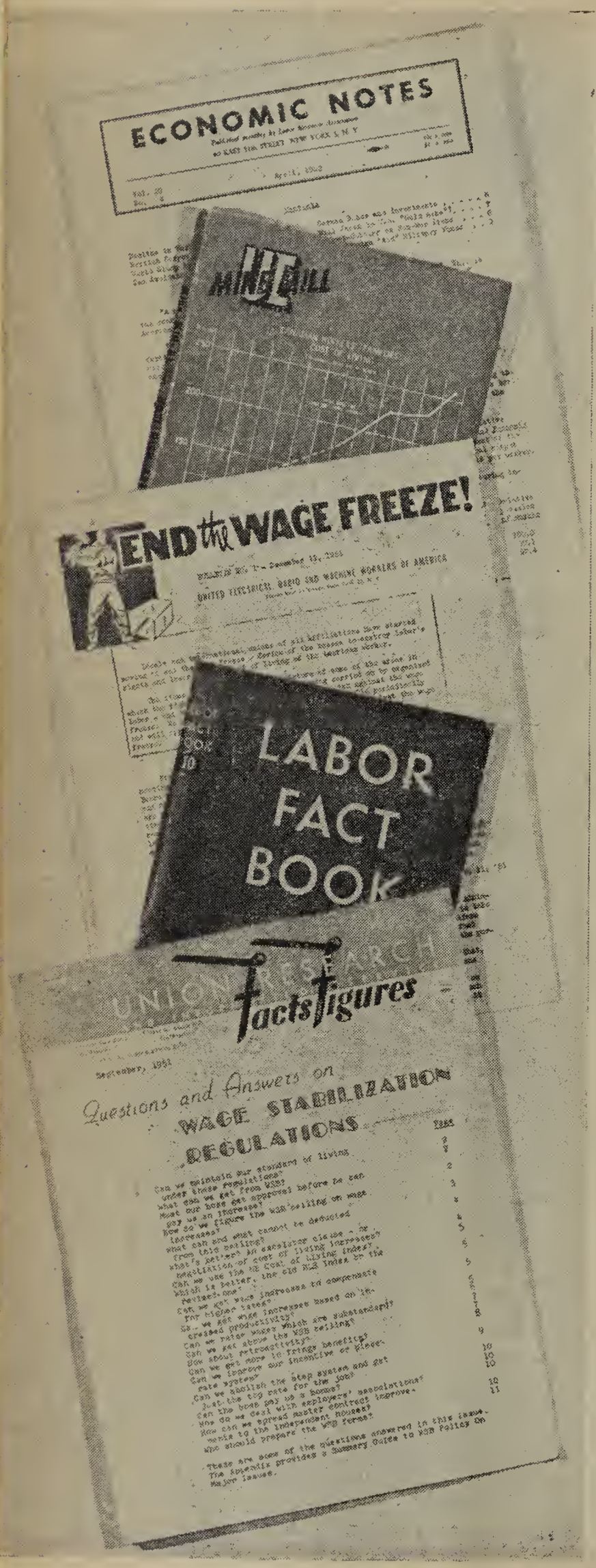
The research workers of the dominant trade union centers not only reflect but influence the policies of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. They represent a highly articulate group, united in their insistence that the problem of inflation is one of excess purchasing power and that "equality of sacrifice" will solve all problems. This leads them in fact, if not in word, to complete acceptance of the "tax the masses" program of the Truman administration which has done so much in the past two years to undermine real living standards of the mass of American workers.

The research directors and economists of conservative and right-wing unions are, if not makers of policy, the policy-salesmen of the trade union movement. Thus they serve on advisory committees of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and give sanction, if not open approval, to its various statistical indexes. They have played a major role throughout E.C.A., particularly as members of U.S. "productivity teams" designed to foist the speed-up "know-how" of American industry on European workers. It is no accident that William Gomberg, Director of the Management Engineering Department—the name itself is revealing!—of the A.F.L. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—was a key member of an E.C.A. committee appointed to draft a productivity program to be sold to French workers.

The research directors of A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions are active in the National Planning Association which calls itself "a non-profit, non-political organization devoted to planning by Americans in agriculture, business, labor and the professions." N.P.A.'s two vice-chairmen are M. H. Hedges of A.F.L., a longtime union economist, and Clinton S. Golden of C.I.O. Both men have been representatives of national labor federations in E.C.A.

Industry members of this same N.P.A. committee included two officials of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, a vice-president of W. R. Grace and Co., a shipping-mining firm with large interests in South America, a vice-president of a large New York Bank, the Irving Trust Co., the general manager of the Cotton Producers' Association and other spokesmen for big business.

It is this kind of activity, and of blatant subordination by top A.F.L. and C.I.O. officials and economists, of the interests of American workers to the interests of American monopoly that led "Fortune" to declare in October, 1951, that "in the deepest sense, the present-day trade union movement has accepted capitalist society." "Fortune's" description clearly reflects the position of A.F.L.-C.I.O. top officialdom, if not that of millions of workers being



ground between the millstones of inflation and the wage freeze.

Some union research departments of A.F.L. and C.I.O. do supply highly important technical and trade union information to their members, but too often this information is couched in terms submissive to restrictive government procedures and devoid of stimulus to mass struggle. One of the best, "The Meat of It," monthly bulletin of C.I.O.'s United Packinghouse Workers, has done yeoman service exposing the manoeuverings of the meat trust and fighting on such economic issues as the union's demand for a guaranteed annual wage. It is the only research publication that has consistently advocated farmer-unity on key economic issues. Publicizing meat trust profits helped arm packing house workers in their 1951 struggle against the wage freeze and will be of value in current P.P.W. negotiations.

The Auto Workers' monthly magazine, "Ammunition," no longer lives up to its name. It has done little, if anything, to mobilise struggle around unemployment in auto. As recently as November, 1951, "Ammunition" bowed in obeisance to the war program by announcing to its readers that "wage stabilization (read wage freeze) is important because it is a part of the National Defense Program."

Currently C.I.O.'s steel and auto workers are being faced with further decline of real wages by manoeuverings of top-officials on the issue of wage increases to cover increased productivity. In these unions, as in the I.L.G.W.U., Textile, and others, the trained economists and engineers on the union research staff are the people best equipped to expose industry's gigantic steal as worker productivity continues to soar. They have instead played a completely opposite role rationalizing and defending increases far below those actually merited.

The role of the research directors of A.F.L. and C.I.O. has become even more serious in recent months as the scope of the Wage Stabilization Board has expanded. Today the Board is engaged in the actual drafting of contracts. The long-run strategy of government and industry is to weaken, if not destroy, collective bargaining through regulations on "approvable" contract improvements, use of the Board's intervention and the Taft-Hartley Act. Collective bargaining is being replaced by top-level negotiations of professionals and the technical briefs of researchers are being presented as a substitute for struggle, with adverse results to the workers involved.

In Contrast: Progressive Trade Union Research

IN refreshing contrast to the generally capitulationist approach of most A.F.L. and C.I.O. research departments is the work done in some of the progressive, independent unions, and by two independent organizations, Labor Research Association of New York and Union Research and Information Service of San Francisco. Somewhat similar but more limited assistance is provided in Canada by Research Associates of Montreal.

The research departments in these unions and research groups provide assistance which researchers in most A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions only pretend to offer. Studies of unemployment, prices, taxes, or the impact of inflation and the war economy on workers' conditions have reflected the needs of U.S. workers and have hence won support.

Increasing respect of its adversaries and growing recognition among its friends has been the reward of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and its research and legislative staffs for outstanding leadership in economic research. One U.E. study released in 1951 is a basic weapon in American labor struggles against the lowering of living standards as a result of the cold war. U.E.'s "The Facts About High Living Costs" is a major trade union document, a devastating expose of the deliberate falsification of the Department of Labor's so-called consumer price index to which the wages of millions of workers are tied by contract or practice.

A few of the publications of progressive trade union research departments—United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and progressive research organisations—Labour Research Association of New York, and Union Research and Information Service of San Francisco, California.

The U.E. study proved, for example, that although the government index showed an increase of only 83 per cent from 1939 to early 1951, the increase should have been 162 per cent. U.E.'s study is conclusive proof that the "wage freeze" is, in fact, the fraud of the decade. Corrections in the index could be won with unified labor activity but the current programs of A.F.L. and C.I.O. preclude such action.

U.E. took extraordinary steps to publicize its study in the face of an almost-total conspiracy of silence in the commercial press. A summary, printed as a four-page "Newsspread" in the "U.E. News" reached the entire union membership. Research and legislative representatives met with national and district officers and wage policy committees of the union to discuss the implications and use of the report. Approximately 150,000 extra copies of the "Newsspread" were distributed by U.E. members at the gates of plants throughout the country employing members of other unions. The full text of the 134-page study was distributed to members of Congress, government officials, other unions, university libraries and university professors. Material in the study was used in the U.E.'s presentation to the Wage Stabilization Board of its anti-freeze testimony and was the basis for advertisements placed by the union in the "Washington Post" and other newspapers.

Even more fundamental economic data were prepared by U.E. for use in Congressional hearings where U.E. opposed further increases in already onerous income-tax burdens on low-paid workers and low-income groups generally. There U.E. analyzed consumer income distribution, pointing particularly to the plight of more than ten million U.S. families with incomes of less than $2,000 a year—a figure roughly half of what government statisticians find necessary to maintain a family at a decent and healthy level of existence.

Independent Research Organisations

TWO independent research bureaus perform indispensable service for the trade union movement. First and oldest of these is Labor Research Association, of New York, widely known for its monthly publications, "Economic Notes" and "Railroad Notes," and for its biennial "Labor Fact Book," the tenth issue of which appeared in 1951. Founded in 1927, and stimulated originally by the work of Labour Research Department of London, L.R.A. today services individual unions on a fee basis with special industry studies, financial analyses of corporations and such other economic data as unions need. Its competence and worth is attested by the varied list—politically and in terms of affiliation—of local and national unions which utilize its services. L.R.A. has also sponsored and published a large number of books, one of the latest being its 1950 study, "Monopoly Today," a study of the financial rulers of America and their interconnections" and of "the foreign empire of Wall Street."

Of a different character is Union Research and Information Service, with headquarters in San Francisco. It is noted throughout the country for its ability to translate fundamental economic problems and concepts into terms readily comprehensible to all workers. In contrast to the more limited terms of reference of most trade union research departments, Union Research in its monthly bulletin, "Facts and Figures," and in its special pamphlets and reports, ranges over the whole field of interest of the American working class. Thus, in the spring of 1950, jointly with the research staff of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, it made a major contribution to the Pacific Coast economic scene with detailed studies of the importance of resumption and expansion of full commercial trade with China.

Union Research functions as the regular union research department for some unions, among them the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards. Its geographic location on the U.S. Pacific Coast, 2,000-3,000 miles from the national headquarters of most unions, makes it of great value to local unions far from their national research departments. In servicing local unions it brings into play wide knowledge of Pacific Coast conditions and problems, but is always guided by the national policies of the union whose locals it is assisting. It also serves as a specialized agency providing assistance in drafting of health, welfare, and pension plans, and has helped establish some of the largest and most effective plans in operation. Union Research also serves as a researcher's research department, frequently undertaking special economic studies that staff limitations prohibit in individual unions.

The breadth of Union Research's field of study is shown by the titles of some of its recent reports: "The Economics of One Day's Labor," "$65 Billion for Peace," "The Economics of Prejudice" and "International Runaway Shops: The Story Behind U.S. Foreign Investments." The monthly issue of "Facts and Figures" contain a continuing flow of information on economic issues of direct interest to workers. The bulletin, aimed at the shop-steward level, covers cost of living, profits, taxes, wage-freeze regulations, impact of anti-labor laws such as the Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Smith Acts, and the effect on labor of other laws.

To Arm the Workers for their Struggle

RESEARCH workers in progressive unions consider their real purposes the arming of rank and file workers for more effective struggle for trade union objectives. From their viewpoint a well-informed fighting rank and file is the only proof of the effectiveness of their work as part of the overall work of the union.

Today they have been somewhat deflected from their objective. Defensive warfare has required the expenditure of much energy, time and money, fighting off the raids and attacks of the mis-leaders of labor. Thus the research staff of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which regularly supplies industry information on metal mining and fabrication, and on such subjects as corporate structure and profits, to its locals and members, was forced to turn its attention to documenting exposés of attempted raids of such unions as C.I.O.'s steel and auto workers. Rod Holmgren's article in "World Trade Union Movement" (No. 22, 1951) shows how the raids failed. But at all levels of the union they required diversion of resources which might have been occupied more productively.

Similarly, the progressive unions "expelled" from C.I.O. in 1950 were forced to devote much effort to preparing briefs exposing the falsity of C.I.O.'s charges and the nature of the C.I.O. purge.

As health, welfare and pension plans become increasingly important in trade union negotiations, they involve a greater share of

trade union research time. This has been true, for example, in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union which recently negotiated one of the best plans in the country.

Research has stimulated the development of trade union libraries for service not only to union members but to educators, students and the community. Probably the outstanding trade union library is that maintained for the I.L.W.U. Finally many research workers in trade unions play an active role assisting union attornies preparing economic material for legal actions under the Taft-Hartley Act and the legal defense of union officials attacked by the government.

Research Activities Summarized

IN general, the activities of trade union research departments may be divided into these four general categories:

(1) Preparation of basic material on contract negotiations and enforcement and maintenance of union contract records.

(2) Servicing union officials and membership with general information. This includes assistance in preparation of educational material, contract bulletins, informational reports on the industry, handbooks for shop stewards, and occasional major studies of particular economic problems of a given industry. It also frequently includes assistance in drafting officers' reports to conventions and union testimony for legislative hearings.

(3) Preparation of economic and legislative material for major campaigns. In this category falls material prepared by U.E. on the consumer price index and against regressive tax legislation as well as the joint I.L.W.U. - M.C.S. - Union Research studies on China trade.

(4) Least common is the preparation of material designed to teach more fundamental economic "facts of life" to rank and file workers. Union Research and L.R.A. do notable work in this field.

Although the flow and direction of union research work is intimately related to trade union policy, the nature of labor research is not such that it lends itself to direct rank and file participation. Inevitably, at the operating stage, it is the work of a few people. Direct rank and file participation is at best limited, and then only infrequently, to participation in union-conducted surveys on price levels, housing, or conditions in the shops. Indirectly, however, union officials and research departments—at least those seeking to do an honest job in the interests of their membership—rely on problems reported to them by officers, local unions and field representatives. From such reports, formal and informal, researchers know what questions need answering and what attitudes are current among the members.

Gravest weakness in existing research setups is the generally unsatisfactory machinery for disseminating economic data among the membership. Most unions rely on the union newspaper or on usually small educational staffs.

The enormity of the economic and political problems confronting American workers today indicates the necessity of expansion of trade union research facilities of progressive unions and of greater development of independent research groups to service those workers whose economic interests are being betrayed not only by top union officials but by top union economists as well.

Long Live the Joint Struggle of the French and German Working Class against War

(Statement of the Executive Bureau of the French C.G.T.)

The representatives of the French and German working classes—the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), and the Federation of Free German Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.)—met in Berlin on June 14 and 15, 1950 in order to make a further war of aggression impossible through the common and co-ordinated struggle of the working classes of the two countries.

The appeal, edited and issued on behalf of both sides, was signed by Benoit Frachon, Alain Le Léap, Olga Tournade, Lucien Jayat for the C.G.T., and Herbert Warnke, A. Starck, Friedel Walter and H. Schlimm for the Federation of Free German Trade Unions.

Since June 1950, the war preparations denounced in that appeal have been confirmed and specified in detail.

Today, the French government—composed of former Ministers who collaborated with Hitler during the last war against the Soviet Union—is linked by a new military pact of aggression with the Bonn government, 35 per cent of which are former Hitlerites.

Opposition to war has continually grown during the last two years, which is why, both in France and Western Germany, the governments acting under the direction of the American provocateurs are attempting to smash the opposition of the working class by attacking democratic liberties.

The C.G.T. greets the valiant defenders of peace in Democratic Germany who are united in their trade union centre and around their People's Government.

It greets the men and women workers of Western Germany, millions of whom are fighting under the most difficult conditions in spite of the repression of a fascist government, against the war which they do not want and which the French working class refuses to accept.

By intensifying joint action in line with the terms of their joint appeal of June 14th and 15th, 1950, the French and German workers can and will make a new war of aggression impossible.

For the Executive Bureau,

GASTON MONMOUSSEAU.

W.F.T.U. PROTESTS AGAINST ARREST OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION LEADERS

Letter sent to Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations (31.5.52)

The W.F.T.U. wishes to draw the attention of the United Nations to the recent and continued attacks on trade union rights taking place in South Africa on the pretence of "suppressing communism."

On May 20 last, three non-European and three European trade union leaders received notice from the Minister of Justice forbidding them as 'named' communists from taking any part in public life and ipso facto, from carrying on their trade union work. These trade unionists, if they are communists—we are not aware of their political opinions except in the case of Mr. E. Sachs who is not a communist—are known not for this fact, but for their trade union activity and this attack is clearly a bid to silence the militant sections of the South African trade union movement.

One of these trade unionists is the prominent African, Mr. J. J. Marks, President of the African Mine Workers' Union and of the Transvaal African Congress. Another is the Indian, Mr. Gensen Poonen, Secretary of the Tobacco Workers' Union. The three European workers are Mr. I. Wolfson, for the last twenty years Secretary of the Tailoring Workers' Industrial Union, Mr. R. Fleet, 15 years Secretary of the Hairdressers' Industrial Union and Mr. J. D. Du Plessis, vice-President of the Union of Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers.

On May 24, Mr. Sachs was arrested on the steps of Johannesburg City Hall while addressing a meeting of 10,000 men and women, both European and non-European. He refused to recognise a piece of reactionary legislation of a type current in Nazi Germany, the philosophy of which was fought against by the Allies in the Second World War.

Released on bail, Mr. Sachs was re-arrested on May 26, again for addressing a trade union meeting. He is at the moment of writing still in prison.

This unwarranted attack is an attempt to intimidate and to force the trade union movement of South Africa to accept the neo-Nazi policies of the Malan government which are meeting with considerable opposition throughout the country.

The South African Trade Union Movement has appealed to the World Federation of Trade Unions and other organisations to take part in a world protest against the actions of the South African government. We therefore unreservedly condemn these actions of the Malan government and seek your help in persuading the South African government to renounce its anti-democratic policy and to cease persecuting the trade union movement in general and individual trade unionists in particular. Your report in due course is awaited with interest.

Yours truly,
LOUIS SAILLANT,
General Secretary.

☆ ☆ ☆

The W.F.T.U has also protested against the arrest of trade union leaders to the South African Prime Minister.

United Action of Isle of Grain Building Workers Leads to T.U. Recruitment

THE recent strike of 7,000 building workers at the Kent Oil Refinery site on the Isle of Grain (Kent, England) was an outstanding example of unity in action of workers of different nationalities, of different political and religious beliefs, and of widely varying degrees of trade union experience.

There are sixteen firms on the site, one of which, Sir Robert McAlpine and Sons, Ltd., employs 4,000 workers on excavation and road construction. For the most part these are unskilled labourers, many of them Irish and Jamaican migrant workers who have never belonged to a trade union.

For months before the strike, efforts to build trade unionism among these workers met with little success. Half of them remained outside the union, presenting a solid core of non-union labour which advanced workers, skilled men employed on the other fifteen contracts, tended to write off as hopeless.

The problem was made much more acute by McAlpine's refusal to recognise joint site stewards in their two contracts, the main site and the jetties, and by their insistence that any negotiations be conducted with representatives of the men on the two contracts separately: clearly an attempt to play one body of men off against the other.

Site stewards who were appointed often found themselves "redundant" at the end of the week.

All through the winter the McAlpine men worked in the most foul conditions. The whole site was a vast area of mud, but washing facilities were non-existent.

Whereas other workers were granted a few minutes' time off before 5.30 p.m. to get to their buses, the McAlpine men were compelled to work until the very minute the hooter went, and then plough their way through the mud in a desperate scramble to catch the buses that took some of them as far as 80 miles to their homes.

If a bus was five minutes late in the morning the workers in it, though late through no fault of their own, lost 15 minutes' pay.

Though the men on other contracts enjoyed two paid tea-breaks a day, and had tea brought to them on trolleys, the McAlpine workers had only one unpaid tea-break, and very often when overtime was worked, had to work right through from 1.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. without anything to drink.

Time off for first-aid treatment was knocked off a man's pay. He was forced to clock off before treatment and clock on again afterwards.

Finally, the most bitter grievance of all, the McAlpine workers did not receive the threepence an hour special pay for bad conditions on the site that employees of other contractors received. A McAlpine craftsman often drew less money than a labourer employed by another firm, working only a few yards away from him at similar work.

With a suddenness and unanimity that surprised many of the militants on the site, the 4,000 McAlpine workers downed tools on March 18. They demanded 3d per hour bonus and that the management negotiate with their elected representatives, both contracts together; that joint site stewards be recognised; that the principle of joint consultation be observed.

Two days later the remaining 3,000 workers decided at a mass meeting to down tools in sympathy with the McAlpine men by March 24, failing a satisfactory settlement. By the morning of March 25 the whole site was at a standstill. A joint strike committee of 70 men was elected.

The strikers comprised Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, Africans, West Indians, Italians and Poles. Among them were a considerable number of Roman Catholics, as well as adherents of many other faiths.

There were Labour supporters and Communists—and even an official of the Canterbury Conservative Association, as keen a striker as any.

Some of them had for years been members of craft unions like the Electrical Trades Union. Others had only the haziest notion of what a trade union stood for.

Yet this heterogeneous body of men stood together with tremendous firmness, solidarity and discipline, the raw workers learning from the experienced . . . and teaching them, too.

Among the attempts that were made to split them, two in particular should be noted.

First, statements by right-wing leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union alleging that a certain recommendation to return to work was never put to the men. (In fact, it was, and only two workers voted in favour of it.) The Red Bogy was raised in the

same quarter, of course, with vague and sinister allegations that "subversive elements" were behind the strike.

Secondly, efforts were made by Catholic priests to get the large number of Irish Catholic workers to return to work. One priest told them that he had no intention of standing quietly by while "Russian sympathisers" tried to divert them from the truth.

Another priest was on the site each day, handing out cigarettes galore and talking to groups of men. He was heard with courtesy—but not a man followed his advice.

The utter failure of these attempts shows two things: **that unity in action can defeat the right-wing splitters; and that religious convictions are no obstacle to the unity of the workers.**

The heightened class consciousness of the men on strike led to mass recruitment to trade unions, mainly to the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and the National Builders' Labourers and Constructional Workers' Society.

In the first six days of the struggle, 1,200 workers joined these unions, and many of the stewards ran out of membership forms. By the end of the strike another 800 had joined, and the site was 100 per cent organised.

The hitherto unorganised workers had come alive, had seen the value of militant trade unions, and it only needed a lead by the strike committee and efficient work by the stewards to bring them in.

Considerable initiative and organisational ability was displayed, especially by the young workers, many of them new trade union members.

The strike committee set up a number of sub-committees, which drew large numbers of volunteers into their work.

A pickets' committee arranged a business-like rota of disciplined pickets, and insisted on comprehensive reports from picket-leaders after each turn of duty.

A finance committee sent deputations to building jobs and factories to appeal for donations, and by the time the strike ended financial support was mounting steadily.

A public relations committee handled the issuing of statements to the press.

An organisation committee prepared posters and banners, arranged marches round the site, and was planning a mass demonstration in London when the strike ended.

On March 27, after ten days, the McAlpine management backed down. Unity in action won the workers recognition of site stewards and acceptance of the principle of consultation between them. The management agreed to the setting up of works' committees of stewards, and to afford "reasonable facilities" to stewards for carrying out their trade union duties and to chief stewards for consulting each other.

On this basis negotiations for the threepence an hour "site money" and for better conditions went ahead, and the workers went back to work.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations, the magnificent united struggle of the Grain workers has ensured that things will never be the same again on the Isle of Grain.

The workers emerged from the strike unbroken, having experienced for themselves how unity in action can bring a management to its knees.

They emerged from the strike with 100 per cent trade union organisation on the job, and with a joint stewards' committee that can lead them in future battles.

They defeated the McAlpine attempt to split the workers into two separate bodies of men for negotiation purposes.

They set a glowing example to every building job in Britain.

They proved once and for all that trade union organisation does not precede united action on the job or vice versa, but that the two tasks go hand in hand.

The lessons and experiences of the Grain strike need to be studied by every militant worker who wants to see a virile trade union movement playing its full part in the class battles that lie ahead.

Peter Fryer.

Left: Working conditions on the Isle of Grain. Because their building site is a sea of mud, building workers demanded 3d. an hour site money. Right: A group of strikers at the McAlpine site. International solidarity was achieved when English, Irish, Scots, Welsh, West Indian and Polish workers united to win their strike.

Famine in India

FAMINE in India. How many times have we heard these tragic words which we know to mean emaciated bodies, people dying on the streets, whole villages trekking to the towns in search of work and food, dead cattle, a dead countryside and agricultural production at a standstill.

The cry has gone up again. This time it is most poignant in the Rayalaseema area of Madras State, where five years of continuous drought up to May this year have brought starvation to millions of people.

Over 35,000 square miles, inhabited by 6 million people, have become a gigantic oven with the temperature at 110°F. and above, where there is no water for man nor beast, where the flesh-stripped bones of the dead cattle are seized and ground into powder for food, where the trees give no shade because their leaves have been eaten by starving human beings, where the grass has been eaten, where roots, the bark of trees, where everything possible is being used to stay the pangs of hunger. Mothers weep over their dying, crying children, weeping children cry over their mothers' inert bodies, the old creep away to hide their last moments, while many prefer suicide to the agonising wait for death. Men fight with dogs over the carcases of dead animals, cholera and smallpox are already finishing the work begun by starvation, and the trail of ruin will take many years to erase.

There is another famine further north in Indore in Madhya Pradesh, where conditions are almost as bad but which the government has not declared to be a famine area, thus eliminating the responsibility of providing adequate relief. So far a small sum has been granted amounting to a paltry 4 annas a head (about 4½d.). There are other famines in the Punjab, in Gujerat, in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Bharat. In all these areas, people are dying from lack of food; the government is doing much to conceal the deaths but little to alleviate the famine conditions.

And why is there a famine? The complex reasons can be roughly summarised: British rule imposed a colonial and therefore an unbalanced economy on India in which the emphasis was on agricultural production. (Even so, only 42.3 per cent of the land is under crops and only 16.2 per cent of this is irrigated.) The unbalanced colonial economy, together with the general feudal conditions brought about by the prevailing systems of land tenure, which were also introduced by the British—exorbitant rents demanded by the landowners, the hold of the money lenders which keeps almost every Indian peasant family in permanent and even hereditary debt, government taxation, etc.—all these mean that peasant holdings in time became fragmentary and uneconomic. In Madras, for instance, 51 per cent hold less than 2 acres and another 31 per cent less than 5 acres. Land fertility declined and yields dropped. The yield of Indian cotton, for example, is one-sixth of the Egyptian yield, the yield of ground nuts about half of that of Italy, that of sugar less than one-twelfth of Hawaii and that of rice a quarter of the Italian yield. The peasants were, and are, too poor to employ modern agricultural methods and the governments, both British and Indian, have permitted irrigation works to fall into disuse having neither maintained them nor forced the landowners to do so.

This criminal neglect by the government almost amounts to man-slaughter. The present-day leaders of India have in the past quite correctly pointed to British responsibility in this matter of recurring famines, but now that they are in power the policy which they are following means that millions of people are starving to death as a direct result of their failure.

In fact, what has the government done in recent years? There is its Self-Sufficiency Plan, under which India was to be independent of basic food imports by March 1952. This goal was mainly to have been achieved by a Grow More Food programme, according to which 34.44 per cent more food would be produced in 1950-51 than in 1947-48, by land-reclamation, irrigation and intensive cultivation of suitable areas. Of course, this plan was not fulfilled. When the Indian government had to seek food in a hurry during last year's severe shortages, having based the estimated requirements on their plan rather than reality, it was People's China and the Soviet Union who came to the aid of of their Indian brothers while the United States hung back dickering for political gains from the Indian people's plight. This year again, production is lagging behind estimates, which in turn are far short of actual requirements.

What else has the government done? Within a few days of taking office, it stopped the central government subsidies to the States which, in turn, declared a fifty per cent increase in grain prices, thus putting food in the luxury class.

The government has introduced into the recognised famine area—that is Rayalaseema—a system which it has the effrontery to call 'relief works,' whereby some five thousand of the hundreds of thousands who have

Starving people are the victims of political manoeuvres and graft. The Rs. 500 million food subsidy was withdrawn by the Central Government, as a result of which food prices have at least doubled.

applied have been given relief work. Their wages, if they can be so called, are an irregularly-paid 10 annas (about 11d.) for a full day's hard work.

The government has also sent in the army, which has made some 30 eighty-gallon water lorries, some barrels, canvas tanks and pumps available to the civilian authorities—a drop in the desert. Gruel centres have been opened which, according to at least one doctor, use the worst quality millet served in dirty earthenware pots so that even the comparatively healthy suffer from intestinal complaints after eating there.

It is not, however, what the government has done, but what it has not done, which is the real crime. It has not seriously attempted to feed the millions of people living in Madras. It knows that despite an increasing population, the cultivated area has varied little over the last thirty years and that the production of food grains has, in fact, fallen by over 2 million tons in this period while imports have gone up only slightly. The government also knows that merely to maintain consumption at the inter-war years' average of 22.25 ounces per person per day would take almost 10½ million tons of grain, but production and imports fell so far short of this figure that the estimated consumption for 1949-50 is 13.12 ounces a day. The figure for this year will certainly be even lower.

The solution to the problem of famines in India is no superficial one. It goes down to the roots of Indian society, down to the roots of the social system and it will not be solved by tinkering on the surface. To start with, the hold of the big landowners must be broken and the land must go to those who cultivate it, without compensation to the owners. Money must be made available to the peasants so that they can buy the necessary implements, stock, seed and other requirements. Machine stations must be set up, group work encouraged, research institutions into better agronomic methods must be opened. More land must be brought under cultivation and employment found for the surplus rural population. Then, and only then, can a beginning be made to putting an end for ever to this recurring heart-rendering tragedy, the Indian famine.

Mary Wolfard.

Pity the Poor (Minister)

INDIAN Food Minister Munshi recently stated that his salary was hardly sufficient for food and that he had to draw on past earnings—how did the poor fellow manage to save—for his clothes and other requirements.

This was his reply to a textile worker who asked him what justification there was for the taking of such abnormally high salaries by government officials in a land where the per capita income was so low.

He didn't mention his salary, which is certainly not less than a State Minister's 850 rupees a month plus a housing and car allowance.

The 1948 per capita income in India was **213 rupees a year.**

Indian Chemical Workers Strike

AT Mithapurt, in this north-western tip of Kathiawad Peninsula, three thousand workers of Tata Chemical Company have been on strike since 21st April this year.

This land, rich in its material resources, was selected by Indian compradore bourgeoisie for exploitation. A factory for manufacturing heavy chemicals, including soda ash, caustic soda, etc., was established here by Tatas, one of India's monopoly capitalists who control such basic industries as iron, steel, locomotives, metal alloys and some of the light industries. Tatas' role in India could be compared with that of the Rockefellers, Morgans, and Duponts in America.

The cement magnates of India selected Dwarka, another town in this area, for establishing one of their cement factories. The strategic port of Okha was chosen by the Burmah-Shell company, representing the British monopoly petroleum interests in India, for establishing an oil installation.

The upsurge of the workers and peasants of this area, who have come to understand a little how to fight for their interests, have panic-stricken the Indian compradore bourgeoisie, those lieutenants of the warmongering Anglo-American bloc, who fear that their base in India is fast slipping out of their hands. They are therefore attacking the people's movement with all devilishness and the various struggles fought by the workers have been subjected to the most severe attacks.

It is against this political background that the strike of 3,000 Tata Chemical workers started. Tata Chemicals is one of the two factories producing soda ash and other heavy chemicals in India. For some time past the management has harassed the workers beyond endurance. They brought in an American firm of industrial engineering consultants to see how best to increase the work-load by rationalisation.

Already many workers from this factory have died because of unhealthy working conditions, but the management has consistently maintained that the workers' deaths were due to malnutrition and not any occupational diseases.

The company started its offensive in the first week of April last by discharging one engineer and one carpenter on very flimsy grounds. The workers understood that if this attack was not resisted, it would be followed by a further offensive from the management. They therefore served the management with 14 days' strike notice on April 7. The conciliation proceedings failed and the workers voted for a strike. The reactionary Congress leadership controlling the Union tried to split the workers and resigned from the Executive Committee. Immediately new militant workers were elected by the General Body to the Executive Committee.

On April 21 at 6 a.m., the factory was deserted, only a few technical staff and some clerks sneaking in. The new leadership educated the workers to be absolutely united and disciplined and peaceful.

During the strike thousands of workers from nearby villages took part in the daily processions and meetings.

This feudal and backward area, where women workers and workers' families had not previously taken part in demonstrations, was electrified as thousands of women workers came out of their houses and demonstrated. Many peoples' poets are springing up from the struggle, and men and women workers breathing the air of unity and fraternity are speaking and singing at meetings. The tempo is tremendous and even the older workers, when asked whether they are losing courage, reply confidently that they know they are fighting against a monopoly capitalist and prefer to face starvation than bend their backs before the management.

The management tried various tactics to break the workers' morale: but all their efforts have been successfully foiled by the militant and class conscious workers of Mithapur.

The company refuses to meet the following union demands :

1. That the two discharged workers be reinstated;
2. that the contract system in the factory for work of a permanent nature be abolished and the contract labour be put on the company payroll;
3. that a wrong charge sheet served on a worker be withdrawn.
4. The workers on salt lifting operations be paid half a month's bonus for the year 1950-51 on the same basis as other workers.

These are trivial demands which Tatas could easily grant.

Under the new union leadership, the workers are marching forward with full confidence in final victory. They have the support of the Saurashtra and Bombay working class and peasants of nearly 42 villages which form this area. May Day was celebrated with a mile-long procession in the morning and a huge meeting in the evening. The meeting was attended by about 8,000 working people.

On May 7, Tatas' served dismissal notices on 2,000 workers, but the strike continues.

The A.I.T.U.C. has issued a statement in support of the strike.

It is the first time that the workers of Tata Chemical Co., Ltd., have staged such an all-out strike. They have to fight against heavy odds. But they fight on with unbending spirit, determined to achieve the fulfilment of their demands.

Vajubhai Shukla,
Vice-President, Tata Chemical Union.

The Construction of Houses in People's Poland

THE reign of capitalism, which had exploited the workers and reduced them to poverty and unemployment, ended for Poland in 1945. Now, the Polish working class is working for itself and its own State. Since the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army and Polish troops, our people have begun the building of a socialist society.

The achievement of the Three-Year Plan of reconstruction (1947-1949) and the launching of the Six-Year Plan, beginning in 1950, have made possible the construction of hundreds of thousands of houses for the workers, new factories, electrical power stations, schools, hospitals, theatres, etc.

In pre-war capitalist Poland, dwelling houses were only built with a view to the profits the landlords could draw from them. Workers' dwellings were built on the cheap, and let at high rentals, as much as 50% of the worker's wage. In the cities, the houses jostled each other. There were neither green spaces, parks, gardens nor sports grounds. The city of Lodz, the largest centre of the textile industry in Poland, was a typical example. In this city of 600,000 inhabitants, there was not even a sewerage system and only now has one been constructed.

In the mining areas the workers were crowded in the most rudimentary barracks built from old boards and bits of iron. These districts, relegated to the edges of the towns, formed a striking contrast to the luxurious houses of the industrialists. Of course such things as crêches, kindergartens, clubs, canteens, and modern laundries were unknown at that time.

Housing conditions which were absolutely calamitous in pre-war Poland became still worse owing to the destruction carried out by Hitler's invading armies. Property losses represented 33% of the total national wealth. In Warsaw, more than 90% of the buildings housing 1.3 million people were destroyed.

After the liberation, the new Poland was faced, in this field as in all others, with enormous difficulties. Above all, it had to repair those houses which could be repaired. This task was achieved in 1947, thus making these houses habitable. During the period of the Three-Year Plan, from 1947 to 1949 inclusive, almost 200,000 new dwelling houses were constructed.

In 1950 a new stage in housing construction began with the Six-Year Plan, characterised by the mechanisation of construction sites, and by the use of new methods by the more advanced sections of the workers. A veritable revolution in the field of construction and town planning has been accomplished in Poland.

Nova Huta and Nova Tykhy will be two great socialist cities completely new and each having one million inhabitants. More than 200,000 new dwellings have been constructed in Warsaw since 1950.

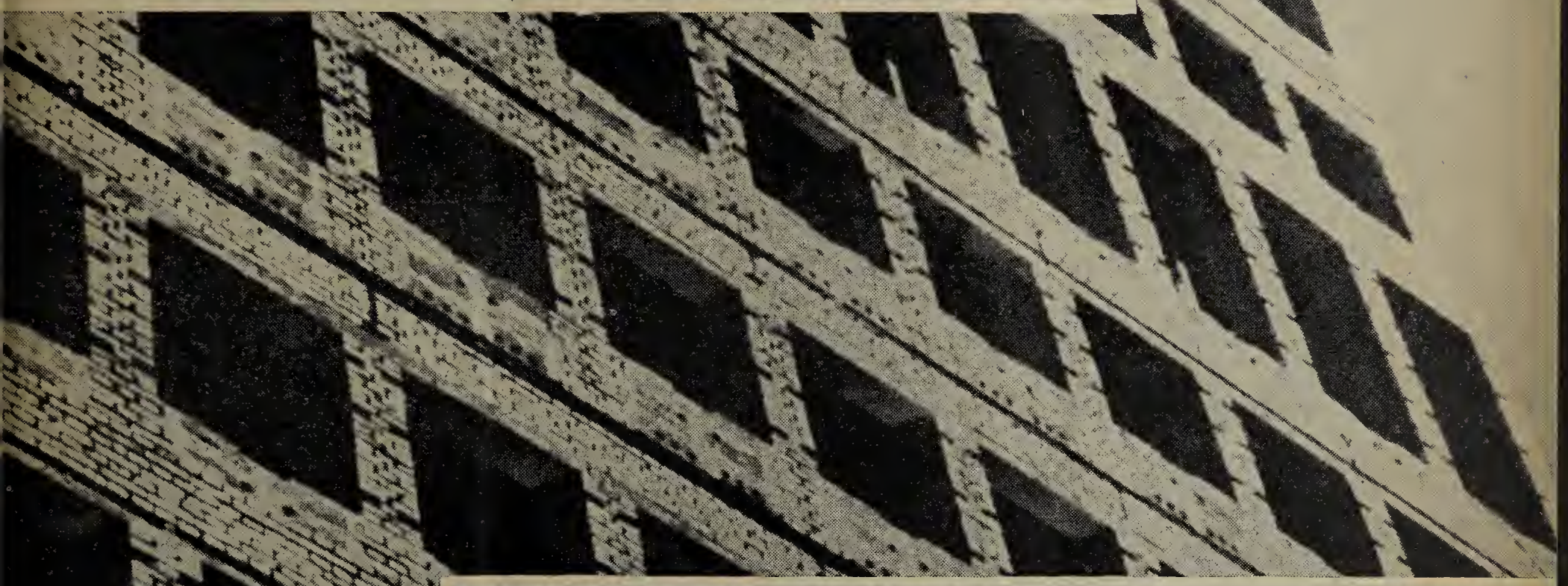
By the end of 1951 the construction of 13,000 apartments, 70 crêches and kindergartens, were carried out in Warsaw and 14,000 new dwellings were undertaken.

We are restoring our cultural and historical monuments from the ruins, our palaces which had been destroyed, and we are building theatres, cinemas and stadiums.

The whole of Poland has been transformed into one gigantic building site. By the end of 1955, we will build one average-sized industrial enterprise every three days, one combine every ten days, and 330 dwellings every day.

We are not hiding from ourselves that, in spite of these enormous efforts, great difficulties still face us in the field of housing. Not only must the tremendous destruction caused by the war be taken into consideration, but also the rapid growth of the population in the cities, as illustrated by the following figures:

" Warsaw will never rise from the ruins," said the Nazis when they destroyed the city. Today, the Polish capital, more beautiful than ever, vibrant with life, bears witness to the creative force of the New Poland.



The number of people not engaged in agricultural work in 1939 was 2,750,000; it now exceeds 5,200,000, in other words, it has doubled. The rapid industrialisation of the country having increased the number of workers, the demand for apartments has grown and necessitates new and large investments.

The Six-Year Plan calls for the construction of 725,000 dwellings; 90 new districts having every convenience will be built in the cities. For the happiness and health of our workers we shall reconstruct our cities according to the principles of socialist town planning. We shall transform open spaces into stadiums, parks, gardens, kindergartens, etc.

In the historic struggle for the achievement of the Six-Year Plan in the field of housing construction, the trade unions are playing a foremost role. The Central Council of Trade Unions participates in the distribution of funds for housing construction on a national level, and the local trade union organisations see that new living quarters are fairly distributed, and comfortably furnished. They also see to the organisation of kindergartens, crêches and polyclinics. In this way the workers through their trade union organisations, participate directly in drawing up and carrying out the housing construction plans.

Apart from the role played by the trade unions in the construction of housing, attention should also be drawn to the fact that they assist any of their members wishing to possess an individual home. As proposed by trade union branch committees, loans are granted to these workers and building materials furnished.

The tremendous work of peaceful construction both in housing and in industry, is proof of our people's will to peace. At the same time it is also an expression of our unshakable confidence in the power of the world peace camp. A people which has conceived and which is carrying out construction plans on such a vast scale, cannot want war. They can only desire peace throughout the world.

M.B.

Unemployment and the Decline in the Workers' Living Standards

ABOUT six months ago the economic situation in Sweden suddenly became worse. A serious slump hit a section of the consumers' goods industries. This was caused, on the national level, by the drop in the workers' purchasing power, and on the international level, by restrictions on imports and the various protective measures taken by the member countries of O.E.E.C., the revival of strong competition from Germany and Japan, and the refusal—imposed by the American State Department—to take the maximum advantage of the immense markets offered by the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies and People's China.

Partial or complete unemployment made its appearance; new dismissals, and sometimes the complete closing down of factories were announced every day. The textile, leather and shoe industries were hardest hit by the slump, but important export industries such as cellulose, paper, wood, and even engineering and electrical equipment were affected.

A few months ago the Swedish subsidiary of the powerful international Suchard trust threw the entire personnel of one of its factories on to the streets; the L.M. Ericsson Company, famed throughout the world for its machinery and precision instruments, forced to curtail its output because of lack of markets, dismissed part of its personnel, and a large match factory did the same. Stocks are piling up everywhere. In textiles alone, 8,000 workers, the majority of whom are women, are unemployed.

Only those industries working directly or indirectly for "Western" rearmament, such as the Norrbotten steel and iron mines, are working to full capacity. The S.K.F. balance sheet for 1951 which has just been published reveals record business exceeding 1,000 million crowns and net profits reaching more than 50 million crowns. The balance sheet of the Götaverken shipyards announces a clear profit of 25,080 million crowns for 1951 as against 16,385 million in 1950, that is a 53% profit increase. *Affärsvärlden* (Business world), a financial publication, publishes the balance sheets of 14 large companies in the engineering and timber industries, showing that these companies made a net profit of 877 million crowns in 1951 to which must be added 391 million representing profits from exports, which are temporarily frozen in the Treasury, making a total of 1,268 million crowns against 333 million in 1949. That means that these companies have increased their profits in two years by 935 million crowns, or nearly a 1,000 million!

The Swedish workers' unrest and anger at the indifference shown by the public authorities to such a situation, is growing. The Social Democratic government, while deploring the "terrible plague" of unemployment is taking no effective measures to prevent the dismissals. It even congratulates itself, through its spokesman, Mr. Erlander, President of the Council, on the fact that the present economic recession has put an end to an "abnormally favourable" situation in certain sectors of the economy, and that the "local unemployment" thus created would create a "healthier labour market" by reducing artificially raised labour costs. Big business and industry are fully in agreement with the policy followed by this "socialist" government and make no secret of their intentions to profit by the situation by increasing the exploitation of the workers, by increasing the speed-up already exceptionally intense, and by consolidating their monopolist positions as a result of the elimination of the weakest markets.

It can be understood that the government's "optimism" is not appreciated by the Swedish workers (L.O.), in spite of all the efforts made by the right-wing Social Democratic leaders, right-hand men of the government, to smash the workers' fighting spirit and their intention of achieving their demands.

Thus the Textile Workers' Federation trade union bulletin tries to "explain" to the textile workers that the crisis is caused by world overproduction and the saturation of foreign markets! This "explanation" is made at the time when millions of people throughout the world have neither food nor clothing, and while even in

Sweden itself, that much vaunted Social Democratic "paradise" most of the workers are obliged to eat magarine instead of butter which is too expensive and therefore piling up in the warehouses.

The Swedish workers are demanding a change in the government policy which is leading to a rise in the cost of living and to unemployment. Progressive militants, loyal interpreters of the workers' will in the trade unions, are actively engaged in pointing out to their work-mates the disastrous consequences of this policy which places the heavy burden of rearmaments on the working class and the people while the trusts quietly go ahead and mass unheard-of super-profits. They are demanding a sliding scale system which would really take the rise in the cost of living into account. They are demanding that the Government Price Control Commission act effectively to prevent increases and that the enormous super-profits being realised by the Swedish capitalists on exports, be blocked by the Treasury and used to subsidise food products and articles of basic necessity. They are also demanding the reduction of speed-up, the 5-day working week (no Saturday work) without any reduction in wages, and the development of normal trading relations with the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies and People's China.

Finally, and not least in importance, the progressive militants are demanding *democracy* in the trade union movement. In actual fact, it is practically impossible for rank and file workers to exercise any control over the many trade union officials who quite docilely carry out the directives from above, that is, from the government itself, or from the Social Democratic Party right-wing leadership.

The workers, however, who were at first deceived by the collective agreements negotiated last January by a small group of reformist leaders, who took no account of demands from below, are beginning to act.

During the prepatory work for the Building Workers' Federation Congress which opens in Stockholm at the end of June, several resolutions have been submitted demanding stricter government price control and tax reductions for taxpayers in the smaller income groups. Other resolutions demand that the Federation leadership declare itself against the excessive centralisation of negotiations of collective agreements and that it demand workers' right to control and take a greater part themselves in these negotiations which fix their wages for a whole year.

B.A.

How Reuther Understands T.U. Democracy

THE EXAMPLE OF FORD LOCAL 600

IN March, the Committee on Un-American Activities carried out an investigation in Detroit of 'subversive' activities, centering its attention on Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.) at the Ford Motor Company's huge Rouge River plant in Dearborn, Michigan. This is the largest and one of the most progressive locals in the union. In this investigation, it was aided by the Ford Motor Company and by U.A.W President Walter Reuther, against whose right-wing policies the elected leaders of Local 600 have been opposed. Using the Un-American Committee's investigation as a protest to consolidate his dictatorial control over the locals of his union, Reuther took over Local 600 by means of an Administrative Board exercising all authority in place of the elected officers. No meetings or union business could be conducted without the approval of Reuther's Administrative Board. This interference with trade union democracy met with strong opposition from the membership, and as a consequence Reuther is forced to go slowly in his attempt to consolidate his *coup d'etat*.

Latest proof of membership resentment was the action at a meeting of Ford tool and diemakers on April 26, when a motion, which received enthusiastic support, was made to strike if Reuther arbitrarily removed the elected officers and committeemen of the tool and die unit of the local union, as he has done in other units of the Rouge plant.

Reuther has ridden roughshod over other local unions in consolidating his power in the United Auto Workers but has continued to act with caution against the Ford Local, whose 48,000 members make it the largest in the U.A.W. and possibly the largest in the world.

Financial Secretary William G. Grant of Local 600, who is also a former President of the local, estimated that sentiment in the local is 85% against Reuther's administratorship in favour of the elected officers.

The U.A.W. constitution provides, as a safeguard against dictatorship, that when an administrator or Administrative Board is placed over a local union, there must be a free election of officers within 60 days. That would have placed the election May 15. NO election took place on that date. Reuther is said to argue that no election ahead of the regular June election period is required since the elected officers are still getting their salaries and are still sitting at their desks even though powerless to function.

No local union or subordinate meetings are permitted by the Reuther-appointed administrator, without his consent in each case and his attendance or that of his deputy. No motion can be voted on without his approval and no one may speak without his consent.

However, it was agreed between the local union officers and the administrators that no local union funds could be spent without the consent of both the local union financial secretary and the administrator. This is another indication that Reuther is moving cautiously because he is not sure of the effect of his action.

Nevertheless, the auto workers, and particularly those in Ford 600, are of a lusty independent nature, used to fighting tyranny whether exercised by the company or by higher union officers. And they are determined to use all means in their power to prevent Reuther from exercising a dictatorship over their trade union.

A Correspondent in Detroit, Michigan.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

GREAT BRITAIN

East-West Trade

REAL wages have declined by deliberate policy of the Government in order to meet the cost of the rearmament programme. Engineering is being increasingly engaged on rearmament while civilian construction is reduced to the minimum and all overtures for the expansion of East-West trade are being contemptuously rejected. We are being asked by the Government to apply restraint on wage applications in order to pay for guns, and the same Government accepts restraint on exports to the Soviet Union, East Europe and China that would provide us with butter. The T.U.C. General Council accepts restraint on exports if we are to accept as authentic policy the warning given in the informal report *What the T.U.C. is Doing* in which the Moscow Economic Conference is described as "an event in the Cominform Calendar."

The Arrangements Commission of the Economic Conference stated on February 15, 1952, that its purpose was to examine—

> "How the development of normal commercial relations beween countries and increasing the volume of world trade might promote the expansion of national industry, greater employment and lowering of living costs."

Britain is in need of new markets which can only be secured by increasing the volume of world trade. Britain needs to expand its national industry to provide employment for the victims of slump conditions and to lower living costs. The development of world trade can bring about a new world relationship and an end to rearmament, opening up possibilities of higher real wages and better living standards. But the Tory Government and our T.U.C. and Labour Party sent no official representatives to that conference. Britain, nevertheless, was represented, and those Trade Unionists, Labour Members of Parliament, representatives of business interests and Lord Boyd Orr who attended have already given some indication of how trade between East and West will help to relieve economic pressure on the British people.

Every effort is, of course, being made to play down the Moscow Economic Conference. It has been described as a political manoeuvre by those who are evidently content to accept the American manoeuvre to stop East-West trade. There is no ambiguity about the intentions of the United States in paying out dollars on condition that the recipient nations obey the directives not to export what are described as "strategic materials" to Eastern countries. The range of "strategic materials" is wide enough to exclude any expansion of East-West trade and this embargo is clearly designed as a war manoeuvre. It does not matter to America that the embargo cuts off Western Europe from its natural markets and beggars its people, or that imports of food and raw materials from the East are denied to them for the favour of American Aid for rearmament which the people do not want. Even if the Moscow Conference was "a manoeuvre," its declared object is for the expansion of world trade and that, if achieved, could only result in an easement of world tension. The American embargo is hitting the people of Britain and of Western Europe much more than it is the Eastern countries. This is made clear by the fact of unemployment and declining living standards in the West while the people of the Eastern countries enjoy full employment and rising living standards.

There are two courses open to us—to continue with the present policy of rearmament and a divided world, driving to a major war with all its terrible consequences to the people of Britain and other lands, or to effect a reconciliation that will permit of a free exchange of goods between East and West, to the mutual advantage of both. The Tory Government is committed to the first, but in pursuit of its policy is digging its own grave. Opposition is mounting, as is shown by the County Council elections, and notice to quit has been served on Mr. Churchill and his Government. Notice to quit must be reinforced and every endeavour made to re-establish Labour in power on a programme of economic expansion and world peace.

Our own Union has consistently fought for a policy of peaceful construction and against trends in our own movement, analogous to the present policy of the Tory Government. In doing so we have often been in the minority at the T.U.C. and other national conferences. We were in the minority against the wage freeze until the 1950 Congress when our Union policy became T.U.C. policy. So, also, will it happen on the question of rearmament and East-West trade.

The Easter conferences give some indication of how tired people are getting of official protestations of willingness to negotiate with the Eastern countries while always some specious excuse is forthcoming for evading or refusing every offer made. The Co-op. Political Party has declared in favour of a Five-Power Pact and a resolution against the present high level of rearmament was only narrowly defeated. The Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers has gone on record against the present high level of rearmament. There is a growing feeling for the removal of all restraints on East-West trade and against a rearmament programme that is destroying the whole fabric of Britain's economy. Our own Union's consistency on these questions will meet with its reward in the ultimate triumph of a policy for peaceful trading relations with all countries and an end to rearmament.

J. Gardner,
General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, in the union's *Monthly Journal and Report,* May 1952.

SPAIN

Under Franco, Thousands of Children are Victims of Work Accidents

THE life and health of the workers does not interest the big financial magnates, their only care being how to increase their fabulous fortunes, by increasing their profits at the expense of the people's and children's blood.

Franco's official statistics, which conceal as much as they can of the

terrible facts of child exploitation, admit that during 1949 there were 408,960 work accidents, of which 1,184 were among children of under 14 years of age. This aspect of child exploitation is all the more tragic because of the illegal character of such employment according to Franco laws, which state in a purely formal and demagogic way that no child under 14 can be employed as an apprentice. In fact, thousands of children under 14 are forced to work or die of starvation. These children, obliged to produce beyond their strength, are destroyed physically and when they fall victims of work accidents they are simply shown the door like an object which has become useless, without the slightest compensation and as a matter of course, without any measure being taken by the Franco regime to avoid a repetition of the same accident to another child. A large number of these totally disabled as a result of work accidents go to swell the ranks of child beggars in the streets of the towns. The sole measure taken by Franco officials, with the cold cynicism of executioners, is to note at the end of each year the number of children under 14 who are victims of work accidents.

Sometimes the Franco press, for demagogic reasons, feels obliged to point out in its columns certain particularly monstrous facts. For example in its issue of October 8 of last year the Catholic weekly *TU* drew attention to the case of a small twelve-year old who "while doing work far beyond his strength, had an accident in which he lost an arm."

Espana Republicana, 12.4.52.

GREECE

Hunger Marches in Macedonia

We have spoken from time to time of the poverty and misery existing in Greece. The following, although more than two months old, gives a brief picture of one aspect of conditions in Greece and of the struggle of the people against poverty and starvation.

EVERY day the economic situation in Greece becomes more desperate, writes our Athens correspondent. Last Sunday some five thousand tobacco growers of the Prosotsani area, near the town of Drama (Eastern Macedonia), led by the Mayor of Prosotsani and the Municipal Councils of the surrounding villages, staged a hunger march towards Drama. The procession was headed by people carrying black banners. Hungry men and women carried their children with them.

As is reported in the Athens *Vema* of April 16, many of the children were already so exhausted because of starvation that they fainted on the march and had to be carried to the first aid station as soon as the hunger march reached Drama, about 11 a.m. The marchers besieged the Prefect's residence and declared that they would not move unless the government agreed to assist the tobacco growers by buying up their stocks, unsold for years because of American competition in Western Germany and because of the American order prohibiting Greek tobacco exports to Eastern Europe.

As an expression of sympathy with the hunger marchers all shopkeepers of Drama kept their shops closed.

But the mass protests are not confined to the tobacco growers. On April 11 all merchants of the town of Larissa, Thessaly, closed their shops in protest against their economic plight and the unbelievably heavy taxation to which they are subjected. The same day all workers of Volos, the big industrial centre of Thessaly, went on a twenty-four hour strike for higher wages.

In Tripolis, Southern Greece, the merchants and tradesmen closed their shops on April 10 in protest against heavy taxation. On April 12 all civil servants in Greece went on a 4-hour strike, protesting against the government decision to grant them the ridiculously small sum of 500,000 drachmas as an Easter allowance.[1]

And the strike wave grows daily and tends to develop into a general strike.

Three M.P.'s have tabled a question asking the government why Greece did not participate in the Moscow Economic Conference in which most West European countries took part, and also what measures the government intends to take to make possible a resumption of trade with Eastern Europe.

Greek News Agency, (London), 18.4.52.

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[1] Because of inflation, the drachma is worth very little. At a very rough estimate, 500.000 drachmas are worth approximately $18.00.

INDIA

Bombay Resists Rise in Food Price

THE recent order of the Bombay Government raising the prices of imported foodgrains by 50 per cent in the four major towns and by 15 percent all over the State, has raised a storm of protest all over Bombay and Maharashtra. . . .

It must also be noted here that about a year and a half back the prices of rationed foodgrains had been raised by 25 per cent all over the State, and this new rise therefore means that today every person has to pay for his food 75 per cent more that he had to two years back.

The picture is all the more grim, because this rise comes in the wake of staggered hours introduced in a number of mills and factories in the name of 'electricity shortage,' bringing down the average wage of thousands of workers by 12 to 15 rupees a month.

Also simultaneously with this rise the employers have launched a large-scale rationalisation and retrenchment offensive, which is putting thousands of workers out of a job in the name of fighting the slump.

Many people are meeting the additional costs by cutting down their purchase of sugar etc., while others, especially the low-paid workers from small industries, are purchasing less than half their weekly ration of wheat . . .

The Deputy Headmaster of a Municipal Primary School in the city said: "I get Rs.150 as salary. Out of that, I will have to spend Rs. 75 per month for the ration for the whole family. How does the Government expect me to meet the cost of the education of my four children, pay my house rent and meet our daily expenditure with the remaining Rs. 75?". . .

But the people of the State have refused to take this new attack on their standard of living lying down.

The Communist Party, the Peasants' and Workers' Party, the Kamgar Kisan Party, the Left Socialist Group, and other Left parties as well as the trade unions have taken the lead in organising a campaign against this rise.

The committee has started a mass signature campaign on this issue, and already over 50,000 signatures have been collected. . . .

Cross Roads, (India), 9.5.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

May 19

GREECE—Representatives of the 200,000 political prisoners in the main prisons address a stirring appeal to world democratic opinion for solidarity and united action to save the lives of the prisoners. The appeal is signed, among others, by the trade union leader A. Ambatielos, by the hero of the Greek resistance, Manolis Glezos, and by the youth leader M. Tsimboukides.

May 22

JAPAN—Forty-five thousand workers from 5 major Japanese metal mining companies start a 48-hour strike for wage increases.

May 27

JAPAN—The House of Representatives modifies existing labour laws, practically wiping out the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike.

May 31

SOVIET UNION—Opening of the Don-Volga canal. The first of the works of communism is thus carried out. The Baltic, White, Caspian, Black and Aral Seas are joined, and Moscow becomes a port with outlets to five seas. A network of auxiliary canals will permit nearly 1,900,000 acres of land to be irrigated.

June 1

SPAIN—During the closing ceremony of the Eucharistic Congress in Barcelona, in Franco's presence, a large Catalan flag, banned by the authorities, suddenly appears on a hill overlooking the city.

IRAN—The democratic organisations of Iran, including the trade unions, launch a campaign to support the peasants' fight for the distribution of feudal lands without compensation.

ITALY—Demonstrations of solidarity and work stoppages in favour of Jacques Duclos, André Stil and others arrested, occur throughout the country. In Milan 200 factories hold demonstrations. In Turin, Rome and several other cities, factory delegations visit the French Embassy and Consulates. The Secretariat of the Italian General Confederation of Labour expresses its fraternal solidarity with the arrested French working class leaders.

ICELAND—The Reykjavik Supreme Court gives its verdict against twenty workers arrested during the great demonstrations against the Atlantic Pact, which took place in front of the Parliament building in March 1949. The 20 accused are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and heavy fines.

June 2

UNITED STATES—The Supreme Court having ruled that Truman's requisitioning of the steel plants was illegal, the Steelworkers' Union issues a further strike call to its 650,000 members. The workers are demanding a 25 cents an hour wage increase and certain improvements in their work contract.

— Eighteen thousand textile workers are on strike in carpet factories in New York and Massachussets in support of their demand for a 25 cents an hour wage increase. The "Alexander Smith" factory in New York, one of the largest carpet factories in the world, employing 4,200 workers, is paralysed by the strike.

NEPAL—Public service employees go on strike for higher salaries. Demonstrations take place in the streets of the capital, Khatmandu, and workers and students clash with police.

June 4

ITALY—The Turin tramwaymen have been fighting for 50 days against the contract signed between the management and the minority trade union (affiliated to the breakaway Italian centre, "Confederazione Italiana Sindicati Lavoratori"), the signing of which contradicts the most elementary principles of trade union democracy.

They stop work for the fifth time, and organise an imposing demonstration in the city's streets. The railwaymen of Biella Vercelli take part in a solidarity action with the Turin railwaymen.

FRANCE—In reply to the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) appeal, action for the release of Jacques Duclos, André Stil and others under arrest, for economic demands and for peace develops in every way. Workers take part in stay-in strikes in hundreds of enterprises in the Paris region.

— Day of action for workers in the public services. Thousands of workers respond to the appeal of the C.G.T. and the independent union and gather in front of the "bourse du Travail" demanding that their claims be met.

WESTERN GERMANY—Ten thousand workers in Worms strike for two hours and hold a mass meeting to protest against Adenauer's policy. Strikes increase in Mülheim, affecting tens of thousands of workers.

AUSTRALIA — Dockers throughout Australia stop work in protest against the decision of the Arbitration Court in favour of the employers, who wish to force the dockers to work overtime.

June 5

LEBANON—A militant demonstration is held in front of the French Legation in Beirut to protest against the arbitrary arrest of Jacques Duclos and André Stil. The police intervene and make a number of arrests.

INDONESIA—Four hundred seamen employed by the "Kononklijkr Rotterdam Lloyd" have been on strike for a week against the refusal of the company to pay them a statutory gratuity of 35 florins. The company's profits in 1951 were 34 million florins.

UNITED STATES—One hundred and fifty factory delegates representing 300,000 members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers go to Washington to demand from their representatives in Congress the repeal of anti-strike laws and the ending of the wage freeze.

ALGERIA—Action day for the workers of Oranie for wage increases, against poverty and repression. The day is a great success, in spite of threats of dismissal and the deployment of large forces of police.

— In the Ain-Temouchent region 2,500 agricultural workers go on strike for an unlimited period to demand wage increases.

ALBANIA—The building of a new irrigation canal in the Durazzo region has just been completed. The canal is about 27 miles long, and is the most important construction plan in the agricultural field of the Albanian five-year plan.

June 6

ITALY—Thousands of agricultural workers in Northern Italy are

carrying on a firm struggle against the landowners, who are refusing to increase wages or to apply the labour contract in the lower part of the province of Padua. The day labourers are striking in relays to demand the resumption of negotiations on their labour contract.

INDIA—Three hundred thousand Bombay workers respond to the appeal of 54 trade unions and 8 political parties and stage a 24-hour strike in protest against the government's withdrawal of food subsidies.

WESTERN GERMANY—According to the D.G.B. (West German trade union federation under right-wing leadership) over 700,000 workers have struck and demonstrated in North Rhine-Westphalia alone against the "General Treaty" and the factory labour law.

BULGARIA—The workers of Sofia and members of social organisations rally in protest against the signing of the Bonn treaty and against the attacks by the French government on the workers' rights.

AUSTRIA—A conference of shop stewards is held in Vienna, devoted to the development of the struggle against dismissals, attacks on social security and the remilitarisation of the zones of Austria under occupation by the Western Powers.

June 7

JAPAN—Over 55,000 State Railway workers strike for a 8,500 Yen (about £8 10s.) summer bonus.
— The wave of protest against the Subversive Activities Prevention Law grows in volume. 700,000 workers—seamen, miners, metalworkers and others—go on strike. Two million workers demonstrate against this law.

June 8

UNITED STATES—The mechanics and storekeepers of the La Guardia airport, New York, go on strike despite the opposition of the leadership of their trade union, in protest against the conditions of employment of staff recently transferred to the Newark airport.

KOREA—The Korean newspaper *Mindu Chosen* publishes a letter smuggled out of Koje prisoner-of-war camp, signed by 6,223 Korean prisoners. This letter describes in detail the vile atrocities committed by the American troops against the prisoners, hundreds of whom have been tortured and murdered.

June 9

JAPAN—A further 50,000 railway workers and office staff strike for their summer bonus. In Yokohama, 7,500 shipyard workers strike for 48 hours.

DENMARK—The Copenhagen printworkers' trade union, with more than 5,000 members, adopts a resolution unanimously at a general meeting protesting against unemployment and rising prices.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — The "Central Committee against Remilitarisation and for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty" appeals to the people of Western Germany to fight against the ratification of the separate treaty of Bonn, against the enrolment of German youth, for the success of the referendum, for a peace treaty and for friendship among all peoples.

June 10

ITALY—For twelve days and nights 400 miners have occupied the underground workings of the Cabenardi and Percozzone mines, belonging to the Montecatini company, in protest against the order issued by Montecatini for the dismissal of 860 of the 1,700 workers in these mines.

SOUTH AFRICA—The most representative trade union conference ever to be held in South Africa takes place in Johannesburg. Delegates representing over 230,000 workers unanimously condemn the anti-trade union and reactionary policy of the Malan government.

GREAT BRITAIN—The Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, with nearly 350,000 members, sends a strong letter to Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.), expressing the growing discontent of the shop workers at the policy of war preparation and rearmament recently approved by the T.U.C. General Council.

WESTERN GERMANY — Strikes and demonstrations against the anti-national policy of the Adenauer government have involved 100,000 workers in Hanover, 30,000 in Karlsruhe, 13,000 in Bremerhaven and more than 30,000 in Bielefeld. Dockers and transport workers in Hamburg, together with over 50,000 workers in the various industrial centres of the Ruhr, have also taken part in strikes.

June 11

UNITED STATES—A federal judge in Seattle, Washington, rules that the U.S. Coast Guard's procedure for screening maritime workers and denying them the right to work for so-called "disloyalty" is a violation of their constitutional rights. The decision was made in a case involving three Negro members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. The government declares that it will appeal to the United States Supreme Court against this decision.

ALGERIA — Agricultural workers employed on one of the farms in the Ain-Temouchent region, who have been on strike for 6 days, win full satisfaction for their demands and return to work.

June 12

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—The workers celebrate "Education Day" with great enthusiasm. A solemn meeting is held in Berlin, during which 40 teachers of the German Democratic Republic are named "honoured teachers of the people."

June 13

GREAT BRITAIN—Ten thousand workers employed by Briggs Motor Bodies Ltd. stage a strike in the firm's Dagenham factory. The strike follows the refusal of the management to grant the ninepence an hour wage increase demanded by the workers.

WESTERN GERMANY—Frightened by the strength and scope of the workers' protest movement against the government's war policy, the right-wing leaders of the D.G.B. (West German Trade Union Confederation) and in particular the President, Fette, take part in secret talks with Adenauer. Fette has declared that the workers' actions against the Bonn treaty and the fascist law relating to workers in the factories must stop once and for all. The D.G.B. leadership has also cancelled the calling of the West German Trade Union Congress, which was to have taken place from July 7 to 11, thus hoping to escape the criticisms of the rank and file representatives of the trade union organisations.

AUSTRALIA—The miners of Glen Davis occupy the galleries in their fight against the Government's decision to close the mines.

June 15

ITALY—The Second National Conference of Young Metalworkers is held in Reggio Emilia under the chairmanship of Senator Roveda, Secretary of the F.I.O.M. (Italian Metalworkers' Federation). Five hundred delegates from the whole of Italy take part.

DENMARK—An international conference for the peaceful solution of the German problem is held in Odense, attended by delegates from Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Delegates from Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria were not able to attend, having been forbidden entry by the Danish government. The German delegates, however, met together in Hamburg and remained in constant contact with the conference. The international conference declared for a speedy and peaceful solution of the German problem, against the Bonn treaty and the "Association for European Defence." A resolution is adopted condemning the remilitarisation of Western Germany and the "General Treaty."

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SUPPLEMENT—Information Bulletin of the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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No. 3, JUNE—JULY, 1952

Information Bulletin

of the

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

for the

Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security

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SUPPLEMENT TO "WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT" No. 14, JULY 16—31, 1952

The State of Social Security

". . . The end of the fighting (in World War II) released pent-up forces which were eagerly put to the task of achieving social advancement for all mankind. The impressive impetus of this forward movement was **DRASTICALLY SLOWED DOWN** as a result of the outbreak of fighting in Korea. The diversion of money, materials, effort and manpower to the Korea campaign, and the decision to develop defence programmes on a massive scale over a period of years, has imposed severe limits on expenditure for social policy."

Report of the Director-General,
35th International Labour Conference
June 1952.

"In a significant number of countries, these benefits (of social security) as yet constitute little more than a token form of assistance. . . . In general **SOCIAL SERVICES HAVE LAGGED BEHIND** the growing or increasingly evident needs.

"Among the less-developed countries, governmental assistance to needy persons . . . has been little developed in general. Yet on some islands where the plantation system has been established, a considerable portion of the population—in one case as much as 10%—is adjudged to be in need of public assistance."

World Social Situation, Report presented to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, April 1952.

A few copies of Social Security Bulletin Nos. 1 and 2 which were published separately are still available and may be had on application to:—

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Meeting of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee of the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security

THE meeting took place in Vienna, on June 18 and 19. Its aim was to strengthen and broaden the preparatory work for the International Conference by bringing together the experiences already collected by the trade unions and by drawing the necessary conclusions from them. The main speech was delivered by Henri Raynaud, Secretary of the French C.G.T. The meeting was opened by Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

THE discussion showed very clearly that the trade unions everywhere are deeply concerned with the problems of social security at the present time. Most of the speakers enlarged on the great apprehension felt by the workers of all countries in the face of the mounting attacks against social security, aiming at a depletion of social insurance funds and the reduction of services and benefits.

For that reason, the idea of carrying the fight for the defence and extension of social security on to the international plane was greeted with great enthusiasm by all delegates. One speaker after another pointed out how such a Conference could bear particularly upon the problems of his own country and thus contribute to their solution.

The conclusions of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee are laid down in the following Communiqué which was unanimously adopted. This Communiqué is reprinted in this issue of the Bulletin. As space permits the Bulletin will publish in its next issue summaries of the speeches of Henri Raynaud and other delegates.

The opening speech of Louis Saillant is reprinted in No. 14 of "World Trade Union Movement," July 1952.

COMMUNIQUE

THE Inaugural and Preparatory Committee of the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security met in Vienna on June 18th and 19th, 1952.

THE following countries were represented at the meeting: Algeria, Argentine, Austria, Cameroons, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Rumania, Soviet Union, Sudan, Sweden and Uruguay, as well as the representatives of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers', Metal and Engineering Workers', Miners' and Transport Workers' Trade Unions Internationals and of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions.

The members of the Committee supported the initiative taken by the World Federation of Trade Unions with regard to the International Conference.

The Committee adopted the conclusions of the WFTU Executive Bureau on the importance of the activity of the workers for social security and social insurance in the capitalist countries in relation to the worsening of living conditions resulting from rearmament programmes.

The workers constitute the determining force in any social progress. The trade unions must consider the question of Social Security as their own cause and recognise its great importance. Under present conditions, any activity for social security must be supported by all sections of the working population and by all who wish to improve the situation of mankind.

The Conference will be open to all trade union organisations and other organisations, and to all people who support the cause of social security and are anxious to work in their respective countries for its defence, its improvement, its extension and its inauguration where it does not exist, irrespective of their profession, social position or opinion.

The Committee adopts the preliminary programme proposed by the WFTU. It recalls that this programme must be considered simply as a basis for discussion and that its acceptance is in no way made a condition for participation in the conference; all countries are asked to examine this programme in relation to the situation in their own country.

The committee stresses that the conference does not have the objective of setting up a new specialised international body on social security. The objective of the International Conference is to bring together the present experiences, especially of the workers and of trade union and other organisations. The International Conference must also help to develop unity movements of the workers in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries and to link them with social groups and personalities who favour social progress.

The workers and trade union organisations must promote the setting up of committees in the factories and places of work, directing their efforts particularly towards the defence of the most urgent demands on Social Security. In factories in which there are shop stewards' or workers' committees, all measures should be taken to interest them in all the activities for the preparation of the International Conference.

These committees should also help to organise study circles, as well as local, national and industrial conferences in preparation for the International Conference.

The role of these conferences will be to draw up demands in relation to Social Security, and in particular, to elect delegates to the International Conference. They will also prepare the reports and communications to be presented by the national delegations to the International Conference.

The Conference will be called for the first half of December 1952 in Vienna.

The proposed agenda is as follows:

1. Adoption of the agenda and rules of the conference,
2. The defence, improvement and extension of Social Insurance and Social Security and their inauguration in countries where they do not exist.
3. Adoption of Conference recommendations.

The Committee has decided to set up a Preparatory Bureau for the Conference. Its task will be to stimulate and to co-ordinate the preparations in all countries, to publish the Conference Bulletin and pamphlets devoted to the questions on its agenda.

The Committee has decided to meet again in September 1952.

Vienna. 19th June 1952.

How we Prepare for the International Social Security Conference in Finland

by L. JUNTTILA,

Educational Secretary of the Finnish Trade Union Confederation

IT is with particular interest that the workers of Finland welcome the initiative of the WFTU in organising an International Conference on the problems of social security. The workers of our country are fully conscious of the fact that the problems posed by the struggle for the improvement and extension of social security cannot be solved by the workers of one country in isolation, but require the co-operation and united effort of the workers of all countries.

Although social security legislation in our country covers the majority of risks, its actual functioning leaves a great deal to be desired. Moreover, our laws still contain certain features smacking of charity and, therefore, repugnant to the workers.

Immediately after the war we succeeded in obtaining, through our united efforts, a number of important improvements. But in the last three or four years, all our efforts, as well as those of our parliamentary representatives, were paralysed as a consequence of the change in the policy of the government. The danger of threatening attacks against gains already won increases from day to day.

For all of these reasons, the initiative of the WFTU has found an echo in Finland.

We started to prepare for the International Conference in the month of April, and the initiative in this work was taken by the Federation of Building Workers. The officers of the Federation unanimously adopted a resolution inviting all other trade union federations, the General Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions and various other organisations, as well as specialists in the field of social security, to participate in a National Preparatory Conference which took place on April 24th in Helsinki.

Some thirty persons participated in this Conference, among them Allan Järvenpää, Inspector General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs. Mr. Järvenpää explained to the delegates the possibilities offered by the International Conference for improving social security in Finland. The Preparatory Conference designated a **National Committee,** consisting of 20 members: workers, trade union leaders, engineers, lawyers, physicians, Members of Parliament and specialists. **Erkki Salomaa,** Educational Secretary of the Building Workers' Federation, was elected President of the Committee.

The National Committee divided itself into several specialised commissions:

(1) **The Commission on social security problems of the miners** will study the special needs of this group of workers in the field of social legislation and present its conclusions. It is planning to hold a National Miners' Conference on June 15th.

(2) The **Women's Commission** will study the specific needs of women in the matter of social security.

(3) The **General Commission** will organise, together with the trade unions and other organisations, a number of local and specialised social security conferences throughout the country.

Each Commission is composed of only two or three people whose task it will be to contact others who might be willing to participate in this work, with the aim of broadening as much as possible the basis of these local or specialised conferences, both with regard to the number of people participating and to the diversity of opinions and social strata which should be represented.

It emerges from what has been said that we are not planning in Finland a **single** National Conference, but several smaller ones. We think that we shall better be able to rouse the interest of the people in this matter if we attempt to deal comprehensively with the problems of a particular category of workers (miners, or perhaps chemical workers) or a particularly underprivileged group, like the women, than if we concentrate on a single conference only.

With the aim of drawing the attention of the public to the question of social security and to the proposals of the WFTU, and in order to make it possible for the participants in the various conferences to bring forward new suggestions and proposals, the National Committee is about to publish a pamphlet on these questions, in an edition of 30,000—40,000 copies. This pamphlet will serve as a basis of discussion at our conferences. It sets forth the proposals made in the draft programme of the WFTU and analyses them in relation to the actual situation in Finland.

The preparatory work developing in our country has already aroused the interest of the masses in the question of social security. We shall follow up the results already obtained and make every effort to unite all workers in a powerful campaign for the defence and improvement of their social security rights.

Discussion of the Preliminary Draft Programme

The preliminary Draft Programme of the Working Committee for the preparation of the International Conference has never been regarded as anything else than a basis of discussion. As such it was originally adopted, and as such it has been since confirmed by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. and the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee which met June 18—19 in Vienna.

With the following article, the Information Bulletin opens this discussion, without identifying itself with the views expressed by the author. It will continue to publish all signed contributions which express different points of view, as long as they are in agreement with the basic purposes of the International Conference.

• A Contribution by Wal Hannington, Gt. Britain

IN Britain today, one of the main problems confronting us in connection with social security is to stop the cuts of the Tory Government and to increase the scales of benefit. The scales were never adequate and they are less so now due to the rise in the cost of living. Furthermore, unemployment has greatly increased during the past year in the consumer goods industries as a result of the armament policy, and the unemployment scale of benefits is quite inadequate to meet the needs for the bare cost of rent and food for those unemployed.

I realise that the preliminary programme on social security issued by the WFTU is put forward as a basis for discussion at the forthcoming International Conference and acceptance of that programme as a whole is not a condition for participation in the Conference.

But there are some major points in the preliminary programme upon which I desire to comment in respect to the position in Great Britain. For instance, the programme states that the schemes of social security should be entirely financed by the employers or the State. Personally, I have no objection to this claim, but I do not think that it has any deep support at present amongst the workers in Britain. Since 1911 our social insurance scheme has been based on a tripartite subscription from worker, employers and State. From time to time, the amount of the worker's contribution has been increased until today it amounts to 5/1d. per week deducted from wages. Of course, there has also been an increase in the portion contributed by the employer and the State and whilst one can hear grumbles amongst workers about the increase in contributions, there has never been a popular demand expressing itself through any of the trade union conferences, for the complete abolition of workers' contributions.

Then, concerning another point in the programme, namely, the one which proposes that the administration of social security should be in the hands of the trade unions. This is something which can very well operate in the Soviet Union and in the new Socialist Democracies of Eastern Europe, where the structure of the trade union movement conforms to the new basis of society, but I consider that it would be almost impossible with the present multiplicity of unions which exist in Britain to have our social insurance schemes administered solely by the trade unions.

There has never yet arisen any popular demand within the trade union movement in Britain for the State to hand over to the unions the administration of social security, and, in fact, I do not believe, that it would find favourable support amongst most of the unions. They would prefer that social security should be administered by a State apparatus as at present.

One final point on the programme that I wish to refer to is that which proposes that scales of benefit should be related to wage rates. Again I do not think this is a practical proposition in Britain where the circumstances in regard to wages are highly complex. For instance, one can have a position where the rates of wages for skilled workers in a single industry vary very considerably. I am speaking not only of earnings, but of the actual minimum rates laid down in agreement between the employers and the unions. In addition to this you have a situation, especially in the engineering industry today, where shop rates, built up by the activities of our shop stewards, in many cases, far exceed the minimum rates laid down in agreement with the unions.

It would, therefore, be difficult to decide that social security benefits should be based upon the wages received according to industry because it would mean uneven levels for workers of equal status in skill or grades of skill.

In Britain, it is much more practical to relate scales of benefit to cost of living standards, which are much easier to define. According to the widely used Rowntree estimates the total cost for adequate maintenance in 1951 is 79/- for a man, wife and two children. If we take the present unemployment benefit scales and the sick benefits, which are the same, they amount to 54/6d. per week for man and wife and two children. We see from this comparison how far short the benefit scales are in regard to adequate living standards.

It is on such a basis that I think we can measure scales of benefit and campaign for their improvement. One final point on this question of having varying benefit scales according to the wages of the worker, is, I am sure, such a proposal would not find support amongst the mass of the workers in Britain. Even the skilled worker, who would be entitled to a higher scale by this method, would not regard it as fair for another worker to receive less benefit than himself in periods of unemployment and sickness. Difference in wage levels can be justified on the grounds of reward for craftsmanship and skill, but I do not see any justification in the capitalist countries for creating varying scales for workers when unemployed or sick. To attempt to do so, would simply create divisions in the ranks of the workers themselves.

Social Security Must be Made Inflation Proof

The catastrophic effects of inflation on social security benefits are well recognised by everyone concerned with the subject. Facts and figures showing how inflation works to the detriment of social security beneficiaries, and how it undermines the very structure of the insurance system have been widely published. But few constructive proposals have been put forward to remedy the situation, and even fewer have been realised.

LESS well understood than the effects of inflation on cash benefits is its insidious influence on medical services. Obviously, the expenditure of sickness funds rises faster than their income, since the former goes up with the general price level, while the latter is tied to wages which fall behind prices in times of inflation.

In these circumstances, a deficit is bound to arise. The resulting "crisis" is then utilised by the reactionary forces for a general attack on social security, under the slogan of "sound finances." Recently, we have been able to observe this pattern in France, Belgium, Austria, Denmark and many other countries.

The medical cuts in England are part of the same picture. Everywhere, increased pressure is being put on physicians to limit their prescriptions to the barest minimum. Cost-sharing is introduced in services and supplies which used to be free. Specialised treatments and long cures are restricted.

In those countries where sickness insurance is generally based on cost-sharing and reimbursement of medical expenses, such as France, Belgium, Switzerland, and most Latin American countries, the adverse effects of inflation are even more obvious. For in all these systems, patients are reimbursed according to an official schedule of prices and fees which, under conditions of inflation, very soon loses all relationship to reality. Thus, what in theory should be a reimbursement of 80% for physicians' bills (as in France) has been reduced to 50—60% in practice. In Belgium, the average fee for a consultation has risen to 40 frs. but the official schedule lists only 15 frs.

The same is true for all insurance systems providing fixed maximum amounts to be paid in case of sickness or hospitalisation, as for instance all American company plans do. Unless the maximum is raised in keeping with the actual cost of medicine, the insured worker bears here the entire burden of inflation.

Serious as the consequences of inflation are in the medical field, they are undoubtedly worse for those mainly depending on social security benefits for their livelihood, that is, the old and the disabled, trying to make ends meet on a social security pension.

In Great Britain, for instance, the present old age pension of 30s. a week for a single person is worth only 22s. in terms of 1948 purchasing power. The pensions of those disabled in accidents at work in Britain, are today worth less than they were fifty years ago, according to a paper published in the Industrial Law Review.

In the United States, average old age pensions were $23 per month in 1940 and $33 in 1951. But the cost of living has doubled in that period. In Sweden, inflation has reduced the purchasing power of cash benefits by 30% on the average.

These figures, however, do not give a complete picture as they do not show the time lag involved. Actually, most of the adjustments in pension rates were made only recently, after prices had been going up for years. Thus, the losses of social security through inflation to pensioners are far greater than those of any other group. Considering the fact that this group was always living on incomes below subsistence level, it is obvious that "social security" becomes an empty word under these conditions.

What is needed?

1. Immediate legislation providing for an **automatic adjustment** of social security cash benefits to the level of wages, in reasonably short time intervals. This would involve no technical difficulties as in most systems contributions are calculated as a percentage of wages. Where fixed rates are employed, as in Britain, the adjustment would have to be made to the cost of living index.
2. Appropriate **subsidies from the State budget** for the full maintenance of medical services and the elimination of the deficits of sickness insurance; a realistic re-appraisal of medical costs for the purposes of reimbursement in cost-sharing plans; and the abolition of cash maximums in cost-sharing. Finally, the transformation of medical insurance into free public health services, guaranteeing all medical costs entirely free of charge.
3. Automatic upward adjustment of the **maximum wage or salary** serving as ceiling for the calculation of social security benefits.

The problem of inflation-proofing social security is a number one problem in all capitalist countries. Unless it is solved, most other gains on the social security front will become illusory. The workers realise that the deterioration of social security benefits is one of the many ways in which the instrument of inflation is used to make them pay for the swollen profits of big business and the cost of armaments.

Doubtlessly, this problem will loom large in the deliberations of the **International Conference for Social Security and Social Insurance**, as trade unions everywhere are calling for effective measures to protect the pitiful livelihood of the old and the disabled in general, and especially that of pensioners under workmen's compensation, against inflation.

Two Social Security Conferences in Italy

The social security problems of the Italian workers are manifold. They have a system which is largely paid for by the employers, but in many cases—especially in the backward South—employers are evading their obligations by failing to register their workers and to pay social security contributions for them. These workers lose all their rights to benefits.

ASIDE from the question of evasion, the whole system of financing social security is faulty, as it favours the larger employers at the expense of the smaller ones. This bias is brought about by an unrealistic "maximum" or ceiling wage for the calculation of social security contributions. Actual wages throughout the big industry of the North are generally higher than this maximum, so that employers' contributions represent there a lower proportion of total wages than in the low wage areas of the South.

Another big problem is social security for agricultural workers. To the extent that these are covered at all by social security legislation, they are most often victimised by the evasive practices of the employers. Seasonal and occasional labourers, who constitute more than half of the agricultural labour force in Southern Italy, rarely reach the prescribed number of working days per year in order to get social security benefits. Further, agricultural workers are excluded from unemployment insurance, although registered unemployment in this group usually runs very high. In one section of the South the figure reached 58% in 1950.

In fact, the Italian social security system is not designed to fit the needs created by the peculiar and backward working conditions prevailing throughout the South.

These problems were recently spotlighted by a **Conference which took place at Naples,** on April 4—5, under the sponsorship of the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions, the INCA (the CGIL's National Institute of Social Assistance) and the Naples Chamber of Labour. A large number of trade union functionaries, social security specialists and members of various local Chambers of Labour took part in this discussion.

After thoroughly analysing the situation of the South with respect to social security, the Conference adopted resolutions calling for:

—the stricter enforcement of social security legislation, especially concerning the proper registration of the workers and the payment of contributions, through increasing the staff of the Labour Inspectorate and providing it with greater powers,

—the extension of unemployment insurance to the agricultural workers and the reduction of the number of days of covered employment necessary to secure the right to benefits;

—the right of the trade unions to control the payment of contributions and the management of the social security funds.

The success of the Naples Conference proved that there was a great need for specialised work of this type in the Italian trade union movement. A few months later, a similar conference was organised at **Caltanisetta** to deal with the problems of the **Sicilian sulphur miners.** This Conference took place on June 7, 1952. It was called by a special committee under the presidency of Di Vittorio, General-Secretary of the CGIL, and with the participation of a number of members of the Regional Assembly and the Chambers of Labour.

The Conference of Caltanisetta showed the miserable living conditions of the sulphur miners, their lack of health protection and the steeply rising rate of accidents at work (which jumped from 1948 to 1951 by 362%) against the background of the condition of the industry as a whole. Due to its antiquated equipment and working methods, which are based on the most extreme physical exploitation of the workers, the Italian sulphur industry must be subsidised by the State. The State buys up the total production at a fixed price. If the world market price is lower, the State bears the loss; if it is higher, as at the present moment, the difference is returned to the owners. Under this system, there is no incentive to modernisation, the employers get their profits by taking them out of the pockets of the taxpayers.

The Caltanisetta Conference put forward constructive proposals to remedy this situation by forcing the employers to reinvest these profits, partly to modernise equipment, partly to raise the living conditions of the workers. In the latter field, special attention was given to the problems of housing, health and accident prevention.

To solve these urgent problems, the Conference proposed that the sums allocated for immediate measures of improvement of living conditions should be spent as follows: to make an investigation of sanitary and health conditions in the mines, especially with regard to silicosis and other occupational diseases.

—to organise a service of mobile medical units equipped to deal with the problems arising from the isolated location of the mines.

—to build decent housing near the place of work.

With the two Conferences of Naples and Caltanisetta, the Italian trade unions have shown how to link up the struggle for social security and social protection in general with the immediate needs of a region or a particular industry, in the closest possible contact with the workers on the spot.

Social Security Fortnight in Algeria

In a report given to the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee for the International Conference, Andre Ruiz, Secretary-General of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Algerian Trade Unions, described the situation of the Algerian people with regard to social security and outlined the activities already undertaken by the trade unions to improve the present situation.

ONE of the most urgent problems of the Algerian social insurance system is the fact that large sums have been accumulated in the Central Insurance Fund and the danger that these monies will eventually be swallowed up by the State budget. At the present moment, this Fund has over a billion francs at its disposal, but is planning to spend only 84 millions for building a single sanatorium, on the pretext of the need for a large "reserve."

The Algerian workers are demanding an immediate

programme to cost 350 millions for clinics, hospitals, dispensaries and maternity homes. Actually there is no need to accumulate large reserves as all of the insurance funds have piled up unspent surpluses.

The next pressing problem is the extension of social security to all agricultural workers, less than a fifth of whom are at present covered by any social security provisions. The existing agricultural insurance funds (caisses agricoles) are, moreover, entirely in the hands of the landowners under whose regime more money is spent for administrative expenses than for benefits.

The agricultural system is, even for those covered, much inferior to that of urban workers. There is no sickness insurance, but only an insurance covering part of the expenses incurred in the case of a surgical operation. Maternity medical care, although provided for by the law, is rarely available in practice. The requirement of a certificate of pregnancy from the fourth month and the absence of medical facilities make these provisions illusory for most women working in agriculture.

Algerian workers are now demanding the extension to agricultural workers of all advantages already gained by the industrial workers, while at the same time seeking improvements for all. They are carrying on a very intensive struggle for family allowances of at least 2,000 frcs. for all workers, without racial discrimination.

In order to achieve these demands, the Co-ordinating Committee of Algerian Trade Unions has called upon the trade unions to organise a "Social Security Fortnight" before the forthcoming meeting of the Algerian Assembly which has several social security items on its agenda.

"Social Security Fortnight" will be backed by factory meetings and trade union conferences on the questions of social security, by a campaign in the newspapers and the publication of pamphlets to clarify the position of the workers.

Further it is planned to elect factory delegations to collect signatures for appropriate petitions bringing the wishes of the workers to the Assembly. Each trade union will work out its own programme of demands and expose the inadequacies of the present system in the details applying to its own membership.

André Ruiz stated that the Algerian workers are greatly interested in the International Conference and that they have already taken steps to form an "Algerian Committee for Real Social Security," which will organise the participation of the Algerian workers in the Conference.

Domestic Help and Housewives' Pensions—A New Element in Social Insurance

by Dr. JAN GALLAS

TRADITIONALLY, social insurance recognises only the earning power of the worker or employee as a subject of protection, completely neglecting the obvious fact that the working power of the housewife is as much part of the household budget as the wages of her husband. In breaking with this tradition, the Czechoslovak National Insurance Act has done pioneer work towards the recognition of the social importance of the work of the housewife.

Under Czechoslovak law, all of the known benefits for women are provided: medical care, hospitalisation, maternity benefit, birth bonuses, and layettes, old age and widowers' pensions. But in addition, there are two types of benefits which are designed to compensate for the additional expenses required in a household in the case of sickness or other incapacity of the housewife.

These benefits consist in "domestic aid," forming part of universal sickness insurance, and "housewives' pensions," forming part of old age and invalidity insurance.

Domestic aid is granted to any working woman or housewife who does her own housework and who has to take care of at least one child, in the case of incapacity to work through sickness, accident or any other reason, from the 15th day of incapacity. In principle, domestic aid is a service, not a cash benefit, the insurance institute itself furnishing a domestic worker or nurse to take care of the household. However, since there is still a great shortage of trained personnel of this type in Czechoslovakia, an allowance of 30 ck. per day may be granted in lieu, with supplementary rates for every third and further child.

The same principle is applied in the case of permanent incapacity of the housewife and in any case after the age of 65. Women who are incapable of caring for their household receive a pension of 6,000 ck. per year, enabling them to employ a helper or to lighten their work in some other way.

Thus the Czechoslovak social insurance system is seeking new ways to fulfil its task and protects the working family and its household against yet another frequent but hitherto neglected risk.

Around the Globe—Social Security Under Attack

DENMARK

Since last year, Danish sickness insurance institutes have eliminated a large number of items from the list of medical and pharmaceutical supplies covered by sickness insurance.

Among these are vitamins for babies and nursing mothers as well as relief-giving medicines, regardless of whether or not they are prescribed by the physician.

BELGIUM

30,000 pharmaceutical specialities have been excluded from reimbursement under sickness insurance, while the patient's share of medical bills has been sharply increased, as of May 1, 1952.

AUSTRIA

Conditions for obtaining an old age pension have been considerably tightened up by a new provision requiring at least one year of covered employment within the last three years before retirement, and at least two years (or half the total period) since 1939. It is estimated that about 15% of workers and salaried employees hitherto eligible will lose their right to old age pensions under the new rules.

AUSTRALIA

Public hospitals which were previously free are now charging 18s. a day as a minimum payment. Simultaneously, the Victorian government announced that free milk distribution in the schools is to end.

WESTERN GERMANY

The Executive of the German Trade Union Federation has requested all of its representatives in the local organs of the Unemployment Exchange and Insurance Institute to stay away from the meetings of these bodies for the time being. The DGB explained that the Institute had for some time lately violated its Constitution by completely disregarding the wishes of the workers' representatives.

FIJI

Among the Social Services in Fiji, medical treatment at Government Hospitals has so far been free to the majority of the population including all Fijians and Indians, whatever their financial status might be. A Bill to levy charges for treatment in accordance with the patients' ability to pay has recently been introduced.

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Every Question Has its Answer

ABOUT this time last year, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, following a communication from Brother Henri Raynaud on behalf of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), had its attention sharply drawn to the tasks which our international workers' movement must carry out in the special field of social insurance and social security.

At that time, without having studied the question further, the Executive Bureau decided in principle to accept the idea of an International Conference for the Defence and Improvement of Social Insurance and Social Security. It also agreed to do everything possible to improve the work of the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated organisations in this field of our activities.

This decision of the Executive Bureau was based upon recognition of the fact that social security is in danger in those capitalist countries where it exists, and, in those where it is still in the planning stage, the plans have been shelved.

This is taking place at a time when, in countries such as the Soviet Union, People's China and all the Peoples' Democracies, continuous progress has taken place in social security legislation. At the same time, this progress is accompanied by an increase in the responsibilities and powers given to the trade union organisations.

A year after the Executive Bureau had acknowledged these facts, we can only say that the situation has grown worse in the capitalist countries. The gap is growing between the achievements of the countries which we shall call the countries of socialism and the social situation in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries.

But it is also necessary to add another characteristic of the situation in the capitalist countries.

Both the principles and the current achievements of social security are in particular danger in those capitalist countries which are highly industrialised and primarily in countries such as the United States, where social security is only in its embryo stage. There are continual attacks against

the social security systems in countries such as Great Britain, France and Japan.

Why has such a situation arisen? Becouse fundamentally a policy of real and continuous social progress has no place, and can no longer find any place, within the framework of the economic and social policy which has been carried on for the past five years, and which is itself the fruit of the policy of war preparation.

* * *

THIS having been said, why has the W.F.T.U. decided to place among the first tasks of our trade union activity the question of the activity of our international trade union movement for the defence, improvement and extension of social insurance and social security? Why has the W.F.T.U. decided to pose this question in such a way as to make it a common question for all our trade union organisations? Why are we seeking to raise the activities of our trade union organisations from the national level, on which they have taken place until now, to open and continuous activity on the international scale?

Three answers can be given to that question.

The first is that the deterioration in social insurance and social security is a phenomenon of an international character as far as the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are concerned.

The second is that we must overcome the illusions which exist in some working class circles in certain capitalist countries that the particular systems of social insurance, social security or mutual insurance in force in these countries can escape the regression noted in several other countries.

Because of these illusions, which are weaknesses of understanding and which bring about weaknesses in the action of the working class movement, the W.F.T.U. must take the necessary measures to dispel them.

The third answer is that the W.F.T.U. should take the initiative in defending social insurance and social security on the international scale, considering that no other international organisation is in a position to act as the W.F.T.U. does, and will do increasingly.

* * *

WHY do we have what might be deemed such pretensions, when in reality it is a matter of normal activity?

Why is the W.F.T.U. the only international trade union organisation to have made this move and to be in a position to make it?

There are four answers to that.

Firstly, no other international organisation can, as the W.F.T.U. can, support its exposures and criticisms of social insurance and social security

systems which are threatened or which are in the planning stage or hardly begun in various capitalist, colonial or dependent countries, by the tremendous achievements made in this sphere by trade union organisations which are affiliated to it. These tremendous achievements are not imaginary, but concrete realities. They are the achievements of the trade union organisations of the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies, People's China and the German Democratic Republic, which we are happy to note provide the finest example within the W.F.T.U. of trade union capabilities in the field of social insurance and social security.

That is the first answer.

The second is that the W.F.T.U. is free. It is not the I.C.F.T.U. which is free. We, the W.F.T.U., are in a position to act freely in this field because we are not tied to the policy of war preparation and rearmament.

Our freedom comes logically from our ability to show what can be achieved in social insurance and social security provided the policy of rearmament and war preparation, which we condemn, is ended.

Thus we reveal the cause, the motives and the obstacles which are preventing the improvement of existing social insurance and social security systems and the dangers which threaten them.

The third answer is that the W.F.T.U. is closely linked with the masses, and that it naturally and inevitably takes into account the demands and the requirements of the mass of the workers. The W.F.T.U. does not exist in order to form a screen between the workers' demands and requirements of the State authorities, either national or local.

The W.F.T.U. exists to express continuously the needs, demands, and protests, when necessary, of the mass of the workers, and to lead their action when it is launched.

The fourth and last answer is that the W.F.T.U. has acquired by its activity and its international connections the right to act, not only for and in the name of the workers who are members of trade union organisations affiliated to it, but for all men and women workers in the world, including those who do not belong to the W.F.T.U., who are affiliated either to the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions or to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, the leaders of which organisations are notoriously in default insofar as the responsibilities which every trade union leader should have concerning social legislation.

We have said that the I.C.F.T.U. is in default. In truth, the betrayal by the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. leaves the workers who belong to this organisation without any means of defence, without any clear leadership from the point of view of the defence of their rights concerning social security and social insurance.

It is thus quite understandable that the W.F.T.U. takes into consideration in its activity the fact that it also has the responsibility of defending

ERRATUM

Please note that the sentence beginning on line 14 page 4 should read:

We must make clear publicly, for what would seem to be necessary, what we want and what we are doing, the objectives which we wish to attain and what we are accomplishing.

those workers who are members of other organisations, to defend their interests, which we consider to be legitimate and similar to those of the workers who are affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

* * *

I THINK that these are the ideas which should rule our actions.

We still have six months left in which to prepare the International Conference for the Defence, Extension and Improvement of Social Insurance and Social Security. This meeting of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee of the Conference must enable us to speed up its preparation and, to use an expression which is often used nowadays, to make this speed-up show itself from top to bottom of our working class movement. Besides this speed-up in the methodical and systematic preparation of our Conference, we must obviously extend our propaganda on the Conference. We must make known the moves we are making and we must improve our propaganda. We must make clear publicly, for that would seem to be necessary to issue a communique on this subject shows that we are on the wish to attain and what we are accomplishing.

* * *

WE are therefore setting to work, but we should be making a very great mistake were we to imagine that our enemies will remain indifferent to what we have decided to do.

We must not only expect the usual difficulties which come from the attitude of trade union bureaucrats who will try either to minimise our work or to sabotage it. That is something which we have already encountered, and the fact that the Austrian Trade Union Confederation has thought it necessary to issue a communique on this subject shows that we are on the right track, that we are working in the right way, and that these reactionary trade union leaders are at present on the defensive.

But it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that they are aware that they cannot by their own means prevent the extension of our influence and the full application of the plan which we have decided upon.

That is why they are ready to approve or to provoke fraudulent operations, to associate themselves with forgers and to stage provocations to prevent our Conference from being successful.

You have certainly read the communique which the W.F.T.U. published just over a month ago, in which we made known that forged letters were posted here in Vienna and sent to a number of countries on the subject of the Conference for the Defence of Children, and the trial in the Philippines of Brother Hernandez.

We denounced that provocation, but we have received other evidence of a further provocation.

We have received from San Francisco a copy of a letter written on W.F.T.U. official letter-head paper, with the official stamp of the W.F.T.U. and a reproduction of my signature. This letter was forwarded to us by people whom we do not know. It is accompanied by friendly declarations from these people who received it in San Francisco and who thus show their friendship to the W.F.T.U. in revealing this provocation.

It is a glaring provocation, but from the point of view of the content of the letter itself, it is an aggravation of the provocation of last March.

We must foresee that the provocateurs will try to improve their work. It is probable that they will try to carry out something with regard to our Conference. We shall take the necessary organisational measures on this matter.

But, I ask you, do you think that this is evidence of strength on their part? Do you think that they are thus showing that they are easy in their minds and that they have any assurance as to the success of their anti-democratic operations?

These blatant and scandalous attacks, which are the work of bandits, of common criminals, show that our enemies have no other methods in their fight against the world working class than to sink to the use of low and vile practices. It also shows that our enemies cannot stand up and fight in a straightforward way against the W.F.T.U.

It shows that we are a great force in the world, that in spite of the obstacles which we have had to face for the past three years we are applying the role which we decided upon in 1945. It is proof that the W.F.T.U. is still on the right road.

With so many indications, then, and with much proof, let us be aware of our strength now that we are about to pass to a new phase in our work for social security. Let us realise that it is not simply a form of words to say that the forces of peace in the world are stronger than the forces of war. It is a fact, a reality.

Let us, then, use these forces to the full, and the International Conference for the Defence, Extension and Improvement of Social Insurance and Social Security will be a success.

(Speech of *Louis Saillant* to the members of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee of the International Conference for the Defence, Extension and Improvement of Social Insurance and Social Security).

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NOTE: See Information Bulletin of the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security, published as a Supplement to this number of *World Trade Union Movement*.

On June 25th, the Workers Demanded the Banning of Weapons and Ending of the

RESPONDING to the appeal of the World Federation of Trade Unions, workers throughout the world commemorated the second anniversary of American aggression in Korea by making June 25 a great International Day of Solidarity with the Korean People and of Struggle for Peace.

The deep admiration and friendship for the heroic and martyred people of Korea on the one hand, and on the other hand, the hatred of the American imperialist aggressors, who are spreading germ-death in Korea and are cold-bloodedly massacring prisoners of war as recently happened at the Koje camp, are sentiments which are shared by all workers, all democrats and all men and women of feeling. That is why in various forms the day of June 25 displayed throughout the world the same spirit of moving solidarity and of active struggle for peace under the same slogans "End the war in Korea," "A peaceful solution of the Korean problem," "Ban bacteriological weapons," "Punish the American war criminals."

Here is a brief picture of activities on this Day of June 25 in a number of countries.

Soviet Union. Throughout the country the Soviet people enthusiastically demonstrate their solidarity with the martyred Korean people. Discussions and meetings on the Korean people's struggle were held in all enterprises, work sites and other work places. The Press and radio gave much space to stories and broadcasts on the Korean war and the struggle for peace.

Chinese People's Republic. The W.F.T.U.'s appeal was widely publicised throughout the Press. Many meetings took place in the plants, during which the workers promised to strengthen their aid to the volunteers fighting in Korea.

An important meeting took place in Shanghai with the participation of all trade union organisations and partisans of peace.

Peoples' Democracies. Numerous meetings were held in the factories. There were mass meetings in the principal cities, particularly Warsaw, where the President of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions was present. There were similar meetings in Berlin, Sofia and Bucarest. Gifts were sent to the women and

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Disarmed, but with a strong and unshakeable fighting spirit, the Koje prisoners of war have had to submit once more to the unheard-of brutalities and monstrous crimes of the American "defenders of civilisation." The "military operation" against compound 76 has just ended; the bodies of 34 massacred prisoners strew the ground.

★

of the World Bacteriological Korean War !

children of Korea, money and packages of clothing were collected. In Albania, for example, on June 25, 17.5 million "lek" (Albanian currency), 5,000 articles of clothing were collected and 5 fully equipped ambulances were sent to Korea.

Western Germany. Day of vigorous struggle against the presence of Ridgway, the microbe General. The German workers reaffirm their decision to prevent at any price the transformation of Germany into a second Korea by the Americans.

Italy. The entire trade union and progressive Press published the W.F.T.U.'s appeal and commented on it. Work stoppages, followed by enthusiastic meetings, took place in thousands of factories throughout the country. In Rome, Milan, Naples, Florence, Pisa, and other cities huge mass meetings took place. Hundreds of resolutions and protests were sent to the American Embassy.

France. The second anniversary of the Korean war was widely noted throughout the trade union and progressive Press which strongly protested against the crimes committed by the Americans.

Great Britain. The British Peace Committee launched a two-week campaign to end the Korean war. A demonstration of wives and mothers of war prisoners marched through central London to Parliament demanding a quick armistice in Korea. An important meeting organised by the British-China Friendship Society was held in London with the participation of several Labour Members of Parliament. Meetings were also held in several plants and mines in Scotland.

Austria. An important meeting took place in a workers' district of Vienna. Special pamphlets on the Korean war were published and widely distributed. The Austrian Peace Council launched a solidarity week with the Korean people.

Denmark. A solidarity meeting with the people of Korea was held in Copenhagen on the initiative of the President of the Port Workers' Union.

Finland. The Helsinki Trades Council held a large mass meeting at which several trade union leaders spoke demanding a Korean armistice.

Middle East. The W.F.T.U.'s appeal was widely circulated in various ways, leaflets and articles in the progressive Press etc. Large demonstrations took place

"Against plague warfare and the plague of war, all united on the Day of Solidarity with the people of Korea and China" ("Lavoro," official organ of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, C.G.I.L.).

in Aleppo, in Syria and Tripoli in the Lebanon leading to many encounters with the police. In Iran, despite martial law, the W.F.T.U.'s appeal was widely circulated and noted in the underground Press.

United States. Hundreds of New York women, responding to the appeal of women's organisations, met at the United Nations to leave a vigorous demand for the immediate return of American troops from Korea.

Latin America. Important meetings and demonstrations took place in several countries of Latin America, particularly in Venezuela and Brazil, where, for example, the workers of the Rio de Janeiro arsenal, following a lively meeting, sent a message of solidarity to the Korean trade unions.

India. In New Delhi three large meetings were held simultaneously to condemn the criminal war of the Americans against the Korean people.

Japan. Huge demonstrations were held in the principal industrial centres of Japan. In Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and other centres the demonstrators clashed with police forces and detachments of the American army which used tear gas. In Osaka, the demonstra-

tors seized a train and drove it into an American military base which is being constructed. En route they stoned the car of an American Brigadier General, the commandant of the occupation armies of the south-west region.

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ON this very day, when, throughout the entire world the workers were demonstrating their solidarity with the Korean people and were demanding the rapid conclusion of peace, the American aggressors were committing a new crime. Their aircraft bombed the hydro-electric power plants on the Yalu River, the installation on the very frontier of Manchuria which supplies power to important peaceful industrial centres on Chinese territory. That was a flagrant provocation for the purpose of breaking the armistice negotiations in Panmunjong, and spreading the war in Korea by dragging the world into a new general war. This is the proof that the American imperialists have decided to go to the extreme in their war provocations and that they will stop at no crime if the people do not hold them back.

This monstrous act raised a huge wave of indignation in the world; the great mass of honest people who hitherto had refused or hesitated to believe in the belligerent intentions of the American imperialists now realise the imminence of the danger with which they are threatening the world.

Of particular significance was the statement of Pandit Nehru in the Indian Parliament expressing his preoccupation "at the thought that . . . . war or peace might be decided without proper consultation, and might depend ultimately on the discretion of the military commander in the field who will naturally think much more of local military objectives than of the larger questions affecting the world."

It is, nevertheless, this same anguish felt by all honest people of the world which, under mass pressure, has provoked repercussions within the British and French Parliaments.

Thus the dangers of war appear clearly as has recently been emphasised by the Executive Bureau of the World Council of Peace meeting in Berlin.

Faced with the extreme gravity of the present situation, today more than ever the participation of the working class in the peace movement of which it is the backbone, will be strengthened. The day of June 25 is a step forward in this direction; it has made apparent the huge possibilities for united action of the workers of various political and trade union affiliations. At the same time, the role of the I.C.F.T.U. claiming its place in the Atlantic Pact agencies, shows itself more openly than ever in the eyes of the workers as an accomplice of the warmongers.

In many factories in which there had been no peace committees, this Day of Solidarity with the Korean people has shown the possibility and the necessity of forming them.

New efforts are necessary to increase their number and their activities in the work places on as broad a basis as possible.

Thus, June 25 has demonstrated once more the unshakeable will of the working masses for peace and their decision to defend it to the end. It has given a new impetus to the participation of the working class in the world peace movement. By its fortunate initiative, the W.F.T.U. has thus once more contributed to the defence of the most noble of causes.

P. Ascari.

An Appeal for the Calling of a Congress of Peoples for Peace

THE war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In Parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and peace saved.

On the 5th of December, 1952, the Congress of Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussion on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together. Discuss. Seek out solutions. Choose your representatives for this great gathering.

"No, war will not take our children"
(engraving by the Mexican artist A. GOMEZ*)*

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organisations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over solutions of force.

Peace can be saved!

Peace must be saved!

Unanimously adopted by the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace.

Berlin, July 6, 1952.

Reverse Strikes in Italian Agriculture

• By RENATO VIDIMARI

WHAT is the "reverse strike," this new form of struggle with the surprising name—born in 1946 of the struggles of the Italian agricultural workers, then developed and perfected by them and constantly evolving? What is its origin and on what principle is it based? Let us first cast a glance back into recent history.

The war, mounting through Italy from Sicily to the Alps, had caused great damage to agriculture: it devastated fields, left buildings in ruins or in a dilapidated state, destroyed communication routes. Faced with these difficulties, the landowners allowed the less fertile lands to lie idle or turned them over to pasture. (It can be estimated that about 2 million acres of land were abandoned between 1939 and 1946 and about 250,000 acres turned over to pasture.) To this reduction in the area of grain cultivation must also be added the state of almost total neglect into which the landowners allowed a great part of the vineyards, orchards and citrus plantations to fall, these being traditional export products.

All these factors led to mass unemployment among the agricultural workers, aggravated still further by the fact that, war production having stopped, the towns were discharging masses of workers into the countryside.

Thus, the following situation, which is in the interests of the employers but is regarded as criminal by the workers, came to exist. Immense tracts of land lay

uncultivated or badly cultivated, thousands of agricultural workers were deprived of work, and the entire country was in the grip of a serious food crisis. In the name of what kind of logic can hunger be imposed on workers whose only demand was to be allowed to wrest the food they needed so badly from the land which was lying idle?

It is within this general framework that the *Confederterra,* National Confederation of Land Workers, began to act. This organisation with its 1,900,000 members, including agricultural workers, day workers, share croppers and small peasants, is the strongest organisation in the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.).

Set up in 1945, the *Confederterra* considered that the fight for the immediate improvement in the agricultural workers' standard of living and, as a more distant objective, agrarian reform and the achievement of a progressive democracy, required that the following three problems be solved:

—peasant unity (agricultural workers, share croppers, small peasants and farmers);

—the alliance of the peasantry with the working class and their active solidarity within the C.G.I.L.;

—the necessity of including all the demands of the land workers within the framework of a programme of national revival.

Although the first two problems were solved as part of the daily work of the C.G.I.L., of which the *Confederterra* is an integral part, the third demanded a systematic popularisation of peasant demands and struggles among all sections of the population. That is why all agitation by the land workers was preceded and accompanied by a huge propaganda campaign explaining the well-founded demands of these workers and linking these demands with the grave problems of feeding the country.

Agricultural workers demand work in order to provide the country with more bread, meat and oil!

Share croppers demand a fairer share of the crops in order to improve cultivation and increase production!

Small farmers demand tax and ground rent reductions so as to be able to sell more cheaply!

These slogans linking the demands of the agricultural workers and peasants with the need for increasing production and lowering prices—a problem of vital importance to *all* sections of the population—succeeded in arousing a vast movement of active solidarity with the land workers, a deep understanding of their battles, based on a new form of struggle called "reverse strikes."

* * *

THE origin of this form of struggle must be sought in the Apulia region where, in 1946, the employment offices of the *Confederterra* asked the big landowners to employ a number of unemployed workers to do special work needed for the upkeep and improvement of the crops.

The landowners frequently refused to do this work. In the Apulia case, the employment offices nevertheless sent teams of unemployed workers to the spot, and these set to work in spite of the landowners. They weeded and broke up the soil, hollowed out channels for irrigation or running water, and cut the dead branches from the olive trees. When evening fell, they gathered up whole cartloads of rotten grass and dry wood, and lighted huge gay bonfires in the village. On the Saturday, which is payday, the workers presented themselves to the proprietors to demand their wages for the work they had done. Sometimes the proprietor paid, but when he refused the entire population, including men and women, peasants, artisans, shopkeepers, often accompanied by the priest, went to the proprietor and continued demonstrating until payment was made.

This method of struggle, consisting of by-passing the inertia or unwillingness of the landowners by forcing them to carry out useful and often indispensable work by means of a *fait accompli* and at the same time compelling them to employ the necessary labour—a method which presupposed the active sympathy of the entire population—spread rapidly to all the southern provinces and heralded the reverse strikes.

* * *

THE first real reverse strike was organised in the spring of 1947. It was directed against a large landowner in Bologna province who had decided to allow land which was normally planted with rice to remain idle, thus condemning several hundred day-labourers to unemployment.

The unémployed had demanded work and they had organised protest demonstrations, but all in vain. What could they do? Strike? But how can one strike when one is not working? Then they remembered what had been done in Apulia and the idea of the reverse strike took form.

A work plan was drawn up with the help of the trade union, and teams were formed to work the abandoned land. The *Confederterra* lent them seed, and although the police tried to chase the workers from the land, the sowing was successfully carried out. Then the organised pressure of the workers and the population enabled them to obtain payment for their work and for the seed.

The example was followed with increasing frequency throughout Italy. A particularly large-scale reverse strike was organised in the Modena region, where 20,000 day-labourers, in agreement with the share croppers, and even at their request, carried out urgent reconstruction and improvement work on estates damaged by war and successfully presented their bill to the landowners.

This reverse strike differs from the first actions in Apulia because of its mass character, the complexity and the huge scale on which it was organised, the close unity of action of the agricultural workers and day-

labourers with the share croppers who were frequently easily interested directly in carrying out the work, and who came to understand clearly the needs of the struggle.

From that time, the reverse strikes lost the village character of the first actions in Apulia. They were glorious and often bloody struggles which had their repercussions in the Chamber of Deputies, aroused the Press and led to keen discussions throughout the country. The industrial workers supported the peasants' demands with strikes, and succeeded in forcing the government to issue a decree on "The Maximum Employment of Agricultural Workers" on September 17, 1947.

This decree gives the prefects the right to compel all owners of agricultural or forestry undertakings to engage "the labour necessary for the work of cultivation, for the ordinary and special upkeep of the land, roadways, and plantations, and for the raising of livestock."

The struggle was thus brought to a higher level. It was now not only a question of preventing the landowners from finding an escape with the complicity of the authorities, but also of forcing the prefects to apply the decree effectively and in a just way in line with the workers' interests. The decree, which applied to *all* owners, large and small, hid an insiduous attempt to set the workers against the small owners and to destroy the very wide peasant unity which had been established between the agricultural workers and the small owners.

It was thus necessary to use discernment in organising the reverse strikes, and to direct the actions against the large landowners and the authorities who were likely to help them.

* * *

THE objective pursued by the agricultural workers in this form of struggle is to provide work for the unemployed and at the same time to increase agricultural production. Two kinds of work are undertaken: current cultivation (sowing, harrowing, etc.) and land improvements (control of irrigation canals, roads, etc.). It is easy to understand that these activities interest not only the agricultural workers, but the share croppers, who also are victims of the large landowners when the latter neglect maintenance work which is normally their responsibility, as well as the whole rural population. They also interest the population of the whole country, who are affected by insufficient agricultural production.

By the diversity of factors which it presupposes and which it sets into motion, the reverse strike has become a form of struggle which continually raises the political level of the people. It also improves and strengthens the structure of the trade union organisations, develops their critical spirit and their organisational capabilities, develops in the struggle new leading cadres and unites still more firmly the various categories of land workers, bringing them into alliance with other sections of the population.

When a strike is being organised, the unemployed are formed into work teams, each of which is allocated a definite zone. The teams begin by examining their zone, field by field. They assess the work to be carried out and calculate the number of work days which will be required.

On the basis of this survey, popular action is organised with the help of meetings, leaflets, etc. The landowners or their overseers are then called together. If no agreement is reached, the workers go into action. At dawn on the day decided upon, the teams set off for the land which has been allocated to them, with their implements on their shoulders and a song on their lips, and then start work. When they return to the village they are greeted joyfully. Accompanied by their wives and children, the workers form a procession headed by the flag of their organisation. The population stands on the doorsteps of the houses and applauds.

The reverse strikes have unfortunately not always had this festive character. Repression has increased as the government has developed its reactionary policy, and the reverse strike has become a bitter and heroic struggle which already has its dead, wounded and prisoners.

* * *

ONE of the most characteristic reverse strikes took place in February 1950 in Fucino (Abruzza) on the immense estate belonging to Prince Torlonia, which consists of about 40,000 acres reclaimed by draining a lake.

In good years and bad years, this Roman prince of Fucino draws an income of a thousand million lire as a result of the subtle exploitation to which he subjects the 14,000 farmers and the thousands of day-labourers who live on his estate. Beets are the main crop, and before the strike the prince used to take between 40% and 50% of the crop to sell to his own sugar refineries. When the peasants are forced to borrow money in order to pay their debts, this is arranged through the good offices of the Banca di Fucino, and this bank also belongs to Prince Torlonia.

But not a penny of the fantastic income drawn from Fucino is spent on the upkeep or improvement of the estate. The drainage system and the roads are completely neglected. The roads have become mud tracks, the ditches and canals are filled with silt, stagnant water makes the land unfit for cultivation and thousands of workers are thrown out of work.

Faced with a refusal of Torlonia to remedy this state of affairs, the day-labourers' and farmers' organisations decided to launch the struggle. Their first objective was the reconditioning of the roads and canals which had been neglected by the prince for thirty years. This involved hundreds of thousands of work-hours.

This objective corresponded to the needs of the agricultural workers and the unemployed, as well as to those of the farmers, who had been seriously affected by the bad state of the roads and the drainage. The farmers also demanded a revision of their leases, which gave Torlonia the lion's share of their harvests.

A view of the reverse strike in the Fucino region in which agricultural workers achieved great successes.

The exploitation of Torlonia's estate and the distribution of the land to those actually cultivating it and to the poor and landless peasants was set as a more distant objective.

The action to be undertaken was first widely publicised by thousands of pamphlets, distributed to the local population, parliamentary representatives and the Press. Dozens of meetings were held in the fourteen villages concerned. Discussions were held and leaflets distributed. The whole population understood that once Torlonia's exploitation was ended hundreds of millions of lire would remain with those who had created that wealth and would contribute to the economic development of the region. Thus the entire population, including the shopkeepers and artisans, made the struggle of the agricultural workers their own.

In each of the 14 villages, the Confederation organised teams of seven day-labourers with a team-leader and a farmer to point out the most urgent work. Five teams made up a group, the group-leaders being in contact with the communal agitation committees. The local general staff was the evening assembly of team-leaders and group-leaders.

The action began on February 1, 1950. At dawn, the teams occupied Fucino and started to repair the roads, canals and ditches, helped by the farmers, who had placed at their disposal hundreds of vehicles to haul stones and gravel for surfacing the road. The

To force the authorities to undertake public works, the unemployed of the Cassinate region go on a reverse strike by repairing the road.

shopkeepers showed their solidarity with the workers by granting them large credits. The students of the teachers' training college went on strike, and even the priests were forced by popular pressure to support the movement and to demand of their bishop that he would intervene with the government.

The women played a particularly important role, practically all of them joining in the struggle. Even the members and militants of Catholic Action (an organisation directed by the Vatican) marched behind the tricolour flag and the red flag of the workers. One of the tasks of the women was to distribute leaflets to the inhabitants and to travellers in trains and cars passing through the region. They ensured the practical functioning of solidarity by collecting large sums of money, they went on delegations to the church and State authorities, and their presence gave strength and enthusiasm to all the demonstrations. Their courage and political maturity were exemplary at the critical moments of the struggle when it came to protecting the lives and freedom of their husbands, sons and fathers against the police and fascist gangs.

The strike lasted for nearly four weeks, and from a regional struggle it became a national affair. On the twenty-sixth day the government, knowing that it was beaten, ordered the prefect to issue a decree compelling Prince Torlonia to continue the work begun by the "reverse strikers" and to pay for a hundred thousand work-days for the first two months. Before its expiration, the decree was extended to 250,000 work-days. The work completed during the strike was estimated at 14 million lire, and was paid for. As for the farmers, they won their various demands, notably a reduction of 30 per cent in farm rents.

This, the first battle against Torlonia, was won, but the struggle was not over. It had to be carried to a fuller victory—the expropriation of Torlonia.

The struggle was taken up again in the winter of 1950-51, and forced the government to issue a decree declaring the Fucino zone as latifundia to be expropriated and given to the peasants.

* * *

WE have made considerable reference to the Fucino reverse strike because it can be considered a classic example of this form of struggle. It goes without saying that the other actions of this kind do not have exactly the same characteristics.

It would be a mistake to believe that the reverse strike, born of the specific conditions of agriculture, is restricted to this sector of Italian economy. Its effectiveness and the popularity which it has attained in the country are such that it is used widely not only to bring pressure to bear on landowners, but also on the government and the provincial and communal administrations in order to force them to undertake public works. This was the case, for example, in the recent reverse strike in the province of Latina, which was directed against the State.

Important water and forestry public works were in operation in the mountains of this province when, in December 1951, the 500 workers engaged on this project were dismissed because the funds allotted had been exhausted. The dismissed workers, who were joined by other unemployed workers in the region, undertook a reverse strike under the leadership of the provincial trade union organisation to demand that the interrupted work be completed.

Here also the workers were able to count under all circumstances on the solidarity of the population. Broad delegations, supported by the *Confederterra,* were received by the heads of the "Southern Italian Fund" (Cassa per il Mezzojiorno), a government organisation created in part by Marshall Plan funds which had been made responsible by the government for the financing of the work.

Popular pressure was such that the "Fund" not only reinstated the 500 dismissed workers, but took on other workers and allocated 350 million lire for the work. Later it approved and undertook other work costing over 200 million lire.

Seeing the success achieved by their comrades in the mountains, the workers in the plain went into action. Here again the new methods of struggle proved effective and forced the government:

—to continue existing public works (building of bridges, roads, canals, etc., amounting to 742 million lire);

—to undertake new works to the extent of 766 million lire;

—to study the undertaking and the financing of a vast plan of public works costing about 2,000 million lire to be carried out during this summer.

These figures show what a powerful weapon the reverse strike is today. It is directed both against the great anti-national landed proprietors who prefer speculation to the utilisation of their property and against the government which is betraying the real interests of the Italian people in order to be able to finance its plan of war preparation.

It is certain that the reverse strike will not fail to play an increasingly important role in the future struggles of the Italian workers for their well-being, and for the prosperity of the whole of their country.

In France

THE FRATERNITY OF THE EXPLOITED WILL DEFEAT THE CONSPIRACY OF THE EXPLOITERS

Workers throughout the world are following events in France with the greatest attention. The fascist measures of the Pinay government, representing big business under the orders of the American imperialists, have aroused a tremendous wave of protest, particularly the arrest of Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, stalwart defender of the workers' interests, exemplary fighter for peace.

These innumerable protests, this joint action by the workers and French democrats of all political viewpoints and trade union affiliations, added to the action taken by the peoples of the world, have made a great victory possible: Jacques Duclos is free! The reactionary Pinay government, by being forced to free Jacques Duclos, has suffered a resounding humiliation. This great victory will give valuable encouragement to the workers of France in their battle for the liberation of the fighters for peace and the militant workers of France who are imprisoned, and in their battle for bread, peace and liberty.

This victory of the camp of peace and democracy proves how irresistible is the strength derived from united action, not only in France but in all countries.

This important speech made by Benoit Frachon to the Congress of the Foodworkers Federation is a stirring call for united action and for this reason it is of great interest not only to the French workers, but also to all workers throughout the world. The fact that it was given before the release of Jacques Duclos only serves to give it greater value.

World Trade Union Movement.

By BENOIT FRACHON

General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

* * *

SPEAKING on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of your Federation, our friend Forgue recalled in moving terms the efforts of the pioneers who cleared the ground.

They fought with courage, self-denial and perseverance.

They carried on a fierce struggle against barbarous forms of capitalist exploitation. They fought for better wages, for shorter hours, for a weekly holiday and against the slave market which the bosses' employment offices were, and in many cases still are.

They wanted the workers to lead a less aimless life, which should not be divided between interminable working hours and sleep, waking merely to put their harness on again.

They wanted the exploited to have the necessary time and living conditions which would enable them to think, to rise to the dignity of men aware of their slavery and thus to acquire the determination to break the chains of capitalism.

Re-read the speeches and the writings of the best among them.

True, they still lacked deep understanding, and the essential facts which today enable us to carry on with more certitude the hard class struggles, but because they were militant revolutionaries they linked all their daily struggles to the aim which they had set themselves—the ending of the exploitation of man by man, which they wrote as an act of faith in the Constitutions of their organisations.

Honour to those pioneers, to all who remained faithful to their mission to the end.

We are their heirs. We have taken up the heritage which they have bequeathed to us. We have

enriched it with all the social and philosophical knowledge acquired since, with the experience of all the international struggles of the working class, with the tremendous victories won in many parts of the globe, in the Soviet Union, in the Peoples' Democracies and in China, by workers fighting for their emancipation.

We remain faithful to their memory because they were internationalists. They considered any victory by the working class in any country to be their own victory.

What is there in common between these splendid fighters who suffered imprisonment, hunger and repeated dismissals, but who remained faithful to their class, and those who so quickly abandoned the right road, which they found too difficult, and who today find themselves in the lamentable position of wearing the gilded livery offered to them contemptuously by French and foreign capitalists?

History will honour the former. For the latter it can only register their repeated betrayals and the contempt felt for them by the working class.

The C.G.T. Against the Gravediggers of Freedom

Today one of those worthy descendants of your elders is missing from your Congress.

In violation of the most elementary rights and of constitutional liberties, the most reactionary and the least French government that we have had for a long time has imprisoned your friend and brother, Jacques Duclos.

Jacques Duclos is an old and faithful member of your trade union federation. For years he was the Secretary of the Paris region of the Pastrycook's Trade Union.

His arrest, at the same time as that of André Stil and hundreds of peace supporters of all opinions, constitutes a serious attack on democratic liberties.

Why these arrests? Why this invention of a plot? Why these raids on democratic organisations, on peace committees and trade union offices, these seizures of newspapers?

It is because our ruling class and the Pinay government have yoked the destiny of our country to that of the American imperialists, and want to drag our people into a war of aggression which would make of our country a vast cemetery.

They want to clear their road of all those who place obstacles in the way of their criminal designs by defending the interests of our country and the mass of our people.

Jacques Duclos is one of the most fearless of these fighters; that is why they have thrown him into prison.

The working class is in no doubt as to the reason for this arrest. Workers have gone on strike and demonstrated in thousands of factories and localities. This action is continuing and will continue for the release of Jacques Duclos and of all those imprisoned, for the defence of peace and freedom, for bread.

The General Confederation of Labour has taken a resolute stand in this action.

So, brothers, all the forces of reaction, all the old guttersnipes of treachery, joining their cries to those of the most reactionary newspapers, *L'Aurore, Le Figaro* and others in the pay of the American corruptors, have begun a concert of hatred, lies and hypocrisy.

According to them, the arrest of Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Communist Party, is no business of the trade unions.

As if the experience of recent times were not there to show us that fascism does not stop in its career of destroying liberty.

In 1939, when the governments of betrayal who had signed the Munich agreement were preparing the invasion of our country by Hitler's hordes, the Communist Party was the first to be attacked.

In whose interest is it today to

On February 13, 1934, at the appeal of the United General Confederation of Labour and the General Confederation of Labour, the working class rose united in a powerful movement, which included a 24-hour general strike, and turned back fascism. Our photo shows a section of the huge popular demonstration in Paris.

make people forget that the act of making the Communist Party illegal was followed by the destruction of all the democratic parties, that the C.G.T. was dissolved, and that the Christian trade unions also did not escape being liquidated?

It has always been the tradition of the C.G.T. to defend freedom wherever it is attacked, no matter what form that attack may take.

When the working class rose up in a mighty movement against fascism on February 12, 1934, in response to the appeal of the CGTU[1] and the CGT, did not Colonel de la Rocque's *Croix de Feu* and the other fascist bands make anti-Communism their rallying point?

The truth is that, today as yesterday, anti-Communism is the mask behind which the gravediggers of freedom hide.

There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that our rulers, the big capitalists who are transforming our country into a police state, should use this device.

Those who, in company with Pétain, liquidated the trade union organisations a short time ago and established in their place the fascist trade unions called *Charte du Travail* are nostalgic for their recent past.

They made huge profits by collaborating with the Hitlerite occupiers, while patriots died under torture, in the crematoria furnaces or under the knife of the guillotine. They trembled for their privileges with the coming of the Liberation. Today they want to avenge themselves for their fear and to continue to make their monstrous profits in preparing for the war which they wish to precipitate in order to preserve their class interests.

But it is not a question only of these people. They are helped in their dirty work by some so-called workers' leaders.

When the leaders of *Force Ouvrière*, such as Jouhaux and Bothereau, fly to their rescue, when they openly act as strike-breakers, when they blow the anti-Communist trumpet, they are shamefully betraying the traditions of the C.G.T.

Their so-called avoidance of politics serves only to mask the shameful policy which they carry on for the benefit of successive governments and the American imperialists.

And they have not even the excuse that they carry on this policy through error, for the American papers openly boast that it is the ransom for financial aid rendered to them.

Isn't it a fact, brothers, that the old militants of your Federation of whom Forgue spoke just now had a different way of doing things?

When Gaston Tessier, President of the French Confederation of Christian Workers (C.F.T.U.)[2], to justify the strike-breaking appeal made by the leadership of that organisation, honours General Ridgway, the man who has brought the horrors of war and massacre to the peaceful population of Korea to a degree which the Nazi criminals never dared to attempt, is it possible to speak of working class understanding and political independence?

It is not by chance that the most openly fascist papers, those most filled with hatred towards the working class, such as *L'Aurore* and *Le Figaro*, should cover these men with praise.

They have well deserved this indignity, for they have done everything in their power to prevent the working class from defeating the Pinay government's policy of wage-freezing.

★

The deep current of unity which was forcefully expressed in 1934 led, in 1936, to the Popular Front and to the great victories of the French working class. Our photo shows a demonstration on July 14, anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, and the oath which expressed the long-standing aspirations of the people of France for democratic liberties and peace.

★

1 The C.G.T.U. (United General Confederation of Labour) was, at that time, the progressive trade union organisation which was fighting for unity. The C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) was the trade union organisation under reformist leadership, whose General Secretary was Leon Jouhaux, who has betrayed the workers throughout his life.

The leadership of the C.G.T. was forced by mass pressure to accept organic unity, and the two organisations were later united in one organisation, the C.G.T., until 1947, when Jouhaux, acting on American orders, brought about a new split by forming **Force Ouvriere** (Workers' Strength).

2 An organisation led by splitters and obedient to the Vatican.

They tell the working class that the fight to defend peace is no business of the trade unions.

The whole past history of the C.G.T. since its foundation says the contrary, being stamped with the concern of the working class to fight by all means against imperialist war.

In 1912, the C.G.T., though still weak, issued the slogan of a 24-hour strike against the imperialist war which the European capitalists were preparing. The history of the C.G.T. and its brave militants cannot be sullied because the General Secretary of that period betrayed the will of the trade unions in 1914.

Jouhaux, in 1914, over the grave of Jaurès, joined his voice to those who had paved the way to his murder by denouncing him as a German agent because he wanted to defend peace, and uttered the phrase which will be a millstone round his neck up to and beyond the grave: "Those who are going, and of whom I am one."[3].

After this bluster, he nevertheless did not go and take part unflinchingly in the "sacred union." That detracts nothing from the value of the traditions which we are following today in fighting in the front rank of the defenders of peace in our country, nor from the glory of the old militants of whom Forgue spoke, those who faced up to the storm and were faithful under all circumstances to their ideal.

The arrest of Jacques Duclos shows that the warmongers want to provoke an incident.

We shall do our duty. We shall do even more in defence of peace. We shall be worthy of our predecessors.

We shall defend peace by continuing zealously the struggle to release Jacques Duclos from the hands of the warmongers.

The Divisionist Leaders Carry out the Policy of the Warmongers

It appears, brothers, that we in the C.G.T. are not concerned with the demands of the working class.

Who says so?

The capitalist press, the fascist newspapers, the governmental and American parrots who speak over the radio.

That should please them. Why should they not be very satisfied with a trade union organisation which allows them quietly to pile up their profits?

Everyone knows very well, however, that they are not at all pleased with the C.G.T.'s action for wage increases.

It is publicly notorious that they carry out the most shameful manoeuvres—most humiliating for those who are their accomplices—in order to sign phoney agreements excluding the C.G.T.

Though they lie in public, they nevertheless know the truth. They have learned it to their cost.

Very much in spite of themselves, they have been forced to grant wage increases of 36% between September 1950 and September 1951. In 1951 alone they were forced to pay increases of more than 26%.

The government also has had to increase wages on several occasions.

They have not done this out of lightness of heart. Every time that they have given way, it has been as a result of a vast movement which has brought hundreds of thousands of workers into the struggle.

It is true that it is not only the members of the C.G.T. who have taken part in the struggle. On each occasion, there has been a great united action movement bringing in various organisations and also the unorganised workers.

How has this unity movement been brought about?

It has always been opposed by the leaders of *Force Ouvrière* and of the Christian and Gaullist centres.

It has always been the C.G.T., its militants and its organisations, which have taken the lead in bringing the workers together.

In every strike for wage increases, the leaders of these same centres have intervened to denounce the so-called "political" character of the strike and to tell their members not to take part. That is, on every occasion they have flown to the rescue of the employers and the State and have acted as strike-breakers.

The reason why the working class has been able on numerous occasions to force considerable wage increases is because, thanks to the C.G.T., it has been able to strengthen its unity, to overcome the manoeuvres of the splitters and to form a united front against the employers and the State.

Who else says that the C.G.T. does not fight for the workers' demands?

The leaders of *Force Ouvrière* and of the Christian and Gaullist unions.

Why do they say that?

To hide their betrayal of the fight for the workers' economic and social demands.

They lie to the workers when, in supporting the arms programme, they tell them it is possible to have both guns and butter.

Not to show the workers that it is because of the enormous war expenditure that their living conditions are difficult is to lie to them.

Pinay is paying the 600,000 million francs for the war in Viet-Nam at the cost of freezing wages after a 15% rise in the cost of living.

The crushing taxation to meet the 1,400,000 millions of the war budget is making the cost of living high.

The workers' poverty derives from the scandalous profits which the capitalists are making from war preparations.

The spread of unemployment and short time is the cost of war economy, which is sacrificing peaceful production to the manufacture of instruments of death, sacrificing the building of homes to the building of American aerodromes.

When the leaders of the trade union centres who say that they do not concern themselves with politics hide this, they are carrying out the worst kind of politics—that of the warmongers.

It is precisely because they agree to and support the war policy, knowing that it is a matter of a war of aggression against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies, that they consider the "sac-

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3 Jean Jaures, the famous French Socialist leader, who was murdered on the eve of the first world war when calling on the masses to fight for peace. Jouhaux, General Secretary of the C.G.T. in 1914, said at the funeral of Jaures, **"Ceux qui partent, et dont je suis."**—"Those who are going, and of whom I am one"—meaning that he was going to join up to fight against Germany, but, in fact, he acted as a recruiting agent for the imperialists.

rifices" of the working class to be necessary.

They oppose the workers' demands and they act as strike-breakers, not because we go in for politics, but in order that they may support the worst kind of politics, that by which Hitler installed his dictatorship, that of our own ruling class, the most savage reactionary policy which takes anti-communism as its mask and emblem.

Achieve United Action Everywhere

Is this an exaggeration?

Not at all, brothers.

We have many times tried to obtain the complete unity of the working class in support of its demands.

You know that the *Force Ouvrière* and Christian leaders pretend that it is not possible to carry out united action with us because we have political slogans.

We know quite well that there are still many workers who are worried by these lying campaigns, which are supported by the whole of official propaganda, but who would nevertheless like to take part in united action for their wages.

Our unalterable policy is that this united action must be attained everywhere.

We are very pleased when militants and members of other organisations come to agreement with us to fight jointly for peace, freedom and bread.

When unity is only possible for demands such as wage increases, we accept it without hesitation.

On September 10, 1951, we wrote to F.O., the C.F.T.C., the C.G.C.[4] and the Independent Teachers' Federation.

We made them only one proposal, united action for increased wages.

The F.O. leaders replied with insults, making their usual denunciation of "political manoeuvres."

We had a first and only conference with the Christian leaders. It is clear that the members of the Christian unions were demanding that such talks should be undertaken with a view to reaching an agreement.

Bouladoux, the Secretary of the C.F.T.C., opened the discussion, and do you know how he began?

"There is not much chance of us reaching agreement."

Which meant that he had been forced to come by the demands of his members, but that he was warning us that he would undermine any possibility of agreement.

It is clear that united action by all organisations would have resulted in wage increases.

The working class would not have been subjected to Pinay's policy.

Why did the F.O. and Christian leaders reject the C.G.T.'s proposals?

For political reasons? Evidently. But these political reasons did not come from the C.G.T., which only proposed action for wages.

These political reasons were the same reasons which, today as well as yesterday, prevent these leaders from posing the wages question clearly, the reasons which automatically lead them to tell "their members" to work when the workers have decided to strike for any reason whatsoever, even if only for a modest demand.

The C.G.T. Is Rooted Among the Working Masses

Conditions demand that we make a considerable effort to clear away the obstacles along the road which leads to working class unity.

The reason why the warmongers are making such considerable efforts to divide the workers is that they are in a hurry to stifle working class liberties, and they know that they can only do this if the workers are disunited.

Today it is a question of war or peace. We must preserve peace by taking a more active part in the great peace movement, by setting up peace committees in all work places.

It is a question of fascism or democracy. We must save freedom and defeat the fascists as we did in 1934. We must successfully defend our trade union liberties and force the application of working class liberties in the factories and work places.

We must obtain the release of Jacques Duclos and the others who are imprisoned from the hands of the warmongers. This is a necessity unless we want to see the fascists tomorrow dare to attack the trade unions. It will also be a step towards further victories.

It is a question of better living conditions or increased poverty.

We must fight in unity, with courage and perseverance, to force increases in wages, salaries and pensions, for a real sliding scale, for the abolition of zonal wage differentials.

We must defend social security, which is being threatened in order to feed the insatiable maw of the war budget.

The C.G.T. is the only independent trade union organisation of the working class which unites within its ranks workers of all opinions and beliefs.

Socialists and Christians, even worker-priests, participate with Communist and non-party workers in its leadership.

Over 70 per cent of the workers vote for it in workers' elections.

It represents the most noble traditions of French trade unionism.

It is this which has earned for it the hatred of the capitalists. This is why the American imperialists, encamped on our soil, are demanding that our rulers should rid them of this obstacle to their warlike plans.

The masters and their servants utter hypocritical and lying accusations in their attempt to harm it.

Because it is the great rallying point of all the workers, they are trying to present it as a Communist organisation. The C.G.T. is not a Communist organisation, because it is the organisation of all the workers, and all the workers are not Communists. Nor is the C.G.T. an anti-Communist organisation.

Not only because there are many Communist workers in France, but because anti-Communism has for more than a century been the weapon of the exploiters, the screen behind which they have committed innumerable crimes against the workers.

But an organisation such as ours cannot be beaten by lies and insults.

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[4] Confederation Generale des Cadres (General Confederation of Technical and Supervisory Staff), an organisation of engineers and technicians, with reactionary tendencies.

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Organised by local branches of the C.G.T. and C.F.T.C. (Christian trade unions) a huge meeting of Renault automobile workers is held in April 1952 in support of their demands.

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It is too deeply rooted among the mass of the workers.

It is indissolubly linked with all the workers' struggles. Its history is one of continuous struggle against capitalist exploitation, of victories won under all circumstances. Its history is the modern history of the working class fighting for bread, peace and freedom.

Its voice is sufficiently powerful to rally the millions of workers of our country to a great united front.

Yesterday the splitter Bothereau (General Secretary of F.O.), again replied to the appeal issued by *Le Figaro, L'Aurore* and government circles calling for unity of all the trade unions which support their policy.

To unite, not against the employers and the State, which pays its functionaries as badly as the employers pay the wage-earners, but against the C.G.T.

Discord in the Camp of the Splitters

Bothereau is in a hurry, a great hurry. He is begging the radio and the reactionary Press to come to his help, for there are some partners who are turning a deaf ear. It is a question for him and his friends of saving the remains of a routed organisation, even though help from inside the country and from abroad has never been lacking.

At the very moment when Bothereau is making this despairing appeal for unity of the splitters, he is faced with the alarming spectacle of discord among the troops which remain with him. And what discord! And for what sordid motives!

Molinié, one of the first of the breakaway leaders of the postal and telephone workers, in his paper is accusing the other breakaway leaders of his organisation of having received money, not from the government, not from the Americans—that is well known, and the splitters boast of it—**but from Villiers' Employers' Organisation,** and he adds that this corruption extends to other F.O. organisations.

When the scandal is denounced publicly even by those who have been concerned in it, then things are really cooking.

What worker is prepared to allow so-called trade union leaders to receive subsidies from employers' organisations?

It is quite a usual occurrence in America, but the F.O. leaders are wrong if they think that the French workers are ripe for this form of "Western" civilisation.

It is also true that Bothereau ends up by believing the lies of his *Aurore* and *Figaro* managers on the state of the C.G.T. and the workers opinion of it.

Unless he is creating illusions on this subject in order to please those who hand out the dollars.

I remember that, three years ago, when F.O. had less than 300,000 members (it was then at its zenith), its leaders coolly announced that they had one and a half million members, and the Americans were ready to believe them.

It needed a confidential report from Mr. Eldridge, the Social Attache of the American Embassy, to the State Department, to reveal to them that they had been cheated.

It is with the same sense of proportion that Bothereau today speaks of a "skeleton" C.G.T. with not more than a million members.

Is this because the Americans, despairing of F.O. ever becoming an organisation worthy of its name ("Workers' Strength") now want to estimate his services in inverse proportion to the membership of C.G.T.?

Beware, you gentlemen in Washington, beware of coming disillusionments and further swindling.

We would merely recall that, two years ago, in order that we should receive our due in the matter of representation, and particularly so that our brother Alain Le Léap should represent the French workers at the I.L.O. instead of Jouhaux, we proposed an examin-

ation of the books, a check on the membership of the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and F.O.

We even added that we would be willing for a check to be made on the financial resources of the three organisations.

We should like to inform Bothereau that our proposal still holds good. We even propose that this inquiry should be carried out by a commission composed of an equal number of representatives of the three organisations, with complete freedom to give the fullest publicity to the results of the inquiry.

What is preventing you from taking up the challenge Bothereau?

But the present manoeuvres of Bothereau and the others have a much more serious objective.

The violent measures, the arrest of Jacques Duclos and others, the raids on trade union premises, all this is intended to lead to the liquidation of those trade union organisations which are not subjected to government policy.

Hardly more than a year ago we denounced a plot to this end, supported by provocation, hatched by the American leaders in agreement with the French breakaway leaders. This plan was submitted to the Prime Minister with a view to its execution.

How is it possible to carry out a blow against the C.G.T. when it is the only great organisation of the working class?

Bothereau is made responsible for standing surety for the provocations of *L'Aurore* on the weakness of the C.G.T., while in return, that newspaper does the same for him by speaking of "the great free and independent trade union organisation," F.O.

At the same time, we wish to inform all the workers that certain government circles are freely boasting of being able to split the CGT.

We know that they are ready to use every kind of pressure, that they flatter themselves that with their police, threats and other means they may obtain some support. So far they have only met with a miserable failure, at Belfort, of which they do not speak.

In any event, they may expect all the disappointments imaginable if they think they will have any success with the workers.

The working class is replying, and will reply, to these splitting manoeuvres and to the plot against working class and democratic liberties by strengthening its unity.

The C.G.T. will help it in this.

The Workers Approve the C.G.T.'s Unity Stand

The Executive Bureau has asked me to use the platform of your Congress for this fraternal appeal which it has issued to all workers.

Brothers,

One again the employers and the governments are trying to drive you to quarrel among yourselves.

They are trying to sow doubts in your minds and deceive you with their lying press and radio.

Then, with the differences which they have brought about among you, they are trying to bring about fights and fratricidal struggles.

That is what they tried to do in the Renault factory under the leadership of the Gaullists.

This is not a new tactic. It is used by the ruling classes whenever they are afraid of having to render accounts, or when they want to drag the workers into some adventure and they find it necessary to have a dictatorship.

Why do you argue and quarrel on questions on which you are not in agreement?

Discuss things freely and fraternally among yourselves as workers who are all cruelly exploited.

You don't agree on everything? There is nothing extraordinary in that. Discussion first, then facts, for facts sweep away all lies, even the biggest; they will confront you with each other's point of view and show who is right.

But there are some problems on which all of you are in agreement.

Why don't you give them first preference?

We tell you quite frankly that

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On June 21 and 22, twenty - four national conferences of shop stewards were held in Paris to express the will of the working class to permit no attack on the workers' rights to be represented by shop stewards and to strengthen their unity. Our photo shows part of the huge closing meeting, presided over by Benoit Frachon.

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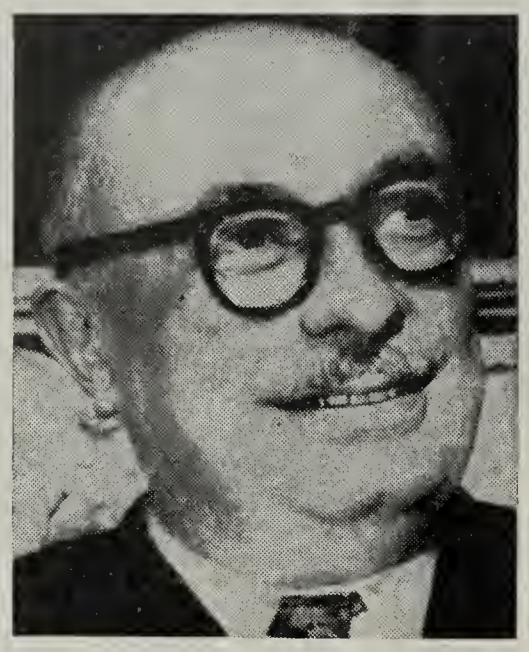
THE WFTU HEARTILY WELCOMES THE LIBERATION OF JACQUES DUCLOS

On learning of Jacques Duclos' release, the following telegram was sent by the W.F.T.U. to the General Secretaries of the C.G.T., Benoit Frachon and Alain Le Léap.



In the name of the workers of the entire world, the World Federation of Trade Unions heartily welcomes the liberation of Jacques Duclos, stalwart defender of the workers interests, and exemplary fighter for peace.

The release of Jacques Duclos, result of the tremendous wave of protests in France and throughout the world and of the united action of workers and democrats of all opinions, is a great victory of the camp of democracy and peace.

World Federation of Trade Unions,
Vienna, July 2, 1952.

we consider that there should be complete agreement today for the defence of peace, of liberty and wages.

For the threat of war, the introduction of fascism and the inadequacy of wages affect all workers without distinction.

We wish with all our hearts that you would come together, as quickly as possible, on these bases, to defend your common interests.

But there are some who do not yet see these terrible dangers. We regret it very much, and we shall redouble our efforts to help them to understand, to fight against the lies of those who are preparing for war, but we want nevertheless to obtain unity with all on the ideas and demands which we have in common—on wage increases, for example.

The Executive Bureau has also asked me to repeat publicly and to maintain the proposals for common action which we made on September 10, 1951 to all trade union centres for increased wages.

It is not a matter of waxing eloquent on the inadequacy of wages and of cursing the government and the Members of Parliament who have led the workers up the garden path.

Nor is it a matter of howling with the wolves when these wolves are the worst enemies of the working class.

Even less is it a matter of repeating all day long: "the C.G.T. is political."

We have proposed to organise jointly everywhere the struggle of the working class for wage increases.

The F.O., C.G.T. and Christian leaders to whom we wrote on September 10 have preferred to run away, to create illusions on Pinay's policy, to break strikes, even when these have been organised with the participation of their own members.

The result can be seen today, open and indisputable. The purchasing power of wages and salaries has fallen by 15 per cent, which means that the workers have been robbed of 600,000 million francs a year.

And the government and the employers intend to freeze them at this low level.

The F.O., C.F.T.C. and C.G.C. leaders, who rejected our proposals and who, on the other hand, have done everything possible to set the workers against each other, and who are continuing this policy today bear the heaviest share of responsibility for such a state of affairs.

It is not a matter of getting out of it by hurling at the C.G.T. insults invented by those who are starving the people.

It is a question of saying **yes or no** to whether they want to help the working class to win increased wages, salaries and pensions.

The C.G.T.'s proposals were and are:

To meet together, to decide on common demands, to organise unity everywhere, down to the factory level, to take part together in action to win these demands.

We are sure that all workers, irrespective of their opinions or trade union affiliation, will approve this steadfast position of the CGT, and that they will allow of no evasion. They will demand an answer: yes or no, do you want to defend our wages and salaries?

If you don't want to defend them, then we shall take the matter in hand ourselves and we shall do what you want to prevent us doing:

United Action Everywhere in Factories, Offices and Localities.

Working Men and Women of France!

Wherever the employers of the State have dismissed your best fighters because of their courageous action, fight together for their reinstatement.

The French working class has never abandoned its own people, victims of the hatred of the class enemy.

Build the fraternity of the exploited in the factories, offices, shops, administrative offices and villages against the conspiracy of the exploiters who are fattening themselves on your disunity.

And you, militants of the Foodworkers' Federation, after your fine Congress, go home filled with confidence, with the certainty that by our united efforts we shall deliver decisive blows at all the enemies of the working class.

Long live your Federation, with its rich history and traditions!

Long live the General Confederation of Labour, the hope of the millions of French workers!

Long live the unity of the workers for bread, peace and freedom!

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NOTE: The title and sub-titles of this speech have been added by the editors of "World Trade Union Movement."

The Great Example of People's China

Joint Declaration of the Algerian Trade Union Delegation invited to New China for the First of May, 1952

WE attended the 1952 May Day celebrations in Peking with a great number of other trade union delegations from various countries of Europe as guests of the Chinese Trade Unions and under the auspices of the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.).

From May 1 to 25, we visited a large part of the territory of People's China, especially the districts around Mukden, Peking, Nanking, Kiangsu and Shanghai. In this way, using various means of transport, we covered about 4,700 miles. We saw and understood a great many things.

Our delegation, composed of people with the most varied opinions, considers that it has a duty to state publicly, in an absolutely free and impartial way, the essentials of what it saw and felt in this great country, which was completely new to us.

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The enthusiastic welcome which we received from trade union leaders, the various authorities and especially from the people, surpassed in grandeur and depth of feeling anything we could have imagined.

In the cities and countryside, demonstrations of fellow-feeling, in most cases arising quite spontaneously, were constantly taking place in honour of the international trade union delegates.

For example, over and over again the pioneer youth would stop the delegations in the streets in order to offer them their silk scarves, or a crowd would stop and gather round to applaud the delegates.

As for our arrivals in the various cities we visited, that could only be compared with a series of triumphal receptions. To sum up, we can state that we were greeted with the greatest warmth, with joy and boundless confidence, by millions of honest workers in the cities and in the countryside.

These receptions, as well as the many conversations we had with the Chinese people, show that they attach the greatest importance to world events, and are ready to help all peoples who are still suffering from imperialist and colonialist oppression.

This spirit of active internationalism does honour to the Chinese people and moved us deeply.

The People Have Won Freedom

People's power in New China at the present time is based on the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

The leading role in this alliance belongs to the working class as the vanguard class of society, which rests on the revolutionary conquests of the working class of China and the entire world, as well as on the historic experiences of the victorious building of socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first workers' and peasants' State.

The participation in State power of elements of the national bourgeoisie working honestly for the reconstruction of the country, after having given tangible proofs of patriotism, is explained at this stage of the building of New China by the fact that the principal aims to be attained in the immediate future are, on the one hand, the intensification of production and, on the other, the defence of the country against imperialist aggression headed by the United States of America.

The system of feudal exploitation, on which the former economy of the country was based, has been wholly eliminated. The colonial character of the national economy, its subjection to the orders and needs of the imperialist powers, no longer exists. What does still exist of the backward economic conditions of the past is rapidly disappearing. This transformation of the whole structure of China shows that the Chinese people, in taking their destiny into their own hands, have conquered and uprooted the combined forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, not only on the field of battle, but also in the economic sphere.

Having won this freedom, they are actively building an economic system which best serves their interests. In short, the people's leaders of New China are working effectively for the people.

Agrarian Report

Thus, agrarian reform has today become a living reality in People's China. We were able, when paying visits to peasants who had themselves benefited from this measure of social justice which consists of giving the land to those who work it, to feel how great is the joy of these agricultural workers who had always been exploited in an inhuman way and who today, as a result of the liberation of their country from the feudal and imperialist yoke, can see their life's dream come true.

It is thus not surprising to note that right across the immense fields which we travelled, extending as far as the eye could see over immeasurable areas, not the smallest piece of land was left idle. With the powerful help of the People's Government, all these lands are extremely well-worked and are in production. This intensive effort by the peasants brings favourable economic results to the towns, which must in their turn supply continually greater quantities of implements and manufactured products for current use which the peasants are today able to obtain.

The result is that the shameful waste of the capitalist countries—unemployment, poverty and hunger—have been definitely overcome in People's China.

Nearly 400 million peasants have already effectively benefited from agrarian reform. The estates freed from the Kuomintang mercenaries are being shared out, and the big landowners have ceased to exist as a class.

Rural economy in China is, in the present phase, based on individual peasant farming. The land and the implements are in general the private property of the peasants. The People's Government has adopted a series of political and economic measures for the evolution of a higher level of rural economy, the collective level. We were already able to note the good effects of this in the Mukden region, where we visited a large collective farm.

Further, the People's Government encourages by all means the development of mutual aid teams and all other forms of agricultural co-operation. The results obtained are excellent, for collective work invariably results in increased production.

The chronic poverty of immense rural areas and of the great mass of the people has disappeared for ever. As we have already said, the purchasing power of the mass of the peasantry is constantly rising. The peasants are taking part together with the whole population of the country in a great patriotic emulation campaign.

The happiness reflected in the faces of the peasants wherever we went is most significant, and allows of no possible mistake.

Gigantic Operations

For two days we visited the gigantic operations which the People's Government is carrying out at the present time on the Huai River in order, in the first place, to end once and for all the disasters arising from the periodic flooding of the Kiangsu region. These floods have resulted in immense loss of crops, and the loss of thousands of human lives, victims of the negligence of former rulers.

Further, these construction works will serve to regulate the flow of the canal linking the Yangtse River with Peking, making normal river navigation possible at all times of the year and also allowing the irrigation of more than 4 million acres of cultivable land in a rational way.

In spite of the lack of implements, the construction work is being carried out at an amazing speed, so great is the effort of the 3 million worker-peasants of the Huai River region.

A canal linking the river with the sea was built in 7 months. More than 250 million cubic yards of earth were removed. The damming of the Huai River will hold a reserve of more than 245 billion cubic feet of water, which will be used to regulate navigation, for irrigation and for the production of electrical power.

Anyone who has seen the men and women on the Huai River construction works cannot fail to be con-

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A huge and enthusiastic crowd welcomes the fraternal delegates at the Shanghai station.

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Members of the Algerian trade union delegation visit an exhibition on bacteriological warfare launched against Korea and China by the American aggressors.

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To appreciate the benefits of agrarian reform in China the Algerian delegates visited the rural areas. Here they are in a village near Peking surrounded by peasants who have had their life's dream realised—the land to those who cultivate it.

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vinced of the complete victory and rapid progress of People's China.

All these men and women have acquired the highest conception of class duty and patriotism towards their country, which they themselves now rule in the interests of the people, and no longer for a few financial magnates.

Thus, the People's Government has done more in a few months on the Huai River project, because it has understood so well how indispensable it is for the people's needs and for the country's economy, than all the former landlords of the feudal and semi-colonial regimes of China had done in centuries.

Religious and Other Freedoms

One reads every day in the reactionary Press that the practice of religion is impossible in countries like People's China.

We entered one of the mosques in Peking. We purposely say one of the mosques, for in the capital alone there are 49 mosques serving the 70,000 Moslems in the city. There are thousands of mosques throughout the country, in which the 30 million Moslems living in China practise their religion.

What we heard from the Imam himself, who invited us to have lunch with him, was quite different from what one reads in the papers.

"Never," he told us, "have our holy places, our rites and our religious teachings been so well respected as they have since the coming to power of the People's Government, and we are proud to be able to count our best sons as among the fighters for national liberation."

We visited the mosque, the classrooms, the library and other buildings belonging to it, and found them all in very good condition, proving that no financial difficulties are placed in the way of the exercise of religion.

After learning with indignation of the difficulties facing those in Algeria who are trying to obtain freedom of worship for the Moslem religion, the Imam himself made the following statement, among others, which we give verbatim:

"My children, first fight to liberate your country from colonialist and imperialist oppression, and once this freedom has been won, you will at the same time have won full and complete freedom to practise your religion, without any outside interference in our beliefs and customs."

The delegation is thus definitely convinced as to the so-called religious persecutions in China, and thus in the countries which, like People's China, are building Socialism.

On the contrary, it is in these countries that religion is most free and is able to deal with religious matters without interfering in problems which have nothing to do with religion.

National minorities are respected in exactly the same way as religious freedom. All citizens of the country have completely equal rights. Thus in People's China, the government has had a Moslem University built. What finer example could you have of respect for national minorities?

It is because the people know and feel that the People's government of Mao Tse-tung is really their own government that credit for everything that happens is unreservedly given to it. Anyone who says that the people do not participate in discussions for the building of the New China does not know what he is talking about. For example, the laws on marriage were submitted to discussion by the entire people before being finally discussed by the government.

The Development of Emulation

For this reason there is widespread response to the appeal of the People's Government for production increases and to industrialise the country. We saw in all the factories we visited how different methods of emulation are put into practice between teams, groups and even individuals, in order to surpass existing records.

There are many Heroes of Labour, and one should

Symbolic contrast—the vile shacks of metalworkers under the Kuomintang regime and the homes built for them after the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

see with what pride a young girl turner of 17 years, who, after only 7 months at her work, has beaten the records of her own teacher, looks at the banner which she has won draped across her machine. In 1951, 2,222,000 workers took part in the patriotic effort to increase production. More than 24,800 rationalisation methods suggested by the workers were accepted and put into operation. This resulted in great economies, a reduction in the cost of production, and increased output.

Self-criticism is not an empty expression in New China, and everyone is constantly asking how he can improve his methods in order to produce more or to improve the quality of his work. Our delegation was always being asked for advice on these questions.

Help From the U.S.S.R.

The experience of the U.S.S.R. in all fields has been a great help to People's China. The Soviet Union has spared no effort in helping the people of China in their battle for production and for the industrialisation of the country, as well as in building the new rural economy. The Chinese people show the warmest and most fraternal gratitude to the Soviet people for the inestimable services rendered, as also for those which they are continuing to render to the heroic Chinese people to help in the building of the New China.

This demonstration of active internationalism by the free peoples is most noteworthy, and we Algerians, who are still under the domination and oppression of colonialism, are particularly impressed.

The Road to Socialism

The system of "New Democracy" has already proved its superiority. It is bringing increased production and a gigantic release of the productive forces of society which had previously been stifled.

It gives the leading role to the nationalised sector of the national economy in relation to other sectors (co-operative economy, peasant and artisan economy, private capitalist economy and mixed economy), giving it the task of leading these other sectors to a complete development in the service of the people, and thus preparing the way for peaceful and continuous progress towards socialism.

All enterprises which belonged to bureaucratic capitalism have been confiscated and have become the property of the People's State.

Nearly four-fifths of all heavy industry and more than one-third of light industry is now operated by the State.

Enterprises which were owned by the national bourgeoisie have been freed from their subjection to national and foreign monopolies. Wherever they serve the country's needs and the people's means of existence, they receive protection and encouragement from the People's Government.

The gap between production and distribution of industrial goods, an inevitable phenomenon of semi-colonial economic regimes, has disappeared.

It should be particularly noted that in the new economic orientation, in transport, among others, the State owns the entire railway network, 42 per cent of coastal and river shipping—most of which was formerly owned by the imperialists—and 30 per cent of passenger and commercial road transport.

Monetary and banking reform has played a leading role in the economic reconstruction of New China. For the first time in its history, the monetary system has been stabilised and unified on a national basis. The inflation which ravaged the country for twelve years has been ended, and foreign currency exchange has today been placed under the effective control of the People's Bank.

Variations in prices have not exceeded 5 per cent since March 1950 and since January 1952 prices have been reduced by an average of 5 per cent. A balanced budget, the intensive expansion of production, the successes of the State and co-operative enterprises, which have made it possible to carry through effective price control, have, together with the monetary reform, formed the basis of price stabilisation, and of price reductions since January 1952.

The Great Tasks of the Working Class

The workers' living conditions have been considerably improved in comparison with the former regime, both as regards wages—which have doubled and even trebled—and also from the point of view of social institutions (social insurance, dispensaries, sanatoria, rest homes, etc.). Nevertheless, the workers know quite well that there are still great sacrifices to be made:

—to resist the imperialists, who have not abandoned their plans of war for the reconquest of China;

—to reconstruct the country, devastated by 30 years of war;

—to establish the bases for a solid industrialisation of the country and to provide the peasants with the agricultural machinery which they must have in order to increase production;

—to widen considerably the health, social and cultural network, the embryo of which has been created, etc.

Thus the working class of People's China, solidly organised in its trade unions, is making sure of a progressive and continual improvement in its living conditions, and has attained such a high level of understanding of collective responsibility that all individual egotistical thoughts have been banished, and the interests of the nation have been placed before all other considerations.

There are many examples of this in People's China. There are the workers of a large textile factory in Shanghai who gave up part of their wages immediately after the liberation in order to provide funds for their factory, and thus save it.

There are the examples of students who, in order to be allowed to volunteer to fight the American invader in Korea, falsify their age or plead with doctors who refuse to pass them as fit for military service.

The workers of People's China know how much their standard of living depends upon the maintenance of peace in the world.

In short, the working class of People's China intends to ensure completely the existence of the new regime which it has won in battle before securing premature advantages from it which might endanger it.

To quote the words of one of the many people to whom we spoke: "It would serve no purpose for the New China to destroy the road along which it is marching towards Socialism."

Eager Youth

We were particularly struck by the eagerness of the young people, men and women, in the building of the new regime. Besides their intensive work in school or in the factories—for all are avid to learn—the mass participation of young people in cultural and sports clubs shows that New China is firmly directed towards healthy and constructive understanding which makes for a vigorous people.

Helped by leading authors and composers, the young people showed us moving artistic demonstrations glorifying work, the unity of the workers and peasants, freedom, the spirit of sacrifice, morality and peace, all that is good and clean in life, the reverse of the corruption and the sordid egotism of professional pleasure-seekers.

We came to the opinion that art is at the service of the people in New China, and that this is a great and beautiful thing.

Social and Cultural Achievements

The delegation was pleased to note the social achievements of the People's Government headed by Mao Tse-tung, which show that the words of its declarations in favour of the working class are matched by deeds. In fact, we were able to see, in a large linen factory recently built in Hangchow, that the premises provided to the workers for social work at the factory were considered to be as important as the factory itself.

There was everything—housing for the staff, canteen, trade union offices, a collective laundry, library, clinics, children's nursery, recreation rooms and games, meeting and concert hall, sports grounds, etc. This is in complete contrast to the colonial, and even the capitalist, countries, where one has to fight to obtain even the slightest amount for social work (where it exists at all).

The fight against illiteracy, one of the most shameful heritages of the old regime, is carried on in a way the effectiveness of which is shown by the results already obtained. It should be known that about 80% of the population of China was illiterate before the liberation. In Shanghai alone, 222,954 people are at present attending courses for illiterates, following the universally known Chi Kien-kwa method.

The workers are also developing their political understanding, thus making themselves further aware of the major role of the working class in the building of socialism.

Housing is one of the main preoccupations of the People's Government, and it is being carried on with a speed to which the delegation was pleased to pay tribute.

We were able to visit one of the many workers' towns presently being built throughout the country, and we noted the great progress in housing conditions which are thus progressively being made available to the workers in New China.

The Work of the Trade Union Organisations

The People's Government shows great solicitude for the workers' trade unions, which are the vanguard of the constructive forces of New China.

They are given the best premises and the means to work in good conditions.

Besides constant care for the improvement of living conditions, working conditions, health, safety and workers' housing, the trade unions are working to win the battle of production and to raise the political and cultural level of the workers. In the present situation of the country, they have thus been given one of the main tasks and one of the main responsibilities by the People's Government.

These fundamental changes in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial economic conditions of China have been made possible by the victory and the strengthening of the dictatorship of People's Democracy. They are the result of the unselfish labour of the workers and peasants, of the increasingly strong unity which is being built around the Communist Party and the People's Government, and the links of solidarity which they have established with their friends in all countries of the world, and especially with the Soviet Union.

A People Eager for Peace

After all that the delegation saw, and which is briefly reported here, we came to realise how eager the Chinese people are for peace so that they may be able to devote all their time and strength to the reconstruction of their country on the new basis, which leads to socialism, and thus to happiness and well-being.

Under these conditions, one can understand the indignation of these people against the shameful bacteriological warfare which has been unleashed by the American imperialists on their frontiers and their territory. Feeling themselves to be beaten, the American imperialists have abandoned all reserve and are acting more like beasts than human beings.

On this point, the delegation was able, during its visit to Peking, to see with its own eyes the evidence of the bacteriological crimes committed by the American imperialists.

We affirm that the first preoccupation at all times of the whole population of People's China is action for lasting peace in the world. We repeat, everywhere and at all times, that in the streets, in the trains, in the shops, in the theatre, in the ordinary course of life, in the smallest demonstrations as in the mightiest, like

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Confidence and happiness is to be seen on the faces of these miners freed from the cruel exploitation of the former regime.

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A great effort to increase production and to industrialise the country is made in People's China. Here is the spinning department of the Heng Yuan Cotton Mill.

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These peasants of Honan Province are enthusiastically burning the old title-deeds of the landlords and in so doing show their attachment to the regime which has freed them from oppression.

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those of May Day 1952, the Chinese people demand peace with all their might, and act to achieve it.

The delegation considers as its duty to say what it feels on this subject. The desire for peace of the whole Chinese people is absolutely sincere, for it conforms to their humane sentiments, as it also conforms to the people's need to take part in peaceful work, which is sufficient to occupy all their time and energy.

We have promised to speak this truth on our return to Algeria, and we have done so.

We hope that we shall be heard by all decent people who have been deceived in a shameful way by the reactionary Press and radio.

It is not shells and atom bombs which we must exchange with the Chinese people, but materials and products useful to the life of the peoples, for this is possible and desirable in the interests of all.

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WE have come to the end of our declaration on what we have seen and felt in travelling over part of the immense territory of People's China.

We are aware that there are similarities from all points of view between that country and our Algeria. We understand better why the most savage repression weighs upon Algerians of all viewpoints and origins who are fighting for the liberation of their country. The colonialists who oppress our Algeria are afraid of the example shown by the Chinese people.

This example is also very instructive for us, and we shall try to draw the greatest possible advantage from it in the interests of the Algerian people.

Peking, May 26, 1952.

SIGNED

Braham Moussa, tobacco worker, Chairman of the Delegation.

Secretaries of the Delegation

Bourouiba Boualem and **Babou Abdel-Kader,** railwaymen.

Members of the Delegation

Bidi Mohamed, bank employee.
Benghazhi Cheikh, municipal employee.
Brider Abdel-Kader, health service employee.
Hachlaf Mohamed, metalworker.
Hababa Ali, miner.
Liddi Pierre, gas and electricity employee.
Meutseur Driss, health service employee.
Naib Mohamed, agricultural worker.
Fereto Baptiste, docker.
Zitouni Hamed, municipal worker.

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Note—All Sub-titles have been added by the editors of *World Trade Union Movement*.

From the Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.) to Metal and Engineering Workers throughout the World

THE 650,000 steel workers belonging to the C.I.O. steel union have been on strike in the United States since 1st June for wage increases and a collective agreement, measures which the employers and the government have put off for 6 months.

Since last November, 1951, negotiations have been carried on to replace the former collective agreement, which expired on 31st December, 1951. That is to say, for 6 months United States steelworkers have been working without any kind of guarantee for wages which have not been increased for two years during a period when the cost of living has risen unprecedentedly.

Since the beginning of these negotiations the great fighting spirit of the steelworkers has not ceased to show itself in many forms. Before April 8th, the date on which the first strike was to have been held, they let the blast furnaces go out and the Inland steelworkers at Chicago demonstrated in front of their factory for a wage increase and the signing of an agreement. This activity has been carried out since the month of April at Pittsburg, for example, where 2,400 workers went on strike against the dismissal of 50 workers accused of "go slow" tactics. Finally, as soon as there was a radio announcement that the Supreme Court had declared the seizure illegal, work ceased immediately in certain factories ahead of the strike order for June 1st.

The work stoppage of the 650,000 workers in this essential basic industry in the United States is of great importance today in the development of working class action, both within the country and on the international level.

The success of the strike represents a serious check for the government. The special advantages obtained by the 650,000 steelworkers will considerably help the workers in other industries to build up their struggles in support of their claims, thus compromising the whole of the repressive and warlike measures taken by the Truman administration, that is to say, the wage-freeze, the super-exploitation of the working masses and the speed-up in armament production.

The Wall Street masters, using "sacred needs of national defence" as a pretext, have already proved that they are ready to use this dispute as a trial of strength and to make use of it to smash all working class resistance to their policy of freezing wages and suppressing democratic liberties.

This strike is also important in that it affects one of the basic industries of the United States, the 92 companies in question producing 95 per cent of the country's output of steel, that is to say, 105 million tons a year.

This is the reason why the masters of the United States, in attempting to strangle the steel strike, are employing all means at their disposal, both legal and illegal, to hold up the settlement of these working class claims and to prevent the exercise of trade union rights. With this in view, they intervene directly in negotiations for agreements and President Truman last April seized the steel mills, thus by an arbitrary government action trampling on the rights of the workers and playing the game of the steel trusts.

In order to break the present strike and in an attempt to stop future strikes, government circles drew up laws with the intention of depriving the working class of its principal means of struggle. Thus the steelworkers, along with the whole of the workers of the United States, are at present struggling against the Smith Bill which, amongst other provisions, permits the government to take over trade unions and their funds in case of a dispute compromising economic stability.

This threat weighs not only upon all American workers, but upon those of the countries where the governments submit to Washington directives and its anti-democratic procedures.

For this reason, the struggle of the American steelworkers must be supported by workers in all countries defending their living conditions, their liberties and peace.

METAL AND ENGINEERING WORKERS,

The TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF METAL and ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES, in the name of its 10 million members, once more extends its fraternal greetings to the American steelworkers and reiterates its support for them in the struggle for better living and working conditions.

The Trade Unions International calls upon the metal and engineering workers of all countries to demonstrate their active solidarity in order to support the courageous struggle of the American steelworkers.

Make known as widely as possible the struggle of the American steelworkers. Every worker must know that in the United States, the workers are forcefully and unitedly protecting themselves against their exploiters and defending their threatened rights.

See that your messages of solidarity are distributed as widely as possible by sending them to the Press and the radio in your country. In supporting the struggle of the steelworkers in the United States, the workers of all countries will be struggling at the same time for their own well-being, freedom and peace.

LONG LIVE THE STRIKE OF THE UNITED STATES STEELWORKERS!

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!

Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries
(Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)

Henri JOURDAIN
General Secretary.

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Messages of solidarity can be sent, among others, to:
Philip MURRAY, United Steelworkers of America, 155 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburg 22 (Pa.), U.S.A.

We Must Save Ambatielos and his Companions

THE lives of A. Ambatielos, V. Bokrakos and eight other brave leaders of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions are again in imminent danger. On the orders of the American imperialists, the Monarcho-Fascists intend to bring them before a court martial on August 21, seeking to give a semblance of legality to the monstrous crime which they are preparing to commit. The blood of Beloyannis is not yet dry, and they are ready to strike again.

The workers and all democrats of the world will not allow this to happen.

By resolute united action they will hold back the arm which struck down Beloyannis. They will save the lives of Ambatielos and his comrades.

We publish below the appeal issued by the Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International with the certainty that this appeal will be heard by all seamen and dockers and by all democrats throughout the world.

COMMUNIQUE

From the Trade Unions International of Seamen and Dockers Against the Terror in Greece and the trial of A. AMBATIELOS and his nine comrades by Special Military Tribunal

THE Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International again recalls to the seamen and portworkers of the world that since 1948, ten Greek seamen, all trade union leaders, have been under arrest by the Greek authorities, accused of conspiracy against the government.

On November 9th 1948, the Athens Special Military Tribunal condemned them to death *in spite of the absence of any proof of their guilt.*

These ten seamen are: A. AMBATIELOS, General Secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, V. BOKRAKOS, Secretary of the Engine Room Staff Union, A. RAPPESIS, Treasurer of the same Union, D. GALATIS, P. TIMOYANAKIS, DIAKROUSIS, KATSANIS, A. GOTSIS, LAMBADARIOS and D. KOLIARKIS.

Popular protest throughout the world has, up to now, prevented this crime from being committed. It has forced the Fascist executioners to review the trial.

In the September 1951 elections, AMBATIELOS was elected to Parliament by the people of Piraeus, but regardless of this he has been kept in prison together with other militants who were also elected to Parliament.

The Greek Monarcho-Fascist Government does not want to release its victims even though the people of Greece and the democratic countries have demanded that they be tried by a Civil Court where guarantees of defence would be ensured. The Greek Government seeks to bring them again before a Court Martial on August 21st 1952, where, as facts have proved, no guarantee is given to the defence to exercise its rights.

This fact shows what value can be put on the amnesty about which this government of reaction has been speaking for a long time but which it has never put into operation, not even to respect the will of the electorate. It illustrates well the fascist regime set up in Greece by the VENIZELOS-PLASTIRAS group, with the support of the government of the American millionaires.

The fate of these heroic militants now depends on international action and workers' solidarity.

The Seamen and Dockers' Trade Unions International (T.D. of the W.F.T.U.) again warns the Seamen and Portworkers and their organisations, and calls on them to intensify their action not only to obtain a Civil Trial for AMBATIELOS and his nine comrades, but to obtain a real general amnesty so that the tens of thousands of militants and workers whose only crime is that they are resolute and consistent fighters for freedom, democracy and peace can be redeemed from fascist jails.

Not a single meeting should be held in the ports or on ships without a resolution, letter or telegram being adopted and sent to the Greek Government in Athens, to the Greek consular authorities in the ports, to Captains of Greek ships, to the United Nations (Human Rights Commission), Lake Success, New York (U.S.A.).

Through unity and international action we shall not only win the release of AMBATIELOS and his nine comrades, but we shall force an amnesty for all the victims of Monarcho-Fascist reaction in Greece.

THE TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF SEAMEN AND PORTWORKERS
Vienna, June 16th 1952.

Readers Forum...

● **WE publish two letters received by the W.F.T.U. from two countries, differently situated and distant from each other, but dealing with a similar problem—the systematic and deliberate violation by the government authorities of trade union rights and liberties.**

The first is from Colombia, dated June, 1952. The name of the writer and the town from which the letter comes have been omitted because of the danger to which he and his organisation would be exposed.

The second is from the South African Trades and Labour Council, dated May 28, 1952. It describes the attempts of the Malan government to destroy trade union democracy. The W.F.T.U. has protested to the South African government and to the United Nations against these flagrant fascist-like attacks. (See *W.T.U.M.* No. 13 for the W.F.T.U.'s protest to the United Nations.)

Such fascist methods are signs of weakness, not of strength. As the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau has pointed out, the invincible surge of the mass movement will sweep away all obstacles to the free exercise of trade union rights.

From A Colombian Trade Unionist

"In the first place, I would like to inform you that the Congress of our organisation has just been held. Our object in calling this Congress was to rouse widespread discussion on the main problems of interest to the workers, that is, the political situation in the country and in the world, the organisation of the workers in our trade unions, workers' unity, and the financial situation of our organisations. However, because of the dictatorship under which we live, in order to hold a meeting of this kind, it is first of all necessary to obtain a permit from the Ministry of Labour and the military authorities of the region, then from the Chief of the Security Police. But, it is well understood that these permits are granted only under the strictest conditions.

For example, here are some of the conditions taken verbatim from the minutes of the interview between the representatives of our organisation and the Military Commandant of the region:

". . . Every proposal and every report to be presented to the Congress will first have to be seen and approved by the Military Commandant.

". . . Not more than six delegates can speak in the discussion on the report; each one will be given a time limit of five minutes and must keep strictly to the problems put forward in the report. The right to speak will be immediately withdrawn from any delegate not fulfilling these conditions. . . .

". . . Any delegate who deals with proposals of a political character will be called to order the first time. But should he repeat the offence, he will immediately be ejected from the hall. If this occurs more than twice, the Military Commandant will suspend the Congress and occupy the hall with troops.

". . . The Military Commandant will have the right to suspend any session, if, for any reason whatsoever, he consider it necessary to preserve order, that is, to prevent the Congress from departing from its agenda."

You can imagine the extremely difficult situation in which we held our Congress. We managed, however, in spite of everything, to evade to a certain degree the rigidity of the regulations which were forced on us, and we can say that the basic problems that we have already referred to above were dealt with, though only in a very superficial way.

We were, however, forbidden to say one single word about world peace; on the other hand, the various officials and military chiefs who supervised the meeting (the representatives of the Ministry of Labour, the police and the Military Commandant accompanied by 15 armed soldiers ready to intervene), and for whom, of course, the speaking time was not limited, lost no opportunity to put over their slanders and their lies concerning the progressive leaders and the peace supporters, and showed their hatred of the workers.

All that, however, does not impress us. We are continuing our fight for better conditions and for world peace with greater energy and in high spirits. We know that the angry outbursts of our enemies are not signs of their strength but of their powerlessness and fear of the masses. That is why we are facing the attacks of these wild beasts—but wild beasts who are mortally wounded—with courage and complete confidence in our final victory."

From South Africa

"You will no doubt already be aware from news services of recent events in South Africa concerning the removal by the government of a number of trade union officials in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

This Council is a National Co-ordinating body of trade unions and has affiliated to it 60 unions throughout South Africa representing 85,056 affiliated members of all races.

Three of the trade union officials whom the government has attempted to remove from office are members of our National Executive Committee. These are E. S. Sachs, General Secretary, Garment Workers' Union; I. Wolfson, General Secretary, Tailoring Workers' Industrial Union; and R. H. Fleet, General Secretary, S.A. Hairdressers Employees' Industrial Union.

In addition, the following, themselves non-Europeans, have been ordered to resign from their unions which consist of non-Europeans (African and Coloured Workers):

J. B. Marks, African Mine Workers' Union; L. Bhoola, Secretary of the Johannesburg Branch of the Tinworkers' Union; T. Gwala, Secretary, Howick Rubber Workers' Union.

The Suppression of Communism Act, under which these measures have been taken, was opposed by the whole trade union movement with the exception of only a few trade unions. The provisions of the Act are an abrogation of the rule of law as such in as much as:

(a) Acts which were lawful in the past are now made unlawful retrospectively,

(b) The rights of citizens to have recourse to the Courts of the land is removed,

(c) "Authorised Officers" are given the right to enter and search any premises including private homes, etc., at any time without a warrant,

(d) any person who *in the opinion of the Minister of Justice* is or was a Communist is subject to this law, and "Communism" and "Communist" are so widely defined that any person who disagrees with the views of the governing party can be named "Communist." In fact, none of the trade unionists against whom the Minister has acted has conducted any Communist activities since the passing of the Act and in the case of Mr. E. S. Sachs, he was expelled from the Communist Party of South Africa more than twenty years ago. Government spokesmen have stated, and we are in any case well aware of the fact, that these persons are only the first with whom the government intends dealing.

Quite apart from the interference with their liberties as individuals, the government's action is a direct interference with our trade unions. Officials who are constitutionally elected are being removed because the government does not like their views, and the right of trade union members to elect their own officials is taken from them. We are, however, fully aware that this is the latest stage, preceded and to be followed by others, in an attempt to stifle all opposition to the government's anti-democratic laws.

It is not necessary for us to remind you of the pattern followed by the Nazis in Germany and the fascists in Italy in destroying every vestige of democracy and liberty in their own unhappy countries.

The members of the Garment Workers' Union, in protest against the government's action in removing Mr. Sachs who has been their Secretary for twenty-five years, held a lawful meeting on the City Hall steps in Johannesburg on Saturday, the 24th instant. Apart from garment workers, many thousands of other citizens attended the meeting, their numbers being estimated variously from 12,000 to 25,000—our own estimate being nearer the latter figure. After two or three other speakers had addressed the meeting, Mr. Sachs himself was called upon to speak and during the course of his address a posse of police in the most deliberately provocative action marched out of the City Hall in full view of the gathering, forced their way through the crowd and arrested Mr. Sachs. A small section of the crowd immediately around the entrance to the City Hall demonstrated their anger by throwing the small sticks which bore pennants carrying various slogans after the retiring police, who replied with a most savage attack of batons, chairs and parts of broken chairs on all and sundry. Press photographs clearly show the indiscriminate attack which was later repeated. I am enclosing a number of press cuttings, which speak more eloquently of what occurred.

The attack by the government on the freedom and independence of the trade unions has incensed vast sections of the population and following as it does on the removal of a Member of Parliament and a Member of the Cape Provincial Council and the introduction of the High Court of Parliament Bill, has outraged all lovers of liberty in South Africa and we are sure throughout the world.

The Council appeals to the trade union movement of the world to express in no uncertain terms their indignation and their protests against the onslaught on trade unionism and the liberties of the people.

We appeal to you as fellow trade unionists and democrats to support the trade union movement of South Africa in every possible way, including sending your protests to the government of South Africa and to the representatives of this government in your country.

Your moral and financial support is urgently needed and if you can help us financially that too will be most welcome.

With many thanks and trade union greetings,

Your fraternally,

(signed) **Dulcie M. Hartwell,**
Joint General Secretary,
South African Trades and
Labour Council.

Tunisian Workers Are Uniting Despite the I.C.F.T.U's Effort to Divide Them

THE publication of the American Admiral Fechteler's report has exposed the real intentions of the American imperialists in North Africa : to make it the main base for aggression against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. To achieve this objective they are intensifying their military efforts. With the complicity of certain nationalist leaders, they are trying to win the peoples to their warlike cause by chattering about national independence and by letting them catch a glimpse of the possibility of an "alliance," that is, a compromise effected at the expense of the people.

Naturally, the American leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), agents of the imperialists within the international working class movement, are doing their utmost to make possible the manoeuvres of their leaders.

In this connection, the vote as to whether or not the Security Council should consider the question of Tunisia is full of lessons.

In fact, the French, British and American imperialist governments have made common cause against the Tunisian people.

The abstention of the United States delegates cannot fool anyone. By abstaining, and provoking the same attitude on the part of the Greek and Turkish delegates, the American rulers prevented the discussion of the Tunisian problem by the Security Council.

This attitude has considerably hampered the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. and the American trade unions, both the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) and the Congress of Industrial Organisations (C.I.O.), from developing their habitual demagogy in connection with the national demands of the colonial peoples.

The leadership of the General Union of Tunisian Workers (U.G.T.T.), affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., whose leader, Farhat Hached, has just made a tour of the United States after conversations in Brussels with the I.C.F.T.U. and *Force Ouvrière* leaders, recently issued a statement on the results of these visits. The Administrative Committee of the U.G.T.T. "thanks the I.C.F.T.U. for the effective support it has given to the Tunisian workers."

Let us see what sort of "support" this is.

The *A.F.L. News Reporter,* organ of the A.F.L., wrote concerning the abstention of the American delegates at the United Nations:

"But the act endangers strategically important U.S. air bases in North Africa. We have alienated the vast Arab and Moslem populations there, as well as aroused the suspicions of colonial peoples everywhere else."

Further, the C.I.O. and A.F.L. declared in a joint communique that they are insistent in their demand that their government reverse its position and use its influence with the French government to grant *real independence so that this people could be mobilised for the fight against aggression."*

Coming from those who are actively supporting the savage aggression of the Americans against the glorious Korean people and the criminal war against the people of Viet-Nam, this becomes quite clear.

The American "trade union" leaders do not want to mobilise the Tunisian people against the French imperialists who are massacring Tunisian women and children, pillaging, killing, imprisoning tens of thousands of Tunisian, Moroccan, and Algerian patriots, but against those who firmly, constantly and unconditionally support the just national demands of all colonial and dependent peoples, that is, against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies.

But the declaration by Mr. Farhat Hached and the leaders of the U.G.T.T., whose aim is to deceive the Tunisian workers by keeping them divided and to chain the people to the American war machine, is not preventing united action from developing against the French colonialists.

The example of the South Tunisian miners who are fighting in the most complete unity demonstrates this.

And a growing number of Tunisian workers are responding to the appeal made by the great World Federation of Trade Unions, calling on them to unite in powerful action committees regardless of their trade union affiliation, political or religious beliefs.

The recent W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau passed an important resolution with regard to the workers of North Africa. Taking note of the fact that the Moroccan and Tunisian questions will be posed at the next session of the United Nations, the Executive Bureau demands that they be considered. They ask the workers of the world to take action for the revocation of the death sentences on five Tunisian patriots and for their immediate release from prison.

By means of its own struggle and with the support of the international working class, the Tunisian people will free themselves from the colonialist yoke and will take their fate into their own hands.

A.R.

World Trade Union Unity

IT is well known that from the early beginnings of the trade union movement in this country one of its aspirations was that some day there would be an international organisation with which the trade unions throughout the world would be associated.

We, of course, in Britain have in one way or another, through federations, been associated with the trade unions in other countries. But never had we been successful in reconciling the differences of the trade unions throughout the world to such an extent and degree that it was able to establish a world trade union movement.

It was, therefore, a day of great jubilation when in 1945 there came into being, with the single exception of the American Federation of Labour, the World Federation of Trade Unions.

This world trade union organisation originated in an emergency resolution of the British Trade Union Congress at Southport in 1943, and its first World Congress took place in London in February, 1945.

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P., speaking in this Congress stated: "I know of no other body in the world, diverse as we are in colour, race, creed and nationality, where men stick together as working people have got to do." He went on to say: "Many upsets and differences will occur, but they will not deter us if we can only keep our transcending belief and faith in the working classes, who have all to gain from peace and all to lose from war—all to gain in combination and co-operative exchange of the products of their labour, and all to lose from fratricidal competition." And yet within a period of three and a half years, this mighty achievement of the trade union movement of this country had been undermined. Whichever side we may individually take, whether it be that of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress or that of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, there can be no doubt that the withdrawal of the British trade union movement from the W.F.T.U. and the setting up of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has not contributed one iota to the improvement of the living standards of the peoples of the world or to the establisment of peace.

On the contrary, we have seen the outbreak of war in Korea, threats of the invasion of the Chinese mainland and, with the development of the national liberation movements of the colonial peoples, the outbreak of war in Malaya, Viet Nam and Indonesia.

Alongside of this we have seen the growth of unemployment in France, Italy, America and Britain, together with a general lowering of the standard of living of the working peoples throughout those countries. And yet in the self-same period the capitalist class throughout the world in pursuance of their policy of rearmament and war have found ways and means to temporarily shelve their differences and unite in common policy for the purpose of achieving the fulfilment of their aims. If ever there was a need for the establishment of international trade union unity then that need was never greater than it is today.

So far in this Conference we have dealt with matters that directly concern the wages and conditions of our members. The keynote that has consistently run through the contributions has been for the improvement of our living standards and the maintenance of peace.

It is not without significance, therefore, to note that those within the leadership of the trade union movement who have been prominent in their support for policies of rearmament, wage freeze and the holding out of the hand of friendship to the Tory government, are precisely those people who played a major role in the withdrawal from the W.F.T.U. and the setting up of the I.C.F.T.U. To where this sort of policy will lead is, I think, amply expressed in an article written by Mr. George Meany who is Secretary-Treasurer of the A.F. of L. and a contributor to the journal of the I.C.F.T.U. He is also a deputy member of the Executive Board of that body.

Mr. Meany states: "We will be under obligation to sell the workers we represent tough government controls because we took part in determining the necessity for such controls. We will be under obligation to tell our people they cannot get wages and working conditions they want and feel they are entitled to. We will, in a sense, become government enforcement agents. But labour leaders generally are willing to undertake this unpopular assignment."

Let me say on behalf of your Executive Council to Mr. George Meany and any trade union leader in this country who may be harbouring similar ideas, that never will the leadership of the Electrical Trades Union associate itself with such policies and declarations. Moreover, it is necessary to fully appreciate that these sorts of policies contain the very essence and ingredients of disunity. . . .

This extremely critical period, in which there lies the possibility of war, at the same time contains within it tremendous opportunities for the working class of the world to force their governments to meet and negotiate peace pacts.

You will recall that the General Secretary in his closing remarks, in moving the motion on peace, emphasised that Britain, pursuing an independent policy of friendship with all nations of the world, together with unfettered trading relations with those countries, could make a major contribution to the maintenance of peace.

He expressed the opinion that if the members of this organisation undertook the task of ensuring that every working man and woman signified their determination to secure peace through all the means at their disposal, they would force our government to change its present policies, to restore Britain's independence and save the peace.

In endorsing that opinion may I add that there is no single mass movement in the world whose power to influence the destinies of the future of our working

people is greater than that of the British trade union movement.

And complementary therefore to our fight for improved living standards, and our fight for peace, is to establish at the earliest opportunity unity between these two international trade union organisations, with the ultimate aim of once again establishing a world trade union organisation.

From a speech of **F. L. Haxell,**
Assistant General Secretary,
Electrical Trades Unions (Great Britain)
to the Annual Conference of the E.T.U.

The Difficult Task of the Working Class in the Free Territory of Trieste

THE economic and political situation of the Free Territory of Trieste not only reflects the general situation of the other capitalist countries subjected to the North American monopolies—the Free Territory of Trieste is included in the Atlantic Pact and the various American "aid" plans—but there are in addition certain peculiarities which aggravate the situation still further.

Five years after the ratification of the Peace Treaty with Italy, the Free Territory of Trieste, envisaged by this treaty, has not yet been set up, and the division of the territory into two zones still exists, zone A being under Anglo-American military occupation, while zone B is occupied by Yugoslav units. Further, both zones are already completely transformed into strategic and military bases in line with the plans of the chiefs of staff of the anti-Soviet camp.

As a result of these circumstances, Trieste has lost its character of a large commercial centre and developing important industrial city, because of its fortunate geographical position. It is also no longer a bridgehead uniting peoples of different nationalities. All that belongs to the past. The very close ties with the natural hinterland which formerly characterised the activities of Trieste have been artificially cut by the anti-Soviet policy pursued, which has caused the isolation of the territory from its hinterland. Today, Trieste is a military base. Economic activity is limited to satisfying the requirements of the occupation forces and is being stifled by the very ends they are pursuing. The port and means of communication are almost exclusively used to supply the needs of the Anglo-Americans stationed in the Free Territory, Austria, and South Germany. Economic relations with the Peoples' Democracies are almost non-existent. Corruption, prostitution, crime, especially among the youth, and the number of suicides are on the increase.

In zone A, which has just over 300,000 inhabitants, there are, according to official figures, 10,000 British and American soldiers. There is an equal number of Yugoslav soldiers in zone B. In addition to the soldiers in zone A, there is a 7,000-man civil police force under the Anglo-American command, not to speak of the agents of the secret services of many countries.

The number of employed workers is just over 90,000, and the government has been obliged to admit that since the end of the war, the number of unemployed in zone A has remained constant at about 20,000, only about 10% of whom receive a meagre allowance. There are 30,000 old age pensioners whose pensions are completely inadequate for even their most immediate needs.

While political conditions are those of a zone under military occupation, with a typically colonial regime guaranteeing neither freedom nor democracy, workers' wages are so low that they are, in general, only half the sum recognised as indispensable by the government to maintain an average family. And these inadequate wages must, in the final analysis, provide for the remaining 50,000 unemployed and pensioned workers who cannot support themselves.

The great evil of unemployment, inadequate remuneration, poverty and the presence of occupation troops, these are the unfortunate conditions of the Trieste working class.

The Confederation of United Trade Unions of Trieste, affiliated to the W.F.T.U., is leading the struggle of the Trieste workers to ensure that Trieste resumes the function that history and its geographical position have assigned to it. Trieste must once again become a trading centre and port for trade between central Europe and the East and West. Trieste needs its ships and work for its shipyards. It must produce, its ships must sail the seas and carry goods in order to give work and bread to its 20,000 unemployed. It must increase wages and allowances to improve the workers' standard of living and to save from ruin the small and middle employers whose existence depends on purchases by the working population. Military occupation makes the economic crisis still worse; that is why it is necessary to fight for the departure of the occupation troops from the two zones, for the unification of the two zones, for the restoration of freedom and for Trieste to become once again a port for peace.

Those are the principal demands of the working class in the Free Territory of Trieste. They were discussed during the 4th Congress of the Confederation of United Trade Unions of Trieste which took place on April 19 and 20, 1952, and are the main points of the action programme of the United Trade Unions.

The 4th Congress also devoted a great deal of its time and attention to the extremely important fact that in Trieste there is a deep cleavage in the working class camp, due especially to the lack of any solution to the problem of the Trieste State and the struggles carried

Three views of the 1952 May Day demonstrations in Trieste.

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Above: Banners call upon shopkeepers and artisans for solidarity in their own interests with workers struggling for higher wages. In the background can be seen a placard reading "Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions."

★

Below: The centre poster announces that 8,000 lodgings are needed for 30,000 homeless persons.

out in relation to this problem. For the most advanced section of the working class, the re-establishment of working class unity is the essential condition and the fight for its achievement must never be abandoned.

Factors leading to division in the Free Territory are still strong. On the one hand Titoism, rejected with disgust by the working class, has dishonoured and soiled the fine traditions of the Trieste working class movement, and is continuing its work of demoralisation and division on the fringes of the working class movement. On the other hand, Italian chauvinism, represented in the workers' ranks by the Trades Council, supported by the Italian government, subordinates any demand of an economic or social character to the goal of uniting all the Free Territory with Italy, thus aggravating the national question to its maximum. These two national trends are playing right into the hands of the Anglo-American warmongers, who are thus able to continue their military occupation of the entire Free Territory of Trieste indefinitely.

That is why the Confederation of United Trade Unions places in the forefront of its activities the fundamental question of workers' unity which, in this little corner of the world, means solidarity and fraternity between Italians, Slovenes, and Croats.

Ernesto Radich,
General Secretary of the Confederation of United Trade Unions of the Free Territory of Trieste.

Arab Workers in Israel Suffer National Oppression and Racial Discrimination

IN Israel the Arab national minority, which numbers over 170,000, suffers national oppression and racial discrimination expressed through military rule which has been enforced on the Arab population areas since the creation of the State of Israel. The brunt of this rule is borne by the workers and peasants.

Under this rule, citizens are not allowed to practice their democratic rights in electing their municipal or local councils and are subjected to the domination of the remaining feudal reactionaries. Democrats and trade unionists face oppression, discrimination and intimidation. Trade union rights and freedoms are violated. Marketing of agricultural products is concentrated in the hands of greedy exploiters and vast areas of peasants' lands are confiscated under the pretext of "security." Communications, irrigation, health, education and other services which are of vital importance to the people are very backward.

In order to enter or leave the military-ruled areas, a person must obtain a special permit from the military authorities. The difficulties arising from these permits and the laws pertaining to them cause great inconvenience to the workers. Often they lose their long-awaited job because of refusal of the authorities to issue the necessary permits to enable them to reach their places of employment.

The issue of these permits is subject to the consent of the employers; no worker receives a permit without producing a certificate from an employer testifying that he is required. Naturally, this arrangement permits employers to increase their pressure on the workers. Thus, no certificates for the renewal of permits were given to many workers who demanded wage increases and improvement of working conditions; since they could not reach their place of work they lost their jobs.

No plans have been developed in the Arab populated areas to provide employment for the workers. They are therefore compelled to seek work in other parts of the country nothwithstanding the laws restricting their free movement. Thus thousands of them regularly come before military courts under the charge of leaving their residence without permits and are fined, sometimes more than £100, and are imprisoned sometimes for more than one year.

Furthermore, the permit regulations are being used as a means of suppressing freedom of trade union organisation. In many cases the workers, in order to obtain their permits, directly or indirectly are required to join the "Israel Labour League," a government-controlled organisation, the purpose of which is to disrupt the workers' struggle and weaken the fight for improving their conditions and for eliminating discrimination.

In a district called the Triangle, inhabited by about thirty thousand Arabs, the authorities have completely banned trade union organisations; trade unionists are forbidden to enter that district; workers who are active in forming trade union organisations are persecuted in every possible way. Three members of the Arab Trade Union Congress (A.T.U.C.) from Taiba village, because of their activities in defence of the rights of the workers and peasants, were brought before a military court last year under framed-up charges and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from four to eight months. Workers in that district are completely deprived of travel permits to other towns and villages in search of employment. In consequence of this, unemployment, poverty and deprivation are their lot, and the few who are employed in temporary and seasonal work there are brutally exploited, their wages hardly equal to one-third of the wages paid in other parts of the country.

Even in districts where workers have been allowed to organise, in Nazareth and the other parts of Galilee, trade unionists are persecuted, imprisoned and deprived of travel permits for no reason other than loyally and

honestly defending the rights of the working class. In December, 1951, a member of the secretariat and four other organisers of the A.T.U.C. were arrested by police because they led a strike of olive-pickers in Western Galilee.

Genuine trade union organisations are persecuted and trade union rights are violated. The most flagrant attack on the freedom of trade union organisations was the banning of the 5th National Congress of the A.T.U.C. which was scheduled to be held in Nazareth in September 1950. This congress was finally held in April 1951, after a persistent struggle of the A.T.U.C. supported by thousands of Arab and Jewish workers in Israel, by the W.F.T.U. and the National Centres affiliated to it.

Discrimination in wages and in employment possibilities is common in Israel, especially in governmental and semi-governmental employment. Wages of the Arab workers do not exceed sixty per cent of the wages of their Jewish colleagues engaged in the same work. An Arab worker in the Public Works Department of the Ministry of Labour receives from I£ (Israeli pound) 1.5 to I£2 daily while a Jewish worker received from I£2.75 to I£3 and more; in Solel-Boneh, a Histadrut building co-operative, the wages of unskilled Arab workers range from I£1.5 to I£2 daily, while the wages of his Jewish colleague is not less than I£2.75. An Arab teacher in the employment of the Ministry of Education receives no more than I£60 a month (and that only recently after bitter struggle) while his Jewish colleague with the same qualifications receives not less than I£90.

In addition to this the Arab workers must travel dozens of miles every day to and from their place of work, paying a large part of their wages as travel expenses because they are not free to settle where they wish.

Workers and office employees often lose their jobs because of their political conviction or trade union affiliation. The large enterprises, especially government controlled or semi-government workshops, demand as a condition of employment that Arab workers affiliate to the Government-controlled union "Israel Labour League." Arab workers are not allowed to register with the General Labour Exchanges, which are restricted to Jewish workers only. Arab workers seek employment in the free market and are thus exposed to harsh exploitation by the employers. Such conditions are made possible by the policy of the reactionary Mapai leadership in the Histadrut who at the same time lead the government. While banning Arab workers from joining the Histadrut as equals, they carry out a policy detrimental to both Jewish and Arab workers.

The Arab workers and toiling masses fully realise that this policy, planned and executed by the reactionary Mapai leadership in the Histadrut and the government, is part and parcel of a policy inimical and detrimental to the interests of all the Israeli working class, Jews and Arabs alike, and is a policy of subservience to the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, a policy of war preparations. Thus the A.T.U.C. leads the struggle of the Arab toiling masses against discrimination and national oppression as part of the country-wide struggle against war preparation and for peace. Tens of thousands of Jewish workers support the A.T.U.C.'s struggle against military rule, for equal rights, and for the unity of Jewish and Arab workers within one general trade union organisation.

The general struggle of Jewish and Arab workers against the policy of impoverishment and war is intensifying daily with the deterioration of the workers' conditions.

During the year 1951, important battles were waged by the Israeli working class in defence of their interests and in most cases in the face of the sabotage of the Mapai leadership of the Histadrut. Significant was the Metal Workers' strike of 2,500 workers which resulted

LEFT: Opening of the 5th National Congress of the Arab Trade Union Congress. The slogans in the background in Arabic read: "Peace cannot be waited for, it must be won." "Long Live the W.F.T.U., leader of working people the world over in their struggle." "Long live the brotherhood of Arab and Jewish workers in the fight for trade union unity." RIGHT: The Arab Trade Union Congress celebrates May Day 1952 with fraternal greetings to the W.F.T.U., the Soviet Trade Unions, the Jewish workers in Israel and to all people in the world fighting to preserve peace and friendship among all peoples.

in an 18% wage increase; the railway workers' and locomotive drivers' strikes; the seamen's strike, which was a heroic struggle in defence of trade union rights and better conditions; the Arab agricultural workers' strike, and the building and stone workers' strikes. Police and Army are used against workers defending their rights. Every form of intimidation is resorted to. But the workers wage their struggles with determination, becoming increasingly aware of the treachery of the Mapai leadership.

The Arab workers and peasants fully realise that the policy of racial discrimination and national oppression is part of the policy of the agents of imperialism and war. Hence their active participation in the campaign for peace. The appeal for a peace pact, which has been signed by more than 401,000 citizens of Israel, or more than 43% of the adult population. The A.T.U.C. has mobilised its members in support of this appeal, along with other organisations. The success of the peace movement is our success, the success of the struggle for work, bread, equality and friendship between the peoples.

Salim Qasim,
Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Arab T.U.C. in Israel.

Repression and War-Mongering in New York Schools

IN April 1950, eight New York teachers were summoned by the Superintendent of Schools to admit or deny membership of the Communist Party. Following their refusal to do either, they were "tried" and dismissed. Then began a persistent and rising attack on the militant New York Teachers' Union. In March 1952 eight more teachers were suspended.

The background to this witch-hunt against militant unionists in the teaching profession is an appalling one of growing political bigotry, religious and racial intolerance, neglect of educational facilities, and encouragement of spying, book bans and general anti-democratic activity. In 1951, the Teachers Center Press of New York published a book by David Alison called *Searchlight, an Expose of New York City Schools.* In order to give workers throughout the world a picture of the atmosphere in which teachers work in the city of the Statue of Liberty, we have chosen some typical examples from this book. The picture they give is a grim one, but the teachers are fighting back. Readers who are interested in their courageous struggle should consult the *Teachers of the World,* published by the World Federation of Teachers Unions (F.I.S.E.), Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.

* * *

It is a second grade class. The children sit listening as the teacher tells a story. Eight-year-old Eduardo tries hard to follow the story, but he has difficulty. The words are strange. Eduardo's mind begins to wander. Perhaps he is thinking of Puerto Rico, from which he has come only eight months before.

Suddenly he is grabbed by the throat by his teacher. She shakes him, throws him to the floor and strikes him with a book. There are bruises, black and blue marks on his face, knees and chest and other parts of his body.

His friends report also that the teacher has shouted: "You little dirty Puerto-Rican, why didn't you stay where you came from!"

A teacher taught a lesson on trusts. In doing so, she followed the textbook outline to the letter. A few days later she was called in by the Principal. A parent had complained that she was a Communist, the teacher was told, because in two lessons she had shown herself to be violently "pro-Russian and against big business!"

Rejecting the teacher's protestations, the Principal ordered her to read the Board of Education's "Strengthening Democracy" bulletins and to teach the lessons as prescribed there, i.e., slanted to create war hysteria against Russia.

* * *

A President of a Parents' Association in Brooklyn reported this exchange with her young son.

As part of his homework, the boy had to use "probably" in a sentence.

Was this a correct use of the word? "There probably will be a war soon."

"Yes, it's correct," said the mother, "but wouldn't it be better to say, 'There probably *won't* be a war soon'?"

"Oh no," quickly replied her son. "I couldn't say that in my class."

* * *

One parent wrote:

My young son, eleven years old, just came home from school. . . . "I am very much upset that our schools should be teaching our children to hate. Why should youngsters learn to hate another country?"

She then told of a song that her child had been taught to sing in school—preparing the children for war against the Soviet Union.

Some of the lines went:

> Now creeps in a menace that may force us to fight.
> Hail, free men, hail. There's danger ahead. Its colour is red.

* * *

It is late at night.

A high school girl tosses in her bed. Suddenly she

awakes with a scream and complains of a "pounding in the head." A doctor is summoned immediately and is forced to give her an injection to quiet her hysteria.

Earlier that day the girl had given her friends a few leaflets about a rally featuring Henry Wallace during the 1948 election campaign. She had been called into the school office and grilled by her Principal and Assistant Principal. She was made to feel that she had committed a serious offense. The girl was in deadly fear of being denied admission to college.

Some time later, the girl's mother conferred with the Principal.

The mother was made to feel that her daughter had committed some unspeakable crime which was to be noted down on her permanent record, and which might keep her out of college some day.

The Principal offered to remove the notation at the end of a year if the girl gave up her "dangerous" interests.

"Your daughter has a good record," said the Principal, "but it would be better if she were a loafer than to have such ideas."

* * *

Two sixth-grade pupils in the school submitted an historical patriotic play. They worked very hard to make it a good play. It even had recorded incidental music—John Henry, Casey Jones, Paul Bunyan, and others. The teacher accepted the play, saying that it would be fine with a few changes.

The two children put on one of the folk songs. The teacher commented on the beautiful voice. One of the children asked her if she knew the singer was Paul Robeson.

The teacher snatched the record from the play and screamed, "That Communist in my class!" and threw the play at the children, telling them she hadn't really liked it. They were Communists and she knew there were others in the class and if they didn't like it here there was a plane leaving Idlewild Airport every hour. If anyone didn't like what she was doing they could get a transfer to another class but she would tell the other teacher about their being Communists and the Board of Education was behind everything she said and did.

Following the incident, the teacher brought a flag in, saying that from then on they would salute the flag and if anyone didn't want to, he or she might leave the room.

Many of the children were hysterical; some went home ill.

* * *

On September 20, 1950, under the heading of Preparation for a National Emergency," a circular was distributed to the teachers of the Central Needle Trades High School in Manhattan.

Under the guise of training the boys in order to reduce death and injury to a minimum in case of an "A" bomb attack, the circular gives the following orders:

III. WHAT CAN THE TEACHER DO?

A. *Home room Teacher.*

1. During the home room period the informal spirit must give way to a stricter and more formal relationship between the teacher and his class. A military discipline should prevail.
2. The swearing of allegiance to the colors should become part of the daily routine.
3. A close inspection of the physical appearance of the student should then follow: shoes shined, clean shirt, neat general appearance, etc. This should be done with military precision with the class at attention.
4. Orders of the Day—Announcements.
5. At the end of the home room period, a Bible reading could be in order (optional).
6. Election (or appointment) of class officers: captain, lieutenant, sergeant.

Need one comment?

J.H.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

ITALY

The Trade Unions and the Defence of Democracy

ALTHOUGH in the broad field of pure politics the difficulties in achieving an alliance between the parties which together founded the Italian Republic are not important, it seems to us that an alliance on a more limited field could more easily and more rapidly be established between the workers' trade unions irrespective of affiliation. It is not, of course, a question of agreeing on a governmental programme nor of organising anti-fascist committees, as some have interpreted it, mistakenly, in our opinion. What we are proposing is an alliance between the trade unions for an effective defence of democratic institutions and the Republic against future possible attempts at a fascist revival, fighting against fascism above all on social grounds. Fascism is distinguished from the older reactionary movements principally in that on the basis of fallacious programmes and the most nauseating social demagogy, it seeks to stir up and to use the poorest section of the population, the discontented, the most disillusioned, the permanently unemployed, the youth who are driven to despair by the absence of any prospect of work and a normal life, the barefooted and ragged for whom some hope must be held out of a speedy solution to the agonising problem of their appalling existence. In other words, fascism seeks to make use of the social disorder of this section of the population, reduced to the most terrible poverty by the looting policy of the monopolies and the great landowners, in order to turn these victims of the system into the support for, and the armed guard, of the very privileged and parasitical circles who are responsible for their situation, and who intend to perpetuate it. To this must be added the complete absence of scruples, an attitude cultivated and idealised by fascism, which enables its pundits to promise all the unfortunates whom they manage to attack, a normal life and the jobs which they desire, knowing all the time that these promises cannot be fulfilled.

The problem of the poor and the desperate, both youth and adults, particularly in Naples and in the south, is one to which the workers' trade unions of various affiliations cannot remain indifferent. If the trade unions were to enter into the alliance for which we are campaigning on the basis of a programme for the economic and social renaissance of the south and the other Italian regions which are economically stagnant, a programme aimed at solving as quickly as possible the vital problems of the poor of whom we have spoken above, they would render a great service to the country. Not only would we rescue the victims of the present social disorder from the false attraction of fascism, but we could also seek to eliminate the causes of this disorder by setting the whole country on the road to economic and social progress. Such an alliance would constitute an irresistible attraction for the mass of the poor people, those whom fascism wishes to trap like stray dogs, would give them confidence in the ability of democracy and of the Republic to solve their vital problems and would provide the trade unions with greater moral authority.

In reply to those who accuse the trade unions of being caught up too often in the web of the political parties, we propose a joint and independent move by the trade unions. Why cannot the trade unions independently adopt a basis of a minimum character which is acceptable to all? Such an alliance would inevitably result in bringing together the parties which established the Republic and the Constitution and will redound still further to the credit of the trade unions.

Giuseppe Di Vittorio,

General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L), *Lavoro*, official organ of the C.G.I.L., 14.6.52.

FRANCE/GERMANY

The Solidarity of French and German Workers—a Decisive Factor in the Defence of Peace

THE workers in Western Germany are showing their opposition to the General Treaty and its appendices by strikes and great demonstrations. They are showing their increasing determination to make this document into a new scrap of paper.

The example of the newspaper printers of Western Germany and West Berlin, who, by their solid strike against the reactionary Factory Law and thus against the General Treaty, prevented the spokesmen and supporters of the Adenauer government from spreading their war propaganda for 48 hours, their lies and their calumnies against patriots and peace supporters, show that if the workers are united they can defeat the plans of the warmongers and sweep away the anti-people's regime of Adenauer.

Though in this decisive hour there are traitors in Germany, not only within the Adenauer government but also among the right-wing trade union leaders, traitors who are sabotaging the fight against the remilitarisation of Western Germany, it is comforting for the workers to know that they have at their side the workers of the whole world, and particularly the French workers. "The German workers must know that they are not isolated. They have the workers of the whole world as loyal and sincere allies," Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, cabled us on the very day of the signing of the General Treaty.

The mighty international solidarity of the workers stands against the international war alliance of the armament kings! The German workers can take to heart the appeal of the W.F.T.U., which called upon them in its telegram: "to unite together still more firmly. Their unity will strengthen the defence of their democratic rights, the struggle for improvement of their material situation, and for peace among the peoples."

We German workers are ready to do everything to make us worthy of the confidence placed in us by the workers of the world, intensifying our fight against the separate treaty and for a peace treaty with a united, democratic and peaceful Germany. We give this assurance above all to you, our French brothers.

"The representatives of the French C.G.T. greet the establishment and the strengthening of the German Democratic Republic," says our joint declaration. Your representatives, brothers, have expressed the wish for the strengthening of the German De-Republic, which is the basis of the struggle of the workers of the whole of Germany for their trade union unity, and of the whole German people for the unity of their nation.

In our Republic, the efforts of our government, our trade union centre, all democratic organisations and parties, and of every worker are devoted to this single aim—to re-establish the unity of Germany on democratic and peaceful bases. Thus, our President, Wilhelm Pieck, our Prime Minister, Otto Grotewohl, and our People's Assembly have addressed themselves on many occasions to the government and parties of Western Germany with a view to achieving the re-unification of Germany. The Executive Bureau of the Free German Federation of Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.) has several times proposed to the leaders of the Western German trade union federation (D.G.B.) measures to be taken with a view to co-ordinating the efforts of the workers of both parts of Germany for the re-establishment of the unity of our nation. Though none of those organisations have taken the hand held out to them, the discussion has been keenly taken up by the workers of East and West Germany.

We know how bitter is the struggle of our West German brothers. That is why the workers of the German Democratic Republic spare themselves nothing in continually improving their work to carry out our five-year plan more quickly, knowing that this is the best way to help our West German brothers. And our workers are fully determined not to allow any enemy, internal or external, to rob them of their economic, political and social gains.

From an article by **Herbert Warnke,** President of the F.D.G.B., in *Le Peuple,* journal of the French C.G.T. 15.6.52.

U.S.S.R.

Don to Volga

THE meeting of the waters of the Volga and the Don, through the newly-completed canal that link the two great rivers, fulfils an ancient dream of the Russian people. The work—begun before the war, interrupted, resumed and, in 1950, accelerated—is an outstanding engineering achievement. Over sixty miles long, the canal joins the river systems of the Volga and Northwest basins and links the White, Baltic and Caspian Seas with the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. By the creation, at the Don end of the canal, of the huge reservoir of Tsymlyansk, the level of water in the river will be raised by over ninety feet, thus making the lower Don navigable to Volga shipping and providing water for irrigating wide areas.

This is the first of the great works of the plan for the "transformation of nature" in southern Russia to be completed. Taken as a whole, the plan, whose total realisation will need many years, is a form of triple assault on the handicapped economies of the southern Ukraine and the great areas between the lower Volga and the Urals. By providing the means of energy, irrigation, and transport, the various schemes are designed to change the face of the land. They include the building of what, it is claimed, will be the world's largest hydro-electric plant at Kuibyshev, on the Volga, whence power will be transmitted to Moscow and other industrial areas; another reservoir at Stalingrad; a reservoir and power station on the Dnieper, which, beyond its supply of electric energy, will water and irrigate more than eight million acres of land in the Ukraine and the Crimea; and, most ambitious of all, a canal to be built along the ancient bed of the Amu Darya, across the Karu Kum desert and so to the Caspian.

Under the terms of a decision taken in 1948, 8 forest zones are to be created by 1965, to break the force of the wind, hold the rain and prevent soil erosion in the Volga area, the Northern Caucasus and the black soil regions of Central Russia. In the Volga basin, where a quarter of the population of all Soviet Russia lives, the Soviet government is seeking to meet the differing needs of agriculture, industry, and commerce. What the Russian engineers are aiming at, in effect, is to transform the Volga's waters into a series of locks and dams, which will yield a huge quantity of electricity, make the river navigable for heavy laden ships at any season, and catch and retain the spring waters for use throughout the year.

The Times (London), 11.6.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

June 15

GREAT BRITAIN — The London Assembly of Women demonstrate in Hyde Park in Central London with banners and slogans to demand the ending of the four-year terror against the Malayan people struggling for national independence.

AUSTRALIA—Following the attacks of the Menzies Tory government against trade union rights, the Australian employers demand a general wage reduction of £2 6s. 0d. per week and four hours increase in the working week.

June 16

WESTERN GERMANY—The wave of protests against the General Treaty continues to grow in Western Germany. A statement is sent to the deputies of the Bonn parliament by members of the D.G.B. (Trade Union Centre under reformist leadership) from Ludwigsburg, calling upon them to oppose ratification of contractual agreements and the agreement to organise a "European Army." Members of the Building Workers' Union of North Rhine-Westphalia unanimously go on record during a meeting against the Bonn militarist agreement and for a peace treaty with Germany.

— The Annual Congress of the Miners' Union of the Saar, the most important trade union in the Saar with 42,000 members, goes on record for the unification of Germany and for a peace treaty. A representative of the French General Confederation of Labour was present at the Congress.

ITALY—One hundred and thirty thousand agricultural workers of the Ferrara region strike for 24 hours to protest against the breaking off of negotiations by the Landowners' Association with three trade union organisations for a new agrarian contract. During the day meetings are held on the principal plantations and farms of Ferrara.

— After many months of discussion, representatives of the three trade union centres sign an agreement with the Industrial Employers' Association calling for an increase in family allowances, a new regulation on dismissal pay and seniority bonuses. The agreement applies to 3,500,000 industrial workers.

UNITED STATES — Five hundred members of the steel strikers' Wage Policy Committee declare their firm intention not to retreat on their wage demands. They condemned presidential candidates General Eisenhower and Senator Taft for demanding that the Taft-Hartley Act be used to break their strike, now in its 14th day.

FRANCE—Once more, despite unemployment which is widespread among port workers, the dockers of La Pallice refuse to unload a ship with munitions and war material.

GUATEMALA—Congress passes an agrarian reform law to liquidate the big landowners and to distribute the land among the peasants. This law satisfies a basic demand of the peasant masses for which the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala and the National Peasants' Confederation have fought long and bitterly.

SWITZERLAND—Twenty-five thousand Berne textile workers participate in a hunger march organised by the Textile Workers' Union. During the demonstration, workers demanded wage increases, safety precautions at work and opposed the speed-up.

ITALY— Despite government bans and provocative police deployment, the arrival of Ridgway raises a wave of protest and anger which spreads throughout the country for three days. Hundreds of strikes, demonstrations and work stoppages take place in the factories.

UNITED STATES — United Mine Workers' of America say in their journal that the question of ending the war in Korea is the question most in the minds of the people. Presidential candidates from the Republican and Democratic parties are criticised for failing to offer answers to this important question.

June 18

VENEZUELA—The military dictatorship has just arrested the outstanding trade union leader Max Garcia, vice-President of the Oil Workers' Trade Union Unity Committee. Workers mobilise throughout the country to secure his release.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS—The Secretariat of the W.F.T.U. draws the attention of the Committee on Human Rights of the United Nations Economic and Social Council to the illegal and unconstitutional act of the Italian government, in flagrant violation of human rights and trade union rights recognised by the United Nations, in withdrawing the passport of Guiseppe Di Vittorio, President of the W.F.T.U.

ITALY — After a bitter struggle, 10,000 Salerno tobacco workers win unemployment benefits from the government.

All industrial workers of the province of Ancona and Pesaro join with the workers of the huge Ascoli and Macerata industrial centres in a solidarity strike with the miners of Cabernardi who have remained in the mines for 22 days to stop the dismissal of 860 of their comrades.

June 19

FRANCE—The General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) appeals once more to the other organisations represented within the National Committee on Collective Agreements to propose:

(1) the joint establishment of a typical budget as a basis for fixing the minimum guaranteed wage;

(2) a joint demand for a meeting of the National Committee on Collective Agreements.

GREAT BRITAIN—The Congress of the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders adopts a resolution demanding the

peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Korea, Malaya, Egypt and Indo-China.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Repblic unanimously adopts the State budget for 1952. Its purpose is to improve the people's living conditions, to raise the cultural level and the level of science, national education and public health.

June 20

UNITED STATES — In Seattle, Washington, seamen and longshoremen from four local unions, the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (C.I.O.), the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have set up the Northwest Joint Policy Committee of Maritime Workers to defend present union jurisdictions against the splitting and raiding activities of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (A.F.L.).

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—On the second anniversary of the joint declaration of the Free German Federation of Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.) and the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), the F.D.G.B. top leadership sends a telegram of greetings to the C.G.T. emphasising particularly that the solidarity of French and German workers in the struggle for peace will continue to grow stronger and to have good results. At the same time, a meeting of trade union militants of France, Western Germany and the German Democratic Republic takes place at Schemnitz to exchange experiences between French and German workers in the struggle against the imperialists' war policy.

June 21

TUNISIA—Phosphate miners of Metlaoui, affiliated to the United Trade Unions of Tunisian Workers (affiliated to the W.F.T.U.), and of the General Union of Tunisian Workers strike for 24 hours for their economic demands, against colonial repression and for national liberation.

FRANCE—In Paris 24 national conferences of shop stewards and joint employee-employer committees are held which show the firm intention of the workers to defend these institutions.

WESTERN GERMANY—At Frankfurt-on-Main a special Congress of the Federation of Chemical, Paper and Ceramic Workers of Western Germany is held. Despite the efforts of Fette, President of the D.G.B. (Trade Union centre under reformist leadership), who attended the Congress, the 400 delegates condemn the policy of betrayal of the rightwing trade union leaders of Western Germany and demand that strong measures be taken against the General Treaty and the Factory Law.

June 22

WESTERN GERMANY — Resolutions against the General Treaty are adopted by trade union conferences held in Reitlingen, Heilbrone, Hagen, Bielefeld, Bremerhaven, Kiel, Lubeck and other cities.

GREAT BRITAIN—A mass demonstration of London workers marches from Hyde Park to the French Embassy to demand the release of the French working class leader Jacques Duclos.

CHINA — Nurseries for Shanghai workers' children have increased fourfold since the liberation. Schools have been doubled. The government has also allocated 8 million dollars to assist the trade union of dockers and seamen to set up 16 schools for their children.

NORWAY—Congress of the Norwegian Building Workers' Federation, with 54,000 members, meeting in Oslo, opposes the government proposal to lengthen military service and asks all its affiliated organisations to organise widespread discussion on the question of peace.

June 23

UNITED STATES — The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America have submitted an 8-point statement entitled "The Rights We Live By" to all political parties. The programme demands among others the guarantee of basic rights to the American people, to the workers, to the Negro people, the right to social security, a just tax programme and peace.

AUSTRALIA—Fifty-three miners at Glen Davis, New South Wales, end the fourth week of their stay-down strike in protest against the government's decision to dismantle the nationally-owned shale oil plant around which the township of Glen Davis is built. Supported by the entire trade union movement, the strikers are determined to save the rich deposits and the plant for the community.

CUBA—Repression against the unity trade union leaders and against all democratic leaders is intensified. The dictator General Batista arrests Anibal Escalante, director of the workers' newspaper "Hoy."

GREAT BRITAIN—In line with the Tory government's wage freeze policy, the Railway Executive callously rejects the demands of the railway trade unions covering 500,000 workers for a 10 per cent wage increase to meet the increased cost of living imposed by the government.

ISRAEL—An imposing workers' demonstration takes place in Jerusalem to demand the release of Jacques Duclos and other peace partisans imprisoned in France.

June 24

ITALY—In the provinces of Padua and Ferrara, 200,000 day-labourers and other agricultural workers strike for 48 hours to force the landowners to apply the nation-wide work contract signed by their organisation. The strike is victorious.

UNITED STATES—Three organisers of the United Mine Workers are victims of a terrorist campaign conducted by the coalowners to prevent the trade union from organising coal miners in the eastern Kentucky coalfields.

June 25

In response to the appeal of the W.F.T.U., workers throughout the world celebrate the International Day of Solidarity with the Korean People and of Struggle for Peace. In all countries thousands of meetings and demonstrations are held by trade union and peace organisations during which workers express their admiration for and solidarity with the heroic Korean people and affirm their desire for peace.

(See more detailed information in our special record of this day).

GREAT BRITAIN — More than 15,000 workers of the Dagenham Ford plant go on strike to protest against the dismissal of 400 workers.

CHILE—Hospital workers return to work after a 7-day strike from which they obtained an important wage increase.

June 26

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—The campaign of defiance of unjust laws, discriminating against the African, Indian and Coloured peoples, is launched throughout the country. The Malan government arrests more than 100 persons, including Mr. W. Sisula, General Secretary of the African National Congress, and Mr. Sam Kahn, the foremost European sponsor of the Franchise Action Council.

CUBA—A powerful demonstration against the Batista dictatorship

takes place in Havana. In attempts to disperse the huge crowd of workers, the police fire and wound one demonstrator.

GREAT BRITAIN—Demands for wage increases for nearly 4 million workers are presented to the employers.

June 27

CUBA — Strong popular pressure forces the dictator Batista to release Anibal Escalante, director of the newspaper "Hoy," who was arrested on June 23.

June 28

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC—The Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic has adopted a measure for considerably increasing wages of skilled workers, as well as for technical and scientific personnel in various branches of industry. The wage increase is from 25 to 60 per cent for workers and skilled personnel; in some branches of industry and professional categories, the increase is more than 100 per cent. The wages of engineers, technicians and scientific personnel are raised from 25 to 200 per cent. This governmental measure will contribute to greater economic progress and indicates that the population will receive during the year 800 million additional marks to improve still further its standard of living.

June 29

GREAT BRITAIN—The American bombing of hydro-electric installations on the Yalu river on the China-Korea frontier has stimulated a strong protest movement throughout the country. In London thousands of workers meet in Hyde Park and demand an end of the Korean war, condemning the policy of extending the Korean war followed by the Americans with the complicity of the Churchill government.

SWEDEN—The Building Workers' Federation holds its second Congress. This federation, which was formed in 1949 and has 115,000 members, is the second biggest in Sweden. The principal resolutions of the Congress deal with the struggle against unemployment, the improvement of the standard of living and the reduction of work accidents.

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W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau's Appeal, Vienna, June 14, 1952.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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ERRATUM. No. 14

Due to a printer's error a wrong line of print was inserted in the editorial of Number 14 of "World Trade Union Movement." Will readers, therefore, please note that the following text should replace the sentence which begins on line 14, page 4 of the previous number of "W.T.U.M."

"We must make it clear publicly, for that would seem to be necessary, what we want and what we are doing, the objectives which we wish to attain and what we are accomplishing."

A BASIC TASK:

THE DEFENCE OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS

AT the last session of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau in June this year, our General Secretary, Brother Louis Saillant, presented a report of fundamental interest to the international working class and to the trade union militants of all countries. A pamphlet based on this report will shortly be published under the title of *Strengthen and Develop Activity in Defence of Trade Union Rights.*

The problems facing the working masses throughout the world do not arise independently of the general situation, but, on the contrary, are determined by this situation and its development. Brother Saillant's report contains an analysis of the general situation which is essential to the correct leadership of the trade union movement and the struggle of the workers in different countries of the world to improve their conditions.

By constantly studying the general situation and the problems facing the international working class, the W.F.T.U. has shown itself to be the only international workers' organisation which analyses the conditions in which the working class lives and fights with sufficient care. From this study, the W.F.T.U. draws strategic and tactical conclusions urging on and effectively leading the battles of the working masses in defence of their bread and their rights. These battles are linked to the struggle for democratic liberties, for the national independence of all peoples and for world peace, which is of such supreme importance to mankind.

☆ ☆ ☆

IT would be interesting and instructive to compare the reports presented and discussed and the resolutions adopted at meetings of the W.F.T.U. policy-making bodies with the chatterings that go on in the meetings of the Splitters' International. It would then be clear that it is possible to retrace through W.F.T.U. reports and decisions the development of the world situation, particularly that of the world trade union movement, whereas going through the accounts of the meetings of the International Confederation of so-called "Free" Trade Unions would reveal the story of the imperialist governments' aggressive military coalition—the Atlantic Pact—the race towards rearmament and war, coupled with increasing rivalries.

The American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.) did not take part in the recent General Council meeting of the I.C.F.T.U. in July, thus indicating its discontent that the British Trade Union Congress (T.U.C.) refuses to recognise openly the

absolute hegemony of American imperialism in the "western" coalition, as well as the fact that the I.C.F.T.U. apparently does not give sufficient support to American anti-French policy in North Africa, directed towards replacing French by American domination in this part of the world. Nevertheless, at this I.C.F.T.U. meeting, the British attempted to make concessions to the A.F.L. imperialist claims by presenting a draft resolution protesting against the French government's reactionary activity against the Tunisian trade unions. The delegates from "Force Ouvrière" (Workers' Strength), a divisionist trade union organisation under Jouhaux's socialist leadership, abstained from voting on this resolution because the rule in this peculiar international "trade union" organisation is that each national delegation line up side by side with its own imperialist government. The basic interests of the international working class are not one of the preoccupations of these gentlemen and, if they remember them occasionally, it is only for the sake of appearances.

Thus the fact is confirmed that our great World Federation of Trade Unions has always been and remains the only international organisation to defend the workers, regardless of their beliefs. This fact gives fundamental importance to the stand taken by the W.F.T.U. on various current problems—and thus to Brother Saillant's report.

☆ ☆ ☆

THIS report closely examines the current problem of the defence of trade union rights, as an integral and essential part of the people's democratic rights. All facets of this problem are analysed by Brother Saillant, based on the actual situation in the different capitalist and colonial countries.

This deep and detailed analysis brings out the obvious and undeniable truth, confirmed by experience everywhere, that the democratic liberties of a people are an indivisible whole of which trade union rights are the axis. Once trade union rights are undermined and suppressed, all democratic liberties are threatened with complete extinction.

This is of prime importance as from it follows that not only the workers are directly interested in the defence of trade union rights, but all democrats and all those to whom freedom is dear.

The report also deals with another fundamental aspect of the defence of trade union rights, that is research into the fundamental causes leading to the fascisation of the so-called "democratic" capitalist states, as well as the increasingly brutal and violent methods used by the colonialists in the dependent and colonial countries where they aim to stamp out any vestiges of the most elementary trade union rights.

By recalling these facts, Brother Saillant shows that the principal cause in this process lies in the frightful armaments race unleashed by American imperialism and imposed by it on the Atlantic Pact satellite states. This race leads directly to aggression against the U.S.S.R., against New China, against the Peoples' Democracies and imposes crushing burdens on the peoples in the capitalist and colonial countries as well as a catastrophic lowering of living standards.

"Workers' trade union rights are not something abstract," Brother Saillant quite correctly emphasises. In fact, to the workers these rights are the most effective weapons in defence of their bread and their living and working conditions, against increased employer and government exploitation. Thus it is evident that if the employers and imperialist governments desire to use fascist means to destroy trade union rights and democratic liberties, it is because they intend to create conditions where the workers are no longer able effectively to defend their wages and their standard of living and where it will be possible to impose on them with impunity the cost of rearmament and the ultimate imposition on the peoples of all the horrors of a third world war.

☆ ☆ ☆

THEREFORE, the struggle of the workers, no matter what their country, their beliefs or trade, in defence of their bread and their immediate demands, is closely linked to the struggle for trade union and democratic rights, as well as the struggle against rearmament, against war and in defence of peace. The high priests of the splitters lie unblushingly when they pretend to defend the interests of the workers by supporting their governments' policy of rearmament, reaction and war.

All these facts lead to extremely important conclusions concerning the strategy and tactics to be adopted by the trade unions of all countries in the new situation with a view to broadening and developing the struggle of the working masses in defence of their basic interests, their liberties and peace.

Arising from the undeniable fact that trade union rights are the central pillar of all democratic liberties, the trade unions must initiate activity which will bring the middle classes, the intellectuals, the artists and so on into the struggle in defence of threatened liberties.

Arising from another undeniable fact—that the process of fascisation is governed by the employers' and imperialist governments' plans *unceasingly to increase the exploitation of all workers*—activity leading to increased united action must be extended between organised and unorganised workers of all beliefs—starting at the place of work—so that a united, stubborn and energetic struggle may be carried on in defence of improved living standards and therefore in defence of trade union and democratic rights, against rearmament and for peace.

Faced by capitalist reaction, attempting to divide and weaken the workers in order to bring them to their knees, to humiliate them and to make them submit defencelessly to the unlimited and violent exploitation of the employers and governments, we must broaden the front of the workers, of democracy and of peace!

The pamphlet based on Brother Saillant's report thus deserves to be widely distributed among the masses and to be read and carefully considered by all trade union militants. It is an essential weapon in the struggles that the trade union movement must energetically carry out now in each capitalist and colonial country.

GIUSEPPE DI VITTORIO

Giuseppe Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the C.G.I.L., President of the W.F.T.U.

Giuseppe Di Vittorio's Sixtieth Birthday

The World Federation of Trade Unions has sent the following letter to its President

Dear Brother Di Vittorio,

We warmly greet you on the occasion of your sixtieth birthday. We assure you of our friendship, esteem and confidence. We are certain that we are expressing the sentiments felt for you by many millions of workers throughout the world, whether or not members of our great World Federation of Trade Unions.

The international working class has, in fact, long appreciated your fine qualities which have led you to struggle tirelessly for unity, the defence of working conditions, democratic liberties and peace.

As far back as 1907 you were a member of the Lega dei Braccianti Executive Committee at Cerignola. Your development as a trade unionist dates back to this period when, from the age of fifteen, you went through years of hard struggle to unite the agricultural workers, the poorest among the working masses of your country, in the struggle for their daily bread.

For many years the workers entrusted to you the difficult and dangerous job of organising the united front of the working class and the Italian people against fascist tyranny.

You set a great example of the spirit of international working class solidarity, which has always inspired you, by joining the fight for the independence of the Spanish people, and thus for the freedom and peace of the world.

Throughout this brilliant period of your life, your unshakeable confidence in the workers of your country and their brothers in other countries enabled you to overcome the difficult ordeal of imprisonment, deportation and exile.

It was in the fire of these working class struggles that the courageous working class leader of today was forged, gifted with rare experience, and, above all, aware of both the price and the value of that essential mutual understanding between workers of all opinions, races and nationalities.

On the downfall of fascism in 1944, the honour fell to you and to your close Socialist and Christian Democratic comrades to draw up the Rome Pact which united all Italian workers, after many years of fratricidal strife, in a single, powerful and united organisation, the splendid Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.).

At a very difficult moment in 1949 when the enemies of international working class unity attempted to deal a death blow to our great world trade union organisation, you accepted the responsibilities of President of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Since then, your effective participation in the leadership of the W.F.T.U., your advice and valuable assistance have greatly helped in overcoming the designs of the splitters and have spread the influence of the W.F.T.U. amongst the vast masses of workers of all opinions in every part of the globe, even the most distant.

You have considerably contributed to the fact that the W.F.T.U. is linking itself ever more closely to the working masses by taking part in their struggles and supporting their common and just demands for prosperity, liberty and peace.

For this reason, the workers will never permit any arbitrary action against you to hinder you from carrying out such important international trade union responsibilities as those connected with the Presidency of the W.F.T.U.

The tribute which we pay to you today will go, we are sure, straight to the hearts of the Italian workers. For they, through the great struggles which they have carried on under the leadership of the C.G.I.L. and its General Secretary, bear the honour and the credit of having raised from their ranks the tried and respected leader that you have proved yourself to be.

In the name of the 80 million members of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and many others besides, we take this opportunity of your sixtieth birthday to express once again our deep fraternal sentiments and to wish you long life and good health.

Together with the workers of all lands we shall celebrate your sixtieth birthday by developing activity and increased international working class solidarity and friendship between peoples, in order that humanity may know a better, fuller life and ensure the triumph of peace and liberty.

SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

General Secretary:
LOUIS SAILLANT.

Secretaries:
S. ROSTOVSKY, L. GRASSI,
H. JOURDAIN.

The Vilest Means Are Considered Good By The Enemies of the Workers!

THE W.F.T.U. has already denounced the odious plot hatched against it in some hideaway den of the American Secret Services in the form of a provocative letter written on imitation W.F.T.U. letter paper and bearing the forged signature of its General Secretary. (See "World Trade Union Movement" No. 11, June 1-15, 1952).

This den of provocation has continued its despicable work. New letters have been sent to certain persons and organisations with the obvious intention of compromising both the addressees and the W.F.T.U.

We publish the following:

- **Circular sent by the W.F.T.U. Secretariat to the affiliated National Centres and Trade Unions Internationals;**
- **Photostatic copy of forged letter sent to Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins of San Francisco and the envelope in which it was sent;**
- **Photostatic copy of the letter from Mr. Jenkins transmitting the photostat of the forged letter;**
- **Photostatic copy of an envelope which contained the same forgery mailed to the Congress of Canadian Women in Toronto. It should be noted that this forgery was mailed from Salzburg, a city situated in the heart of the American Occupation Zone of Austria.**

The Forgers Continue their Criminal Activities Against the WFTU

Dear Brothers,

On May 7th last, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat protested and put all workers and trade unions in all countries on their guard against the disgraceful activities of the American Secret Service. The latter had despatched forged typed letters from Austria to various countries on imitation W.F.T.U. notepaper over the counterfeit signature of its General Secretary.

Among these letters some aimed at misrepresenting the International Conference for the Protection of Children, held in Vienna last April, and at compromising certain persons likely to be interested. Another of these letters was designed to assist in the evil plot against Amado Hernandez, President of the Philippines Congress of Labour Organisations who was sentenced to life imprisonment last March 30 although no case was proven against him.

The accompanying photostatic copies prove that these forgers are continuing their criminal activities. The reply received from David Jenkins shows that these clumsy forgeries, obviously the work of an agent provocateur, only arouse the indignation of every worker and honest person.

The so-called "informatory" Press and those trade union leaders enslaved to the Anglo-American war policy have for a long time tried to spread the idea that the W.F.T.U. is an international centre directing secret conspiratorial activities on behalf of the Soviet State.

In the opinion of their authors, these counterfeits here reproduced would convincingly prove the repulsive slanders against the W.F.T.U. However, present events in the majority of countries weighed down by the yoke of the American billionaires demonstrate that these forgeries are principally intended for use by repressive anti-working class police forces. These forged documents actually open the way to stepping up repressive measures and to drawing up unjust indictments against the leaders of W.F.T.U. affiliated unions, against those who, though unaffiliated, maintain fraternal contact with the W.F.T.U., against militants elected to W.F.T.U. leadership, and more generally, against all those people everywhere who courageously place themselves in the forefront of the W.F.T.U.'s fight in order to strengthen international working class solidarity, to defend the workers' economic and social demands, peace, independence and democratic liberties.

The object of these police provocations is clear: it is by all possible means to behead all working class organisations, whether affiliated to the W.F.T.U. or not, who refuse to support the imperialists' policy of poverty, division, oppression and war. In stooping no matter how low in order to create a troubled atmosphere of insecurity around the W.F.T.U., they are attempting to isolate the leadership in order to prevent the W.F.T.U. from carrying out the noble tasks continually confided to it by workers throughout the world.

Despite the split, despite being thrown out of its headquarters in Paris, the imperialist governments, their labour lieutenants and 'security' forces are unable to put a stop to the activities of the W.F.T.U. or diminish its influence. On the contrary, as they themselves admit, the activities of the W.F.T.U. have increased and are influencing more and more working people throughout the world.

Thus the frantic enemies of the workers and world peace are today forced to have recourse to forgeries and to open police provocation against the W.F.T.U. These infamous fascist activities can be considered by the working masses as one of the main and one of the most hypocritical attacks at present being conducted against their trade union rights.

It is thus essential to bring these forgeries to the attention of the broad masses of workers and to call upon them to exercise extreme vigilance so that, through their own self-defensive measures, the workers themselves and all honest people will greatly assist the W.F.T.U. to expose the forgers and render useless their criminal activities. If the workers are informed as to what is going on, there is no doubt that, no matter what their beliefs and nationality, they will express their unwavering attachment to the W.F.T.U. as well as their deep scorn for the forgers and their accomplices.

The police provocations against the W.F.T.U. and workers loyal to world working class unity and friendship between peoples are today carried out in accordance with a plan concocted some years ago by the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labour. This fact should be stressed once again to all workers irrespective of their beliefs.

Lastly, we must refute one of the most markedly anti-Soviet slanders spread against the W.F.T.U. and to which the accompanying forgeries attempt to give a semblance of truth. In order to do this, we must remind the workers how W.F.T.U. policy is reached and how decisions are democratically taken at meetings of our Congress and other executive bodies composed of the workers' elected representatives in accordance with the Constitution adopted by the W.F.T.U. Constituent Congress in 1945.

We know that we do not call in vain upon the workers of the world to close their ranks in unity and vigilance around the World Federation of Trade Unions.

I await news from you advising us what measures have been taken in response to our proposals,

Yours fraternally,
Henri Jourdain,
Secretary, W.F.T.U.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ
ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

Address all correspondence to
Adresser la correspondance au:
Toda correspondencia ha de ser dirigida a
Адресовать
всю корреспонденцию:
SECRETARIAT DES
WELTGEWERKSCHAFTSBUNDES
WIEN, I. SELESIASTATTE 3
TELEPHON R 22-2-73, R 22-0-40
R 22-4-73, R 22-0-03, R 22-1-85
Adresse télégraphique
FEDSYNDIC WIEN

Wien, 9 May 1952

David & Edith Jenkins
456 Belve Street
San Francisco
California
U. S. A.

FORGERY

Dear Comrades,

You have undoubtedly learned that our most recent letter to you has been condemned by our local press as a vicious piece of Anglo-American forgery. The Central Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions initiated these local press releases and emphatically denied any connection between our organization and the recent Conference for the Defense of Children. For obvious reasons, the conference was publicized and must continue to be publicized as a spontaneous international gathering.

In spite of our local claims, we were the originators of the letters in question. We believe that any means which we can employ to cause embarrassment for the Anglo-American imperialists and war-mongers are justified by the great cause to which we have dedicated ourselves.

You will not be surprised to learn that all of our activities are reported to and analyzed by our leaders in the Soviet Union. We have just received a letter complimenting us upon this successful attempt to stamp the Anglo-Americans as arch-enemies of the world proletariat. Your unwitting assistance is appreciated and you are to be commended for it.

Let us not forget that only through the joint action of the working classes of the world will we attain international solidarity and unity.

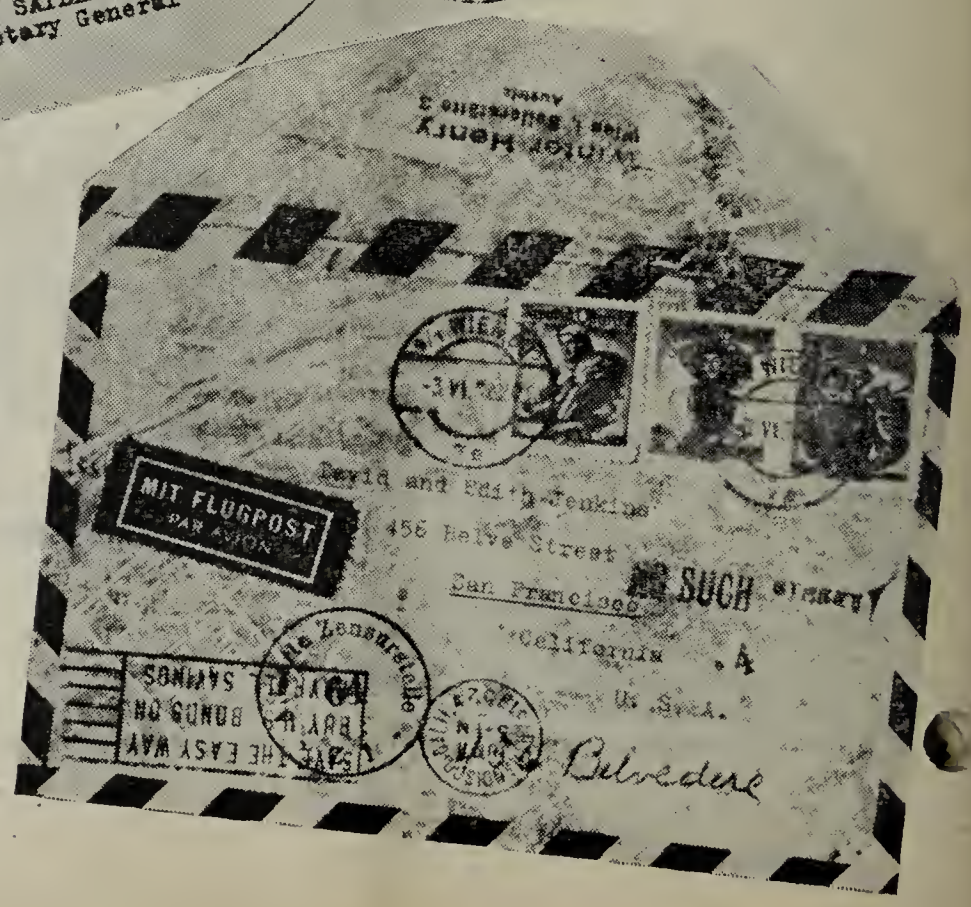
Fraternally,

LOUIS SAILLANT
Secretary General

Alliierte Zensurstelle 64 Z.1

FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE F.S.M.

FORGERY



FORGERY

456 Belvedere Street
San Francisco, California

F. S. M.
DATE D'ARRIVÉE 19 Juni 1952
N° 320 SG

Mr. Louis Saillant, General Secretary
World Federation of Trade Unions
Seilerstatte 3
Vienna 1, Austria

Dear Brother Saillant:

I am writing to you for the purpose of bringing to your attention one of the crudest examples of forgery that has ever come to my attention. While I have never received a communication from you, nor ever met you, nor had direct knowledge of the activities and organization of the WFTU, I received a letter dated May 9, 1952, addressed to myself and my wife at our home address in San Francisco, California, USA, and allegedly signed by yourself. I enclose a photostatic copy of this letter.

This letter has obviously been written by an agent provocateur for the purpose of framing yourself and your organization, my wife and myself and any other people who have received this kind of communication.

We in this country have been aware for some time that millions of dollars are being spent by the reactionary organizations like the Association of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce, etc., for the purpose of building up huge funds for the framing of labor and progressive leaders. They have involved themselves in a great campaign, which they openly boast of in the press, to make it illegal to speak one's mind in favor of unions, civil rights and peace. We know that their counterparts abroad are equally involved in the same attempt. It is for this reason, that while the letter was dated May 9, I received it only June 12, and on the following day, immediately made photostatic copies of it and sent you this communication.

I know that you probably are familiar with plots and conspiracies of this kind, as any man in your position in the labor movement is likely to be. I am sure that you will know how to answer this effectively.

May I receive from you an acknowledgement of my communication and your comments upon it?

Fraternally yours,

David Jenkins

David Jenkins

Enclosure: Photostatic copy of letter dated May 9, 1952

A Rapacious U.S. Giant—

General Motors

● By an American Automobile Worker

IN total assets, the General Motors Corporation stands second only to the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey among American manufacturing corporations. In profits, G.M., year after year, has been far ahead of any other corporation of the U.S.A. or the world. G.M.'s 1950 profit of $834,044,000 was more than double the $408,223,000 made by the Standard Oil Company.

Fifteen years ago, the United States Federal Trade Commission described G.M. as "the most profitable corporation in the history of the world." In the last three years, this gigantic producer of cars, trucks, tanks, planes, guns, and assorted armaments has taken in profits at levels running 200% and 300% above even such fabulous pre-war averages.

In 1951, a total of 469,197 workers employed by G.M. in 94 U.S. plants and 33 plants in 20 countries outside of the U.S., turned out an output with a sales value of $7.5 billion, a figure equalled by the corporation only in the previous year of 1950.

This $7.5 billion of sales is close to the $7.9 billion recently requested of the U.S. Congress by President Truman for all "military and economic aid" to countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Approximately 45% of the cars and trucks sold in the U.S. since 1928 have come from the assembly lines of G.M. factories, more than 85% from the big three —G.M., Ford and Chrysler.

These figures are not a true indication of G.M.'s monopoly position in the automobile industry.

A total of 90 corporations manufacturing passenger cars, trucks and automotive parts reported for 1950 a net profit of $1.3 billion. (Tabulated in the *Bulletin* of the National City Bank of New York, April, 1951, p.44.) General Motor's share of this industry profit was $834 million—or 65% of the giant total!

Net profits officially reported by the Corporation to the government and stockholders were:

1937-41 (annual average) ...	$175,834,000
1949	656,434,000
1950	834,044,000
1951	506,200,000

Actual profits for G.M. by any realistic system of accounting would run far above these figures. Corporation practice conceals as costs many items of genuine profit. Among these might be listed:

1) Annual compensation of $626,300 to G.M. President Charles E. Wilson (*not* the recent defence production boss) and like amounts to other "executives,"

2) Deduction for depreciation of machinery and equipment at a rate far in excess of actual depreciation,

3) The setting aside of a $35,000,000 "contingency reserve" in 1951,

4) A whole series of concealed expenditures unrelated to production for purposes of advertising, political influence and control of workers,

5) The construction of new plants to be paid for directly or indirectly out of the war funds of the U.S. government.

In 1951, the corporation paid profits taxes to the U.S. government of $982,518,000 and $977,617,000 in 1950. If these sums alone are added to reported net income, total operating profits will compare with total payrolls of production workers as follows:

	Profit	*Wage Payments.*
1951 ...	$1,488,718,000	$1,292,857,000
1950 ...	1,811,660,000	1,324,259,000

This means that General Motors took at least $1.15 in profit for every wage dollar paid in 1951 and $1.36 per wage dollar in the higher volume year of 1950. At the General Motors plants, workers received an average hourly rate of $1.85 in 1950. The corporation therefore extracted a profit of $2.52 for every hour of labor by its production workers.

Foreign Operations

G.M. profits from operation of plants outside the United States at wage levels established under "Marshall Plan" relations have brought the corporation fantastically high rates of return.

G.M. has 5 major production plants in Canada, 4 in England, 2 in Australia, 2 in France and one in Germany. In addition, there are assembly plants in Argentina, Brazil, Denmark, India, Java, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland and Venezuela. Within the past twelve months, G.M. has developed a Frigidaire plant in Brazil, a Canadian steel rolling plant (in co-operation with the Algoma Steel Corporation, Ltd.), and a Belgian plant with reported capacity of 150 cars a day.

Vauxhall Motors, bringing to G.M. profit from 12,500 British workers, and Adam Opel A.G. in West Germany, are major producers for G.M. Vauxhall produces about 90,000 cars and trucks a year and Opel about 75,000.

Net investment abroad for G.M. was reported at a level of $58.7 million at the end of 1949. On this relatively small investment—3 per cent. of G.M. net worth—profits were reported as follows:

1950 ...	$53,975,444
1951 ...	67,674,514

G.M. foreign profits add up to 6.5 per cent. of total profits made in 1950 and to 13.4 per cent of total profits made in 1951. Return on foreign investment came to the incredible rate of 93.1 per cent in 1950 and 97.5 per cent in 1951. By comparison, G.M.'s U.S. profit was at a rate of 38 per cent of net worth in the peak year of 1950 and 18.4 per cent in 1951.

Even the nations of Western Europe are beginning

to contribute to General Motors super profits traditionally flowing from colonial relations.

While 1951 saw a drop in hourly-rated workers employed by G.M. in the United States—when car production was cut back to liberate raw materials for war production—world employment in G.M. plants increased by 10,000 workers. Net investment in G.M. plants outside the United States has increased from $58.7 million to $110.7 million in the last two years. Like a number of other monopoly corporations of the United States, G.M. is tending to increase production abroad at the expense of domestic output—and at the expense of some American unions whose leaders have ardently championed the whole machinery of Marshall Plan domination in Western Europe.

Banking Control

G.M. propagandists have always pointed with democratic pride to the 400,000 or more stockholders who "own" the corporation.

In fact, G.M. is as tightly controlled by major American banking interests as any corporation in the country. Direct control is exercised over G.M. by the munitions-making Du Ponts of Delaware. Du Pont money first came into G.M. in 1918 and 1919 at the request of W. C. Durant, G.M.'s first President and promoter of auto industry mergers. Durant had called on Du Pont aid to strengthen his hand in a battle for control against banking interests bent on seizing the profitable auto corporation.

Once given a foothold, Du Pont soon threw Durant out of office and took full control. That control, based on ownership of 22.7 per cent of all G.M. common stock, has been firmly retained. It has continued, however, on the basis of a close alliance with the J.P. Morgan banking interests now represented by two officials who are members of G.M.'s Board of Directors. In 1948, the Mellon Bank of Pittsburgh was given a G.M. directorship, cementing a firmer alliance with the Mellon-controlled aluminium industry.

G.M.'s ties with the Du Pont, Morgan, and Mellon groups make it an instrument of the most aggressive and powerful sections of American finance capital.

Through such ties, G.M. has been assured close relations with monopoly giants in other sections of American industry. The Du Ponts directly control the U.S. Rubber Company of the "Big Four" tire producers in America. The Du Pont interests also constructed the Atomic Energy Plant at Hanford, Washington, for cost, plus a "$1 fee," and are now constructing the plants of the multi-billion dollar "H bomb" project in the state of South Carolina, also for a "$1 fee."

Morgan interests have control of the major producers in the electrical industry (General Electric), steel (United States Steel), and farm equipment (International Harvester).

Sources of GM Profits

G.M. domination of the auto industry is now nearly complete. It is an open secret in Detroit that other producers—even such giant firms as Chrysler and Ford —exist in the industry only on the basis of agreement with G.M. Taking for itself 65 per cent of the profit of the entire industry, G.M. has allowed other producers to continue in operation in order to maintain the legal appearance of competition. This appearance of "free enterprise" competition covers the face of monopolisation of profit.

G.M. power in the industry which has, in effect, made subsidiaries even of such corporations as the once powerful Ford Motor Company is based on firm foundations, particularly because of sweating cheaper production out of the 360,000 workers who man G.M. machines and assembly lines, a super-exploitation which helps to weaken the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.).

In addition, G.M. is able to make heavy expenditures for research and technological development to achieve the cheapest mass production methods, to the disadvantage of the workers, of course; wide ownership and control of parts' plants assuring cheaper supplies, materials, and parts to G.M. manufacturers; monopoly deals for railroad freight rate advantages and cheaper supplies of materials and parts from outside the industry; a wide range of cars produced and offered for sale.

Ford made fabulous profits in good years when his Model T was popular. When demand for the obsolescent Model T fell off in the 20's, Ford suffered equally fabulous losses—which continued for the better part of the 1930's. G.M. has always been able to balance off any losses from an unpopular model car by sales and profits on others.

Labor Policy

It took five years of depression and struggle by workers to break anti-union repression in basic plants of the General Motors Corporation. G.M. officials are listed among the corporation officers exposed by the U.S. Senate's La Follette Committee in the late thirties for their use of all the devices of the union buster. Spies, terrorists and armed force kept the union out of the largest concentrations of G.M. plants in Flint, Detroit, and Pontiac, all in the state of Michigan, until 1937.

In that year, the organisational drive of the auto workers union came to a climax in G.M. Already through bitter struggle the union had won a foothold in a number of the corporation's assembly plants—St. Louis, Missouri, and Toledo and Cleveland, Ohio.

Under the leadership of the militants, Wyndham Mortimer and Robert Travis, an organisational campaign had been opened among the tens of thousands of G.M. workers in Flint, Michigan. Even though plans of top C.I.O. officials called for making the steel industry the first target of union action, the auto workers in Flint as in other G.M. plants could not be held back.

Under extreme provocation from the Company they sat down in the factories and brought the giant machinery of the corporation to a standstill for the first time in history. They came out of the plants only after the signing of an agreement with the union.

Victory in the G.M. plants established the union in the automobile industry . . . a union which has today grown to a membership of more than a million workers.

In the years since 1937, General Motors has sapped the militancy from the leadership of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. Walter Reuther, who combines a talent for militant phraseology with servility to the needs of auto industry executives, was elected President of the union in 1946. Reuther's opponents in the union gave General Motors much credit for his victory.

Reuther has shown ready interest in every proposal of G.M. officials.

In 1948, Reuther sold the auto workers the proposals of G.M. Corporation President C. E. Wilson for the signing of a five-year contract.

For five years the union agreed to undertake no

struggle against the corporation and to encourage "efficiency" in the already super-efficient G.M. plants. The workers' needs were to be cared for meanwhile by the legal language of the contract providing for increases or cuts in the basic wage level reflecting the ups and downs of the Consumer Price Index of the United States Department of Labor. In addition, the corporation agreed to pay 3c (later raised to 4c) per year as partial compensation for the "increasing productivity" of G.M. workers.

Such provisions were soon written into U.A.W. agreements throughout the auto industry.

Some criticism from militants centering on the "escalator" provisions of G.M. contracts has missed the real meaning of the Reuther sell-out to the multi-billion dollar power of the auto industry.

Traditionally, wage contracts between American unions and corporations have been for a one-year period . . . freezing the hourly rate for that period of time. When prices rise workers suffer an immediate cut in purchasing power during the life of such contracts. A contract which, for *such a period,* protects workers against loss of purchasing power by a sliding scale obviously works to bring higher wages during the life of the contract. At the end of the contract period, the union is still free to struggle for the maximum wage increase the militancy of the workers can bring.

The Reuther contract chains the workers to company and government statistics. The Reuther contract took away the workers' weapon of struggle—and the workers' basic goal of wage increases out of company profit, first for a two-year period and then, in 1950, for a five-year period. For a span of seven years, G.M. workers will have been denied the right even to request wage increases which might in any way deprive the corporation of one dollar out of the billions of profit it is amassing. In effect, the union has given final approval to the terrific rate of exploitation in G.M. plants and full blessing to its intensification.

Is it any wonder that G.M. officials before the National Wage Stabilisation Board, in the language of its annual *Report to Stockholders* (1950, pp. 19, 20), "stressed the advantages of its five-year agreement not only for G.M., but as a *pattern for other producers during the emergency* to achieve maximum production and avoid industrial unrest?"

The meaning of that should be clear enough for anyone. Sure, say G.M. officials, our contracts call for paying a few pennies every year to workers—but in return we are guaranteed no interruption in our production on profitable war contracts or in our program of sweating more profit out of workers.

In effect, the national Wage Stabilisation Board has established G.M. policy as national wage policy—tying wage increases to be allowed all American workers to the government's inaccurate price index and to the "needs of defense (war) production."

The G.M. contract, baited with promises of wage gains, is clearly the instrument of surrender to the war-making and profit-making program of Wall Street. Auto workers and other workers in basic American industry have not yet given their answer to this attempt by their leaders to deliver them into the hands of their enemies.

The demands of European labor for "sliding scale" contracts are in purpose and effect the opposite of Reuther's deal with General Motors. Such demands, in France and Italy, mean the complete opposition of the entire working class to super-exploitation and to the war preparation which is plunging it into poverty a little more each day. The Reuther contract is, on the contrary, a contract for the super-exploitation of the American working class.

Political Power

G.M. financial power is reflected in political power. The extent of that power, like the volume of an iceberg, is much concealed beneath the surface.

But the open record of G.M. influence in Washington and throughout the world is notable.

1. The late Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan was described among labor and liberal circles of his own State as "the Senator from General Motors."

The Senator's anti-labor record, his opposition to the policies of world understanding proposed by Franklin Roosevelt, and his insistence on American intervention in the affairs of other nations (to the greater profit of American corporations) were all in remarkable coincidence with the known policies of the General Motors Corporation.

2. It was the G.M.-Du Pont group which gave leadership to the American Liberty League—the most rabid foe of all Roosevelt policies which bent to the needs of the American people.

3. Anti-labor policies spelled out in 1946 by Alfred P. Sloan, Wall Street head of G.M., became in 1947, detail by detail, the Taft-Hartley Act—the "slave labor law" passed by an overwhelming majority of the United States Congress.

4. Today, as in World War II, G.M. has the greatest dollar volume of arms contracts. In World War II arms produced by G.M. were valued at $12.1 billion.

5. In World War II, G.M. influence at Army headquarters was an open secret. A G.M. President, whose usefulness was declining—William Knudsen—was placed in charge of the nation's war production effort in 1941 and 1942. When public opinion convicted Knudsen of holding back war production to allow profitable car production to continue for the auto industry, he was removed from the War Production Board . . . and commissioned a General in the Army with responsibility for arms procurement.

6. Charges were made in the liberal American press in 1946 that American military government policy in Germany under Gen. Lucius Clay was influenced by G.M. officials connected with the Adam Opel plant.

The former General Lucius Clay, Deputy of Eisenhower, is now a General Motors director and a member of its powerful finance committee. He is also a director of the Morgan-dominated Newmont Mining Corporation now intensifying its exploitation of the workers and vast mineral resources of Morocco, Rhodesia and South and Southeast Africa.

This most powerful American corporation is linked by thousands of ties to the whole program of reaction at home and aggression abroad. It enjoys a special close relation with the top Generals of the U.S. Army, as do the Rockefeller-Standard Oil group with the U.S. Navy.

Built on profits taken from hundreds of thousands of American workers and tens of thousands of workers abroad, General Motors today challenges the hopes of the mass of people in America and in the world for peace and progress. The future may well bring this monster of finance capital a repudiation even sharper than that suffered by its American Liberty League in 1936 when the overwhelming mass of the American people were marching under the banner of Roosevelt and the New Deal.

African Workers Demand A Social Security System Conforming to Their Interests

• By ABDOULAYE DIALLO
General Secretary, French Sudan Trade Union Federation, Vice-President of the WFTU.

THE struggles of the workers of the countries of Equatorial Africa for family allowances and for fair compensation for accidents at work are part of the general struggle of these countries for their emancipation. The few improvements which they have won are the results of this continued struggle. On family allowances, we can cite the example of the African civil servants in the colonies of French West Africa who have been fighting continually for the abolition of racial discrimination in this regard. The great strike of December 1945 to January 1946, which brought out all the African civil servants of these territories, was caused in the first place by a demand for equalising the rates of family allowances and cost of living bonuses.

The first demand of the African civil servants who went on strike at Bamako in the Sudan in January 1952 was the equalisation of the rates of family allowances for all civil servants, African and French, and the maintenance of family lodging allowances.

At present, in all these territories, the African workers in private industry, especially the bank and commercial employees and the building workers, have included in their lists of demands the granting of a monthly family indemnity. In the Sudan in 1951, the building and engineering workers' trade unions went before an arbitration court and then to an appeal court following the workers' demand to have included in their collective agreement a clause granting a family allowance of 1,000 francs per month for each child, to be paid from a fund set up by the employers.

At the Bamako African Conference, as in the meetings of the co-ordinating committees for Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons, West Africa and Togoland, one of the basic demands to which the delegates gave the greatest attention was for the immediate granting of family allowances for wage-earners in private industry and for supernumerary administrative employees.

In this article we shall only deal with existing legislation on family allowances and work accidents in French, British and Belgian colonies, in central Africa and Madagascar. We shall only speak about family allowances and work accidents for the simple reason that there are no social security systems in those territories.

The information is generally taken from official texts, and we must emphasise at the outset that even when such texts exist they are not always applied and are drawn up in such a way that it is not always possible to see clearly through all the hypocritical formulations which have been introduced into them by the colonialists.

Family Allowances

British Territories

To my knowledge, there is no legislation on family allowances in these territories. No family allowances are paid to any category of workers in the Gold Coast, for example. The total wage or salary of a civil servant employed by the administration or of an African office worker in private industry depends solely upon grade and seniority. No consideration whatsoever is given to his family status.

Belgian Congo

In this territory, where a long-standing regulation exists for the Belgian wage-earners, a government decree of May 26, 1951, established a system of family allowances for "native" workers.

The allowances laid down by this decree, applicable from January 1952, consist, in fact, of supplementary rations for the family as part of the wage, the allowance being paid in kind. It is only payable in cash where the worker receives the cash value of his rations in lieu of rations. The local administration authorises the employers to make payment in cash, but there is no mention in the decree of the workers' opinion being asked on the matter.

Though this decree has the advantage of being applicable to all wage-earners in all types of occupation, the allowances given are very small, and the right to them is limited by many restrictions.

The allowance for a wife is equal to half of the ration (which forms part of the wage) of the worker himself, either in cash or in kind. The allowance for a child is a quarter of the ration allowance.

In Elisabethville the weekly value of the ration upon which the rate of family allowance is based is fixed for 1952 at 66 Belgian Congo francs (about 660 French francs or 13s. 6d.). Thus a man with a wife and family can receive 33 Belgian Congo francs a week for his wife and 16.50 francs for each child.

French Colonies

In the French colonies we must consider two types of industry, public and private. In each sector there is special consideration for workers of French origin and for Negro workers. Discrimination is applied in all its forms, from the most brutal to legal hypocrisy.

Workers in private industry comprise those who are employed in general industry and in commercial firms, etc. In the Cameroons provision is made for family allowances for white workers in private industry, but not for the Africans. Collective agreements exist which give family benefits to white workers in French West Africa. In French Equatorial Africa there are only individual contracts. To summarise, we can say that no provision is made for the African workers in private industry in these territories with the exception of the Middle Congo. The Governor of the Middle Congo issued an Ordinance on October 12, 1949, which provides allowances for the children of African workers in the territory. In spite of the moderate amount of the sums granted, this Ordinance has been attacked in the Council of State by the colonists. It provides for 100 francs (2s.) per month for each child providing the worker has not been absent except through illness and that he can produce the required documents. One only has to know how difficult it is for day labourers to obtain such documents to realise that only a small part of these workers can benefit from this modest sum of 100 francs per month.

According to the estimate of the employers themselves, barely one-fifth of the workers benefit from this allowance, which is, in fact, a bonus for regular attendance, since a worker loses the right to it if he has been absent for a certain number of days during the month.

The rate of the monthly allowance is less than the very low daily wage of a labourer in Brazzaville (125 francs).

The workers in public concerns, with the exception of supernumeraries, who are considered as workers in private industry, benefit from family allowance legislation.

In principle, the European workers receive rates in French francs converted into French African francs[1] and subject to an increase based on a schedule which amounts to 50 per cent for Madagascar, 60 per cent for French West Africa, 65 per cent for the Cameroons and 70 per cent for French Equatorial Africa. It is easy to show the hypocrisy of this so-called schedule of differential indemnities which is only a means of continuing racial discrimination even when (and this is true in French West Africa) the legislation applies to everybody. Further, we draw attention to a number of rates which show this discrimination.

Comparative Monthly Rates

The following rates are calculated to the nearest franc according to current official rates. It is often impossible at a first reading of the official rates to discover the discrimination which is so carefully camouflaged in the formulations.

Number of Dependent Children.	Madagascar	Fr. W. Africa	Cameroons	Fr. E. Africa
Differential schedule	1.5	1.6	1.65	1.7
1 child: Europeans	2,406	2,566	2,647	2,727
Africans	720	400	1,080	1,200
2 children: Europeans	7,219	7,700	7,941	8,181
Africans	1,747	3,500	3,250	3,000
3 children: Europeans	12,031	12,834	13,235	13,636
Africans	3,170	5,123	5,400	5,400
4 children: Europeans	15,641	16,684	17,205	17,727
Africans	4,610	6,604	7,020	7,800
5 children: Europeans	19,251	20,534	21,176	21,617
Africans	6,050	8,104	8,640	9,600
More than 5 children (each additional child)				
European	3,609	3,850	3,970	4,091

For Africans, the maximum number of children for which family allowances are paid is 6.

National civil servants in these territories, that is to say, almost all Europeans, also receive a family supplement which is a percentage of their salaries.

Only in French West Africa do local civil servants receive this percentage, but since it is a percentage of the salary it is less for the Africans who are mainly found in the lower grades.

In addition, the national civil servants (almost all of whom are Europeans) enjoy the advantages of the French social security scheme.

Accidents at Work

WE must immediately point out the disgusting character of discrimination in this matter in all French, British and Belgian territories. In the French colonies, with the exception of the Cameroons, where two sets of provisions exist, one for Africans (1944 Decree) and one for Europeans (1945 Decree), injured European workers everywhere have, according to established law, the same benefits as injured workers in France. These benefits are prescribed in a law dated October 30, 1946. Africans, on the contrary, either have no legal claims—which is generally the case—or else the regulations are very restricted and only provide ludicrously small benefits. Let us quote an example from the French Sudan, where, according to a Decree dated February 23, 1952, the Governor fixed the rate of payment allowed for work accidents caused other than by a steam or motor-driven machine. This

1 One French African franc equals 2 French francs.

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Following the session of the Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee of French Equatorial Africa and the Cameroons, an important workers' meeting was held during which demands for family allowances for workers in private industry and for administrative supernumeraries were put forward among others. Our photograph shows a worker from Brazzaville exhorting his comrades to join the union en masse for the effective defence of their common interests.
(Brazzaville, 18.5.52).

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A protest meeting in December 1951 in Cotonou, Dahomey, to demand the immediate adoption of the Labour Code for Overseas Territories. During the meeting Tohngodo Bruno, Secretary of the trade unions belonging to the General Confederation of Labour, denounced attempts to sabotage the Labour Code.

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The 1952 May Day parade in Cotonuo, the commercial and industrial capital of Dahomey. This was the second demonstration since the foundation of the trade unions. The slogans on the banners read: "All united in a common front for a better life," "Family allowances for all wage earners."

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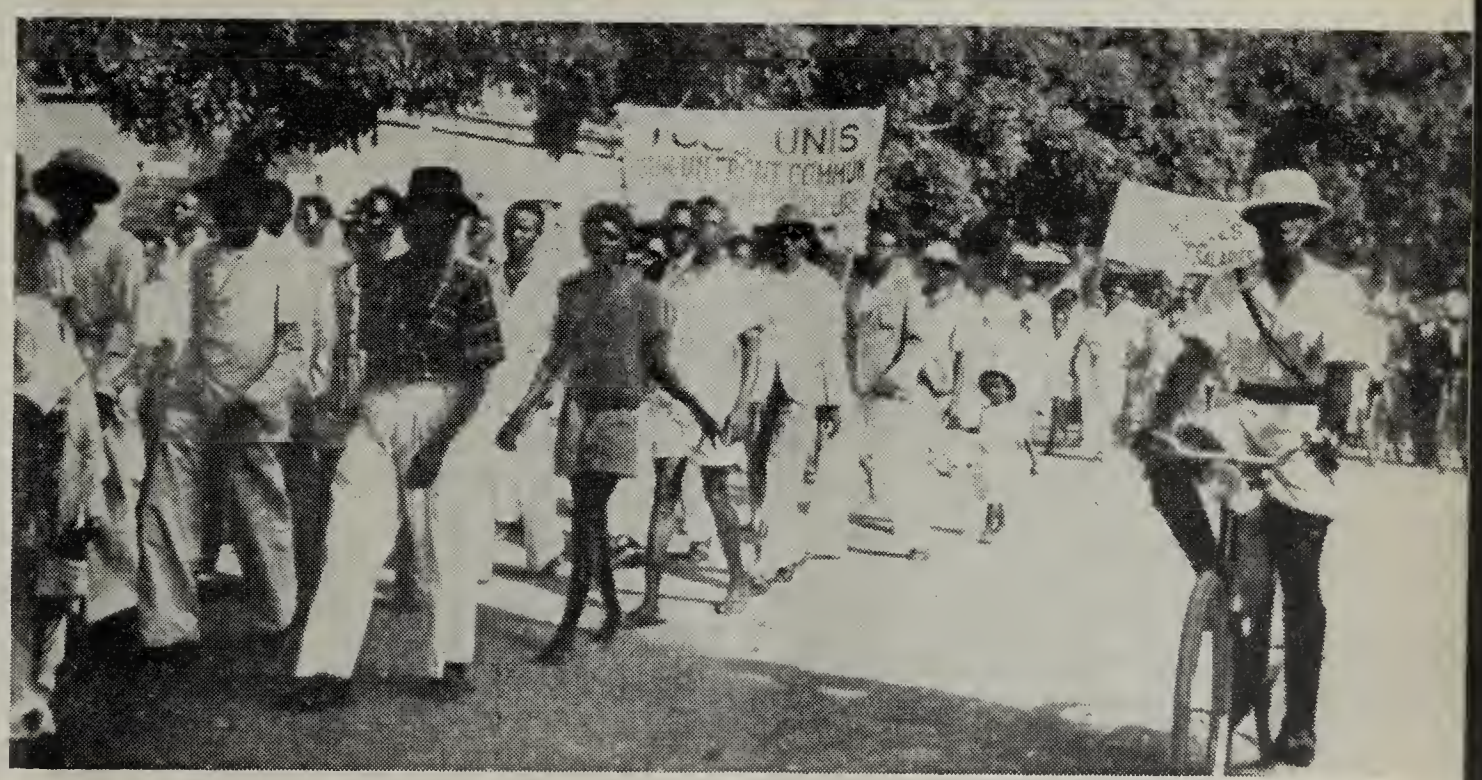

Decree clearly shows the nature of "trusteeship" carried out by the colonial powers.

"The amount of payments to be made by the employers to African workers or to their rightful claimants employed in private undertakings or by the local administration in the territory of French Sudan in case of death or work accident leading to permanent disability is fixed as follows:

- 19,500 francs if the death is the result of a work accident not the fault of the worker, clumsiness not being counted as a fault.[2]
- 6,500 francs if the accident leading to death was the fault of the worker.
- 3,250 francs for permanent disability of 10 per cent as a result of an accident at work.
- 325 francs for each additional 1 per cent disability, that is, a maximum of 32,500 francs for permanent total disability."

We must make it clear that these are not annual payments, which even then would be wholly inadequate, but are single lump-sum payments.

Any commentary would weaken the significance of these truly fearful figures, especially if it is pointed out that they have just been "revised," the Decree in question being dated February 1952 and that the average wage of a skilled worker, which is far below subsistance level, is 8,000 francs a month. In other words, for total life-long disability, the victim receives only 4 months' wages!

Accidents are covered by a Decree dated April 2, 1932, which was amended by Decrees dated September 18, 1937, October 20, 1943 and March 2, 1949 in French West Africa; in French Equatorial Africa by Article 3 of a Decree dated May 4, 1922; in Madagascar by a Decree of April 7, 1938, Articles 62 and 66 and by various circulars, and in the Cameroons by the Decree of January 7, 1944.

In general, cases not covered by these regulations come under Articles 1382 and 1384 of the French Civil Code dealing with compensation for damage caused directly by others or by an intermediate person. Nevertheless, European workers frequently benefit by the law of April 9, 1898, regulating compensation for work accidents caused to French or foreign workers under contract to an enterprise having its headquarters in France or an employer whose domicile is in France. It is easy to understand that such a clause practically excludes African workers from the benefits of these regulations.

The regulation concerns all accidents to African workers in certain territories (the Cameroons and Madagascar) and in French West Africa is restricted to accidents caused by an explosion or by a machine driven other than by human or animal power. Domestic, agricultural and forestry workers are not covered by this legislation. They only have the right to care until complete recovery or the healing of the injury, and the payment of a ludicrously small compensation to the family in case of death. Industrial diseases nowhere carry the right to compensation.

In the Belgian Congo, the Decree of August 1, 1949, deals with occupational hazards, but in practice this applies only to workers of European origin.

In the British territories, Ordinances of 1941, 1946 and 1949 also deal with this question of occupational hazards and regulate accident compensation. In general these regulations, in the case of permanent disability, provide only for a lump sum payment instead of periodic payments.

The non-Africans—Europeans, Asians and other coloured persons—are covered by a scheme which compares favourably with that in operation in the French colonies, although it is somewhat inferior to the scheme in Great Britain. The scheme is more restrictive both as to the amount and period of compensation for Africans. Nevertheless, the law covers all occupations and all work accidents, including silicosis, and thus is ahead of the territories under French control.

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CASH benefits differ from territory to territory as follows:

1) First-aid care, in principle, is the legal responsibility of the employer (in the French colonies it is, in practice, the colony, that is to say, the taxpayer who pays these expenses).

2) In French West Africa and Madagascar the law on pharmaceutical, hospital and funeral expenses provides that the employer shall pay these expenses up to a maximum fixed by a Decree of the Governor, although here again this is not always done in practice. In the Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa there is no law covering the rights of workers. In the Belgian Congo, the employer is responsible for expenses for the first 60 days and the compulsory insurance scheme, which is managed by a public body, for the remaining period.

In the British colonies limits are also fixed by Ordinance.

We will not go into detail here on regulations regarding disability. We will merely note that in French West Africa the wage-earner receives full wages for the first 4 days of disability and thereafter a sum equal to half his daily wage until he is certified as fit to go back to work. In the Cameroons, 3 days' full wages are paid and 5 days in Madagascar. In French Equatorial Africa, the law is silent and provides only for paying compensation. Therefore, the Decree of May 4, 1922, applicable in these territories, permits measures to be included dealing with disability as the result of accidents in individual or collective agreements. In practice, this does not benefit the African workers, for at present no collective agreements exist in these territories and rather unfavourable individual contracts are drawn up by the employer.

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IN CONCLUSION, it is clear that the major demand of the workers of Equatorial Africa is the abolition of all racial discrimination and the establishment of progressive social legislation. It is in organising and strengthening their struggles for each and every type of demand: family allowances, workmen's compensation and the drawing up of legislation, etc., that the African workers can obtain satisfaction. They must inform the international working class on these problems so that real aid in their struggles and support of their claims can be given.

We call upon all African trade union organisations to check existing legislation, to see that laws carrying certain benefits are enforced and to carry out activity to enforce the adoption of more progressive laws.

2 Calculate 1000 French francs to the £1.

Free All the Anti-Franco Prisoners

Gregorio Lopez Raimundo facing his torturers (an artist's impression)

ON July 4, the Barcelona Special Military Court handed down its verdict in the high-speed trial —it lasted but two days—of 27 heroic leaders of the Barcelona strikes.

Gregorio Lopez Raimundo and two of his comrades were sentenced to four years in prison; five were acquitted, and the others received prison terms ranging from six months to three years.

This verdict represents an undoubted victory for the Spanish people and all democrats throughout the world who, for a year, have conducted a tireless campaign to save the lives and secure the release of these brave Spanish patriots, a success even more significant since the 27 defendants constantly and proudly claimed, from their first interrogation, the honour of having led and organised the powerful strikes and mass movements which shook the Franco regime last Spring.

Never has such a verdict been returned in a Franco court; the death sentence has hitherto been the Franco sentence for leaders of the resistance movement, as the long list of Spanish heroes fallen before the Franco execution squads bears witness.

How can this change be explained? Should one believe those who, for certain reasons, try to present the Barcelona verdict as an indication that the Franco regime is being "democratised" or "liberalised"?

Certainly not. When Lopez Raimundo was questioned for the first time last July, before the news of his arrest had become known to the democratic masses of the world, he was forced to submit to sixteen consecutive hours of horrible torture. He lost consciousness six times and six times he was revived by a bucket of cold water being thrown on his body, broken and bruised by blows. When, two weeks later, his mother was able to see him for the first time since his arrest, she did not recognise him, his face had been so disfigured by torture.

No! The bloody regime of the dictator of Pardo Palace has not been "liberalised"!

It is not because Franco did not want to, but because he did not dare to, that Lopez Raimundo has not been given the death sentence. And he has not dared to, because, after Barcelona, he does not feel himself to be strong enough to face the growing anger and indignation of the indomitable Spanish people powerfully supported by international solidarity.

It would be wrong, however, and dangerous, to conclude that all threats of death for Lopez Raimundo and his comrades have been removed. Wrong, because it is evident that so long as they remain in Franco's hands their lives will be threatened; dangerous, because such an attitude on the part of the workers would lead to a relaxing of the solidarity campaign which is precisely what Franco is waiting for to carry out his evil intention.

After this first important victory in the struggle against Franco terror, a victory which shows both the weakness of the rotting Franco regime and the great strength of active internationalism, the campaign for the release of Lopez Raimundo and all the anti-Franco prisoners will proceed with increased intensity and with ever-broader and more militant unity.

Land Hunger in Kenya

● By DESMOND BUCKLE

"When a man takes your ox and feasts on it before your very eyes, you have a right to feel aggrieved. But in time you learn to forgive and forget. However, when he steals your land you cannot forget, for you are reminded of your loss at every waking hour."

These words were spoken by an aged African chief in Kenya to a visiting English politician. And as he spoke, he looked across the road from his farm towards land, 3,000 acres in extent, which was once his property but which is now occupied by a European settler. The dispossessed chief was offered merely the value of the trees as compensation and, refusing this paltry amount, he was left with nothing.

Despite his heavy loss, this chief is far more fortunate than the vast majority of his fellow Kenya Africans, who are completely landless. His words, however, adequately express their feelings on the all-important question of their land.

Kenya, a territory which is slightly larger in area than France and Belgium together, has for more than half a century been the scene of the most shameful acts of land-grabbing carried out by the British imperialists in Africa.

During the last two decades of the last century, the Imperial British East Africa Company, whose private army was commanded by Captain (later Lord) Lugard, one of the most acquisitive of Britain's empire builders, strove to carve out in the eastern part of the continent an empire similar to the one then being created in the southern and central parts by the British South Africa Company of Cecil Rhodes.

Lugard had a great rival in the notorious freebooter of imperial Germany, Dr. Karl Peters, who seized as much territory as he could on behalf of the German East Africa Company.

Being first on the scene, Lugard secured for British imperialism the whole expanse of territory from the shores of the Indian Ocean right into the heart of Africa, to the eastern boundary of the Belgian Congo. Peters had to be content with Tanganyika, which Britain secured after the first world war as a "mandate." It is now styled a "trust territory" under the supervision of the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

Having done its pioneering work, the Imperial British East Africa Company surrendered its Charter and in 1895 Kenya passed under the administration of the British Imperial Government.

To link up the westernmost of the East African territories, Uganda, with the coast, a railway was constructed from Mombasa, on the east coast to Kampala, in Uganda. Europeans were encouraged to settle on land on both sides of the railway. Thus began the process of squeezing out of their lands the Kikuyu, Mkamba, Kavirondo and other tribes of Kenya, a process which is still going on today.

Before the coming of the Europeans, the Africans, who were engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, had no notion of private ownership of land. All land on which the particular tribe lived belonged to the tribe as a whole and the individual was given land only for the purpose of maintaining himself and his family.

The British Government, in assuming protectorate rights over Kenya, declared that the communal ownership of land had passed from the indigenous in-

Exploited Kenya women cotton growers waiting at the ginnery to sell their cotton at prices fixed by the colonial government.

habitants to the Protectorate government and that the latter now had the right to share out the land as it thought best. The principle it adopted was simply that the best land should go to the white settlers, while the Africans were to be restricted to inferior land. Dr. Norman Leys, a European expert on Kenya, who himself settled there, has estimated that "about half the land in Kenya that is worth cultivating" lies within the area that has been already transferred to Europeans.

From 1901, when there were just 13 white settlers in Kenya, their number has grown until today it is 29,660 of whom only some 3,000, including families, are actually engaged in farming.

It is therefore this 3,000 that monopolise 50 per cent of the cultivable land, while 5,500,000 Africans retain uncertain possession of the remainder.

There are also 90,528 Indians, mostly engaged in trade, and 24,174 Arabs.

The sort of people who constitute the white population of Kenya amply justify the comment of Negley Farson, the traveller, when in his book **Behind God's Back** he says of the colony that, "It has the greatest proportion among its inhabitants of ex-soldiers, generals, colonels, majors, of any country in the world."

The leader of the first settlers, Lord Delamere, was appointed chairman of the Kenya Lands Board which the government established to review the effect of the sudden and extensive expropriation of their lands upon the Africans. In the original share-out, he himself acquired over 100,000 acres of the best land. Others who thus benefited individually included Lord Francis Scott, who through the marriage of his niece to the Duke of Gloucester became connected with the British royal family. Huge tracts were alienated in favour of plantation companies. The East African Syndicate was given 320,000 acres, the Uplands of East Africa Syndicate 350,000 acres and the Grogan Forest Concession 200,000 acres.

In order to "legalise" the position, the government passed the Crown Lands Ordinance by which all lands, which have not been specifically declared to be native lands by the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, became vested in the British Crown as "Crown Lands."

The Crown Lands Ordinance, moreover, gave the government the right to grant on 99-year leases to European settlers estates of up to 7,500 acres, some of them at a price as low as one penny per acre. The prime purpose of the Crown Lands Ordinance was to exclude the non-European for all time from the Highlands, the plateaux lying in the shadow of Mount Kenya, where is found some of the most fertile land and the healthiest climate in all Africa.

So determined were the white settlers to monopolise this country that when the Colonial Office in London proposed granting to Indians who had been engaged on railway construction the right to acquire land, a group of ex-army officers, including generals, colonels, majors and captains, formed

Sisal is a fibre which is woven into rope. In 1951 the average price of sisal was twelve times the 1939 price. In comparison with this, WAGES INCREASED ONLY THREE TIMES. The East African Sisal Plantations Ltd. paid a 30% dividend in 1949/50, and the Sisal Estates Ltd. paid 45%.

a Vigilance Committee and began to agitate furiously for the expulsion of all Indians from Kenya.

The issue almost led to an insurrection and the threat of a rebellion by white men in a country whose population was overwhelmingly composed of black men brought about the promulgation of the Kenya Order, by which the Highlands are exclusively reserved for the enjoyment of European settlers. It is illegal for any other racial group to own or to attempt to acquire land there.

Three months after the Order came into force in 1939, the Wataita tribe, the last Africans remaining in the Highlands, were forcibly evicted from their lands in the Taita Hills. Two years before this event a similar fate had befallen one of the largest and most influential of the Kenya tribes, the Kikuyu. And the Wakamba, who had been living in a reserve a few miles to the east of Nairobi, the capital, were also turned out of their ancestral home. Large numbers of their cattle were rounded up, moreover, and sold at very low prices to a representative of the American meat-packing firm of Liebig, who happened very conveniently to be in Kenya at the time.

For the past thirty years the cry of the Kenya Africans for land has been consistently raised. And when it becomes too embarrassing, a Royal Commission is sent out to Kenya to "investigate." Indeed, so many of these Commissions have been sent that Kenya has become known as the "Land of Royal Commissions."

Consequent upon the Hilton Young Commission report of 1930, the British Labour government of the time issued a memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa, which solemnly pledged the imperial government to stop all further alienation of land from the Africans.

The memorandum declared that the lands within the boundaries as finally gazetted for Native Reserves "are reserved for the use and benefit of the natives forever." It went on to say that "any derogation from this solemn pledge would, in the view of His Majesty's government, be not only a flagrant breach of trust, but also, in view of the inevitable effect upon the natives, a serious calamity, from which the whole colony would not fail to suffer."

This did not mean, however, that any part of the vast area already taken from the Africans would be returned to them. Indeed, the chairman of the Carter Commission two years later told the Africans, "You should not suppose that the alienated lands will be returned to you."

He might well have added that there was no reason for the Africans to believe that the "solemn pledge" would be honoured.

Within a few years of the making of the pledge, it was put to the test by the discovery of gold on land set aside at Kakamega for the exclusive use of the Kavirondo tribe. The land was largely a malarial swamp and the tribe had been moved there following eviction from land required for white settlement.

The Kenya government now declared its concern for the Kavirondo tribe and proposed its removal to more healthy surroundings.

The tribal leaders, however, pointing out that they had been already evicted from one such healthy district to which there was no prospect of a return, elected to stay at Kakamega and to drain the swamp, making the land habitable.

The Kenya government was in no mood to appreciate such arguments. The Kavirondo tribe was forcibly moved off the land and the Kenya Legislative Council passed a new law granting concessions there to European gold mining companies.

Thus was demonstrated the fact that there is no security of tenure for Africans even on land which has been declared by the government to be "native land."

The total area now officially designated "European" land covers 16,700 square miles, only

Most of the Africans have been deprived of their ancestral lands and driven into the most barren regions of the country.

about 6 per cent of which is actually under cultivation.

Many Africans who are unable to find accommodation in the overcrowded reserves live as squatters on the European plantations. These squatters vary in number from time to time, but there are never fewer than 250,000 at any one time. The white planters do not object to "squatting" by these landless Africans for it provides them with a means of exacting unpaid labour. In many cases the Africans are obliged to give 180 days free labour in the year to the white landlords for the right to live precariously on land which once belonged to them.

Africans who succeed in squatting on land which is classified as "Crown land," but which has not been specifically set aside for white settlement, know that it is only a question of time before they are turned off. The evictions are usually carried out with much brutality, as was the case at Olenguruone towards the end of 1949.

The Africans who had squatted there were given notice by the authorities to vacate the place. But having nowhere else to go, and being offered no other lands to replace those they were to leave, they chose, quite naturally, to stay where they were.

So in the half-light of an early dawn, a posse of armed police, commanded by European officers, descended on the 11,800 men, women and children of Olenguruone and threw them out of their huts which they then proceeded to burn to the ground. Crops and foodstocks were also destroyed, and livestock numbering 1,600 head of cattle and nearly 9,000 goats forcibly taken away.

When a protest was lodged at the Colonial Office in London on behalf of these unfortunate people, the only comment of the government spokesman was: "These chaps are squatters on Crown land who have not been obeying the rules of cultivation and are ruining the land."

Evidently the first rule of cultivation in Kenya is that the white settlers must have as much land as they want and more. What is left can go to the Africans—until the government wants some of it for the settlers.

The pressure on the land in the Reserves where density of population rises, as in the Kikuyu district, to over 1,000 to the square mile, leads to a state of almost constant famine. The traveller, Negley Farson, says of the Kenya Africans, in his book **Last Chance In Africa,** that: "All but a minute proportion now spend some six months of every year in a state of semi-starvation."

After two mass organisations, the East African Association and the Kikiyu Central Association, had been declared illegal in turn by the government, the African people founded in 1944 the Kenya African Union to give them united leadership in the struggle for their rights. The KAU has over 100,000 members, organised in 50 district branches throughout Kenya.

In 1948 it submitted a memorandum to the United Nations drawing attention to the plight of the Kenya Africans, and sent a deputation to the Colonial Office in London. The deputation was received by the Labour Colonial Secretary, but nothing was done by the government to bring relief to the hard-pressed people.

Recently two members of the executive committee of the KAU, Mbiyu Koinange and Achieng Oneko, attended the Sixth United Nations General Assembly in Paris to lobby delegates. In London, the Tory Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, refused even to see them.

The struggle of the Kenya African people for their lost lands is a vital part of the anti-imperialist struggle which is now gaining momentum in Africa. Their cause will eventually triumph, for it is founded on elementary justice, on a basic human right.[1]

1 For further information see article by Sam Woods "Kenya Workers Struggle Against Oppression," in **World Trade Union Movement** No. 12, June 20, 1951.

The British occupant has seized the high plateaux. On these fertile lands, the Africans, heavily exploited, have no rights but to vegetate in their wretched huts.

Our Kindergarten

by Klavdia Verbitzkaia

Director of the "Iava" Tobacco Factory Kindergarten, Moscow

FROM the first years of Soviet power, educators had to wage a campaign of explanation amongst parents to remove their mistrust of establishments for children. Today the position is very different. The number of parents wanting to send their little ones to kindergartens is constantly growing whilst the kindergarten organisation itself develops from year to year.

Why is this? The reasons lie in the quality of the education the children receive in these kindergartens and, arising from this, the high regard in which they are held in the Soviet Union. Take, for example, the kindergarten of the "Iava" tobacco factory in Moscow.

In this kindergarten, the best conditions possible for the greatest well-being of the children have been created. Qualified teachers, who have received special training, look after them, and the staff includes particularly, music teachers who direct the musical, dancing and singing programmes. Experienced doctors and nurses supervise the health of the children. Thus, throughout the day, while the parents work, their children are in the care of people thoroughly conversant with the most up-to-date methods of child welfare and who assist in their all-round development.

In this kindergarten, the child is brought up with other children of his own age. He becomes sociable ; he is taught to regard the wishes of others and there he makes his first friends. Collective childhood has a good influence on the child and it does not produce liars, egoists and shirkers.

Little Examples Prove the Point

Our kindergarten has been in existence for eight years. Micha B., aged five, came into the middle group.

He had been so spoilt at home that it was difficult to overcome it. Micha was in the habit of merely making

up his mind and being allowed to do whatever he liked. During his first days in the kindergarten Micha continued to behave like a thoroughly spoilt child, but he soon decided this was useless, for the kindergarten has its own code of conduct and makes certain limited demands. At home he would throw his toys anywhere; here he had to put them away after playtime. At home he was dressed and undressed; here he had to dress and undress himself.

Soon, not only did he do all these things himself, but he started to help the other infants. Micha could see that the children who told how they helped their mother to water the flowers or lay the table won the approval of their teachers, and consequently he, too, showed a desire to help his mother and grandmother.

Bit by bit, under the influence of his teachers and of the children's "collective," Micha completely changed and his previous tantrums and bad habits disappeared.

Another example. A young mother gave all her time to her daughter . . . she bought books and read them to her, recited poetry to her, taught her music. She took her out regularly for walks, put her to bed on the dot, fed her well . . . in short, she did everything possible to ensure the normal and healthy development of the child. But instead the little one became more and more lazy; she became indifferent to new books and toys and lost interest in her music. On the doctor's advice she was sent to a kindergarten.

Here too, at first, she was indifferent to everything. She seemed "too old for her age," and then the children's joyous life which surged around her began to exert its attraction.

The child became interested when she saw a group of children, seated at a little table, busy modelling. In the compulsory modelling lessons she rapidly absorbed instruction and her work became outstanding.

From then on the child changed completely. First she made friends with the children in the modelling class and later with all the other children. She started to take part willingly in little games and became full of energy. Correct educational training and the children's "collective" had given her what was missing in her family: the possibility of "showing off" her own gifts, the friendship of other children and the harmonious combination of physical and mental activity.

One last example. One December morning last year, a woman came to the kindergarten with her small grand-daughter Galia, aged six. The girl was so muffled up that she could hardly walk.

The grandmother became worried when the teacher asked her not to muffle up the child so. The teacher explained that this was undesirable and that the long coat should be shortened, and told the woman that a child who is too muffled up catches cold quickly. But the poor grandmother was terrified when she saw the children of one group in sports clothes going outside for gymnastics. In another group she saw children in shorts and blouses go out of a class after morning gym and quickly undress themselves in the bathroom. There they were washed, a teacher rubbed them down and helped them to dress quickly after a nurse had made sure that their temperatures were normal.

During the first days of Galia's stay at the kindergarten her grandmother expected to see her catch bronchitis or some other serious illness. But nothing of the sort happened.

Like the other children, in winter Galia slept on the veranda in a warm sleeping bag. She washed each morning in cold water. The result was that the child developed, became healthy and didn't know the meaning of a cold.

Many more examples could be given.

Children's Groups—Little Worlds

These groups, each composed of children of the same age, are formed each autumn. The teacher follows the group from beginning to end right up to its entry into school. Each group has its own characteristics. Each group, too, has its own equipment and belongings corresponding to the ages of the children: an assortment of toys, books and furniture according to the size and age of the children, etc. Each group has its own particular form of education, based on the discoveries of pedagogical science and on the experiences of the best teachers.

But in every group, all the children are different, and the teacher must interest himself in each particular child. A kindergarten group is a happy "collective" of youngsters, full of the joy of living and ignorant of the very meaning of corporal punishment. The approval or the reproach of teacher and comrades—that is what the child is taught to value.

The essential task of the kindergarten is the protection of the health of the child, with particular stress on rational physical exercise. Rules of hygiene are rigorously observed in the kindergarten: rooms are big, well-lit and well-ventilated; careful thought is given to the preparation of menus, based on scientific data, to include the necessary quantity of calories and vitamins. Good habits and hygiene are developed in the children together with their bodily health. The children are under permanent medical supervision, and each one is cared for individually. It is all these things together which assure a healthy development.

It should also be noted that each kindergarten has its own doctor whose job it is, with the teacher, to ensure the complete physical development of the child.

A carefully regulated timetable helps to improve the children's health.

All these measures result in guarding the child against illness; and a healthy child is the best proof for the parents of the correctness of the methods of physical development in the kindergartens.

The teacher also develops the curiosity of the child. He teaches him to understand the phenomena which happen all round him and develops his vocabulary. The children learn to acquire such qualities as discretion, politeness, respect towards older people and their comrades, feelings of honour, courage and love for their Soviet homeland. The talents of gifted children are developed to the maximum and are not stifled as was sometimes the case within the family, (remember our Galia?).

LEFT: **Before the day's work parents employed in the "Krasny Kotelshchik" factory in the Rostov region confide their children to experienced nurses.**

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RIGHT: **Kindergarten No. 502 in the "Proletarsky" district of Moscow cares for 150 children of workers in the Stalin Automobile Plant. Here is one corner of the play room.**

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RIGHT: **The kindergarten of the "Red October" confectionery plant in Moscow. The children are practising drawing.**

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LEFT: **Wherever there are children there are songs.**

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RIGHT: **Playing makes healthy appetites.**

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LEFT: **To rest after playing the children take a nap well protected in their warm pyjamas.**

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Mother Can Study

The kindergarten works closely with the children's parents, interesting them in the fulfillment of the educational programmes. The common objective of both the school and the family is to ensure a good education for the children, and that is why we carefully follow the proposals made by the parents. The kindergarten adopts all that the family can bring to the field of education: tenderness, care, solicitude, warm relationship with children, and all that the child gets from the school is sustained and applied in the family.

Hence there is nothing surprising in the fact that our establishments enjoy the confidence and the consideration of the family.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the upkeep of the child costs less in the kindergarten than in the family. The amount the parents pay to place their children in the kindergarten is related to their income. Besides, they only pay 20% of the amount needed for the upkeep of the child, the remainder being the responsibility of the State.

For example: in the T. family the mother works and is taking a correspondence course; the father studies at the Institute. Their son has been brought up for four years at the kindergarten, giving the parents the opportunity of securing higher education.

Again, in the E. family twins were born. The mother was working and the father often employed away from home. It was impossible to entrust their children to a nurse. Also, as often happens in the case of twins, the children were delicate, so the kindergarten stepped in, and after four years the two fine children were going to school.

Kindergartens provide all working mothers with the possibility of bringing up their children, working without worry, studying and resting.

Our kindergarten has received many testimonials from parents expressing their gratitude for the good education and the unstinted care given to their youngsters.

Trade Union Assistance and Control

The kindergarten is under the permanent supervision of the factory trade union committee which assists in its day to day work. Within the Council of the Factory Social Security Committee there is a group which concerns itself particularly with children. This group controls the kindergarten's expenditure, the quality of the food, the educational work, and raises with the factory management and the trade union committee questions bearing upon the improvement of the work of the kindergartens, the constant betterment of its equipment, furniture, toys, etc. Each year this group, jointly with the Parents' Committee, takes part in the preparations for the transfer of the kindergarten to the country for the summer.

So our children grow, healthy, vigorous, and happy to live in our Soviet land, which links with its love for them the indispensable complement—its great solicitude towards those who gave them life—their mothers.

Norwegian Seamen Act to Recover Wages Blocked During the War

• By A Norwegian Seaman

THE Norwegian seamen have a rich and glorious tradition. During the second world war, they made an important contribution to the peoples' struggle against fascism and for the liberation of their country. At the time of Hitler's attack, nearly 80% of Norwegian ships were outside the country. These ships and their crews were placed at the disposal of the Allies. More than 4,000 Norwegian seamen fell in this struggle and thousands of others were seriously wounded.

After the war, the Norwegian seamen demanded what was owed them. They asked for an honest settlement of their accounts for their services and the payment of their credits.

This natural and legitimate request led the Norwegian seamen into one of the most difficult struggles in their history; a struggle which, moreover, has not yet ended and from which they will draw valuable lessons for the future.

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HOW did this struggle arise?

In November 1939, before Norway entered the war, an agreement for chartering ships was concluded between the Norwegian shipowners and the British Ministry of War Transport. This agreement provided that Norwegian shipowners would place a number of ships at the Ministry's disposal.

In accordance with the provisions of this agreement, the chartering authority (the British Ministry of War Transport) would pay a war bonus to the crews in accordance with the rate which had been fixed in the wage agreements between the Norwegian shipowners and the Norwegian seamen's unions. These wage agreements provided for supplementary war risk bonuses which could be as much as 300% of the basic wage, depending upon voyages made in certain zones which were specified in detail.

When Norway entered the war on April 18, 1940, the Norwegian government requisitioned all Norwegian ships which were outside the occupied territory and established in London the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission (*Nortraship*) which, on behalf of the government, was responsible for the entire requisitioned fleet.

Immediately after the organisation of *Nortraship* in London, the British Ministry of War Transport asked that the wage agreements be amended to correspond with those applying to British seamen, in which the war risk bonuses were only slightly more than 10% of those of Norwegian seamen. *Nortraship* cancelled the wage agreement and, following negotiations in May 1940, an agreement was signed on June 5, 1940, according to which the war risk bonus was reduced to 150 krona for all zones, proportional to the wage category to which the seamen belonged. The agreement came into effect on July 1, 1940.

At the same time, new discussions took place between *Nortraship* and the British Ministry of War Transport concerning the chartering of additional Norwegian tonnage not included in the agreement of November 1939.

Despite the reduction in the seamen's war risk bonuses, which in some cases amounted to an 80% wage reduction, this agreement did not provide for any practical reduction in the chartering fees.

The wage reduction was the result of British pressure, a pressure dictated by fear of seeing British and other seamen, sailing on behalf of the Allies, presenting wage demands. Not only the shipowners but also the leaders of the Norwegian Seamen's Union gave in to British pressure.

In an agreement between the British Ministry of War Transport and *Nortraship,* it was stipulated that the former would continue to pay *Nortraship* amounts corresponding to the former war bonus schedules, but that *Nortraship* would pay to the seamen only the reduced bonuses. The difference was withheld in a secret *Nortraship* fund.

DURING the war, the amounts withheld rose to 133 million krona (about £6.65 million sterling). Two-thirds of this amount was spent to cover wage increases which the Norwegian seamen were able to secure during the war, leaving a balance of 44 million krona (about £2.2 million sterling).

By this device, the British succeeded in giving the appearance of parity between the wages of Norwegian and British seamen and preventing all wage demands among the various Allied seamen. This stands out clearly from the declaration of Ingwald Haugen to the Norwegian Seamen's Congress of 1946 :

"We have asked that the existence of this Nortraship fund be kept secret. We have done this because neither the British seamen nor those of other countries have obtained anything."

And in a letter dated July 27, 1944, Haugen wrote :

"I do not want to enter into the question of what would happen if the Press and the British people learned what is behind this 'fund'."

In autumn, 1943, a letter to the Norwegian Shipping Ministry signed by the Presidents of four seamen's unions became known to the seamen. This read in part : *"The entire capital of the fund . . . consists of amounts withheld from the seamen's wages"* and the leaders expressed their fear of losing all confidence of the seamen if the seamen learned of the existence and origin of the fund.

The seamen raised this question in their meetings, but without learning the details; they were promised only that all information would be given them as soon as the war was ended.

This promise was never kept and Ingwald Haugen even declared to the Congress of the Seamen's Union that there was no connection between this fund and the seamen's wage reductions in 1940. The leaders of the seamen's union secured the adoption of a resolution by the Congress inviting the government to take over these funds and to use them for certain social purposes which were normally the responsibility of the State or of the municipalities.

* * *

BUT little by little, the seamen succeeded in obtaining the necessary documents throwing light on this intentionally obscure affair.

In September 1947, a meeting of 200 seamen, directly concerned with the matter, coming from all sections of the country, decided to demand that the amounts withheld from the seamen during the war be paid. In the following months meetings took place in most of the coastal towns and at the end of six months, the "Central Action Committee," which had been established, could show powers of attorney on behalf of more than 8,000 seamen of all ratings, authorising the Committee to act in their name in lawsuits against the State. This was done in March 1948 in Court in Oslo.

At this moment, before the Court could come to a decision, the government submitted a proposal to

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The capitalist State to the Norwegian seamen: "No, you cannot use this money to obtain housing. But if you continue to sleep without a roof over your head there will be a good chance of your fulfilling the necessary conditions for admission to a little private tuberculosis sanatorium."

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Parliament according to which the fund would be utilised in accordance with proposals made by the leaders of the seamen's union. On December 6, 1948, the government plan was adopted by the Storting (Parliament) with the communist deputies and four other deputies voting against the proposal.

Protest movements grew after the vote in Parliament. In September 1951, the *Nortraship* lawsuit was finally tried in the Oslo Court. Although the government was absolved, the Court declared that the fund "belongs to the seamen." But the decision according to which the seamen must present medical certificates and recommendations to have a right to a small part of the amounts earned while endangering their lives during the war cannot satisfy them. The seamen authorised their Action Committee to appeal to the Supreme Court against the Oslo Court's decision. The appeal will probably be heard in the autumn of 1952.

* * *

UP to the present, more than 11,000 seamen have given powers of attorney to the Action Committee to defend their interests. Behind them are the families of 4,000 seamen who died in service during the second world war. It is a struggle which concerns a total of 16,000 seamen and their families. This is the first time that there has been such unity of seamen of all ranks and viewpoints. Despite all the attacks and dirty accusations, despite threats and measures of expulsion, the trade union leaders were powerless to break this unity. Every attempt against the Action Committee served only to strengthen the solidarity and the determination of the seamen.

The courageous and resolute struggle of the seamen has made a deep impression on public opinion. Public opinion is comparing the base manner in which the seamen are treated with the generosity toward the shipowners following the war, when they were given an indemnity of 3,1975 million krona (£160 million sterling), to compensate them for lost ships. It is a highly significant fact that the President of the Norwegian Seamen's Union, as a "socialist" deputy, warmly favoured the granting of the indemnity to the shipowners at the same time that he was one of the most rabid opponents of the seamen's demands.

In an article in the conservative paper *Norges Handels et Sjofartsidende* of December 11, 1948, the veteran seaman and religious propagandist Erling Gabrielsen wrote : *"I presume that those who govern the country are conscious of their responsibilities. I presume that they are not unaware that the next time their promises will not be enough and that they will not even have the right to ask that the seamen remain at their posts during periods of crisis."*

In a report on a demonstration held in Oslo by more than 500 veteran seamen, *Friheten,* the principal organ of the Norwegian Communist Party, wrote on December 2, 1948 :

" 'Never ask us again to participate in a new war,' declared one of the speakers, 'the next time they can man their ships themselves'." Ringing applause greeted this declaration.

The Norwegian seamen will be able to draw all of the conclusions which their experiences imply for the future. They will carry on to the end the struggle for the recognition of their rights and to secure reimbursement of the wages owed them.

Free The Colombian Trade Union Leaders!

WE have received from our comrades of the Colombian Workers' Federation a moving appeal for the active solidarity of workers throughout the world to save the lives of two trade union leaders, victims of the savage anti-working class repression of the dictator Laureano Gomez, one of the most servile and odious Wall Street agents in Latin America.

The appeal concerns Brothers Elsias Molina and Carlos Arias. Molina is a leader of the agricultural workers on the sugar plantations and Arias is General Secretary of the Magdalena Workers' Federation and one of the best-loved leaders of the banana plantation workers.

Brother Elsias Molina was condemned to three years of forced labour under an infamous law on so-called vagrancy, but in reality, a law which is enforced almost exclusively against workers' leaders. Arrested in September 1950 when he was organising agricultural workers in the interior of the country, he was sent to the sinister Aracuara prison, from which many other trade unionists have failed to return.

Brother Carlos Arias is the direct victim of the powerful American monopoly, the United Fruit Company, which controls all the rich banana plantations in the Magdalena region and, in fact, determines the policy of the country. He was arrested last October 30 in the city of Santa Marta with six other trade union leaders whom the United Fruit Company wanted to keep away from the workers, and confined without trial in Barranquilla prison. In January he was tried before a military tribunal, and, without being given the opportunity to defend himself, was found guilty of a number of trifling offences, some of which had been committed after his arrest, and of which he could not have been guilty. He was sentenced to a year in prison.

Given the frightful conditions which exist in the prisons and concentration camps in this country, which our Colombian brothers rightly compare with those of Nazi Germany or Franco Spain, a prison sentence, even a short one, is equivalent to the death sentence.

Five thousand workers and trade union militants have been assassinated during the five year Gomez dictatorship. We can give as examples the well-known trade union leader Emanuel Marulanda Velez, former President of the Workers' Federation of Cundinamarca, who died following 20 days of uninterrupted torture, and Juan de la Cruz Perafab, leader of the Building Workers' Federation, who was tortured for 48 consecutive days.

Certain that it is interpreting the sentiment of all workers, the World Federation of Trade Unions has notified the United Nations Economic and Social Commission of the arbitrary detention of the two Colombian trade union leaders,—cases of flagrant violation of the rights of man.

Carlos Arias and Elsias Molina must be freed! Let all workers in the factories, work places and offices loudly proclaim their indignant protest and demand their release and that of all persecuted Colombian patriots.

Who Are the Plotters?

THE democratic governments of Europe have more than once been forced to take strong measures to put an end to the criminal activities of the instigators of war. We need only recall the important trials which have taken place within recent years in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia during which the role of the agents of the warmongers was made perfectly clear to all decent people in the world.

However, despite the accumulation of irrefutable proofs, the imperialists and their lying Press have systematically denied the facts. How many hypocritical tears have been shed in the world capitalist Press on the fate of these " innocent victims."

Unfortunately for these gentlemen, they occasionally let slip a large-scale admission.

Thus Mr. Anthony H. Leviero, an American journalist, swelling with pride like La Fontaine's crow, opened his mouth so wide that he let the truth fall out. In an article which appeared in the April 1952 issue of *Nation's Business,* one of the most serious-minded Wall Street publications, he does not hesitate to boast of the sabotage and the provocative activities of American agents in Eastern Europe. It should be recognised that these are a very special type of journalists and consular agents.

This is what he says :

> "No government official will admit it, but we are training men to be spies, saboteurs, specialists in the tougher forms of psychological warfare. They are being taught to slip into the Russian fabric on their own to do some unravelling. They learn to blow up bridges, railroad trains and war plants, are taught to use all types of weapons, both U.S. and foreign. They become expert map readers. They learn secret methods of communication so they can get back word of what they learn. They merge into hostile populations and spread disquieting rumours, help to frame up Russian stooges so that their own superiors will lose confidence in them."

And Mr. Leviero, who seems to be intimately acquainted with the details, continues his explanations :

> "One of our men can, for another example, walk up to a key building in a hostile country and stick some gooey plastic material on a wall, picking an inconspicuous place. What looks to be a harmless pencil is then struck into the plastic, after which the agent walks away. In a few hours, or, if he wishes, in a few days, the building will blow up. That sort of thing was done to the Nazis and Japs in World War II.
>
> "The plastic material is, of course, an explosive and the "pencil" a detonator. The explosive comes in all colors so it can blend with the background wherever it is used. If the agent wants additional time to get away from a sabotage job, he can arrange to have a plane fly over the spot, say, in three weeks, to detonate the "pencil" electronically. That, too, has been done.
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> "Our main force for secret intelligence is the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.), headed by Gen Walter Bedell (Beetle) Smith, General Eisenhower's Chief of Staff in World War II. General Smith also served for a time as a post-war ambassador to Moscow. The C.I.A. does the high-level methodical analyses of intelligence data and enemy intentions, as well as cloak-and-dagger work on a global basis. How much is spent in carrying out its critical missions few people know. Not even Congress knows exactly because the appropriation for the C.I.A. is hidden away among funds of several government departments.
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> "Big-time sabotage and guerrilla fighting, however, is considered premature at this stage of the cold war, at least in Europe. It goes on in Korea, though."

Cartoon by IURASHCU

To make his meaning perfectly clear, the spokesman of *Nation's Business* does not hesitate to give a particularly eloquent example which should give the I.C.F.T.U. leaders cause to think :

> "The year 1948 was crucial in the efforts of the Communists to shove Italy behind the Iron Curtain. It looked as if they would succeed by winning the national elections that year. The danger was recognised and American agents went underground, along with anti-Communist Italians. They engaged in certain important operations, competing with the Communists as ruthlessly as the situation required, and thus played a decisive role in keeping Italy free. That hidden battle was a landmark of the high tide of Communism in Western Europe, a tide that has been receding ever since.
>
> "American agents as well as operatives of many other nationalities are infiltrating the Russian camp abroad. The Russian radio often screams that American spies, saboteurs, gangsters and diversionists are active in her midst.
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> "Our Government, of course, is not admitting whether it actually is using such tactics. While 100 persons have been arrested as spies and saboteurs in Russia and her satellites during the past few months, most of them accused of being American agents, none was an American."

Thus everything becomes clear as to the role of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders, admirers of the great " American democracy " and faithful supporters of its policy of " the fight for the freedom and rights of the peoples."

British Engineers Move in Defence of Peace and Living Standards

THE 1952 National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union was recognised on all sides as an event of considerable political importance. Its decisions, on both peace and defence of living standards, have provoked widespread alarm and anger in the leading capitalist papers and also from top right-wing labour and trade union figures. These decisions are not an internal affair for this key union, numerically Britain's third largest, but will resound throughout the entire British trade union movement in the months ahead, and play an important role at the next Trades Union Congress in September.

The National Committee, which represents 870,000 members, took a clear stand for a progressive policy. The 59 delegates, who are all rank and file workers, were obviously considerably influenced by the militant mood of the engineers in the workshops. Rearmament was the key issue before them. Resolutions from eleven divisions were withdrawn in favour of a composite which read:

"This National Committee expresses its grave concern at the extent to which the rearmament programme is seriously affecting Britain's economy, particularly its effect on vital engineering products upon which the country largely depends. It therefore instructs Executive Council to approach the government through the Trade Union Congress and Labour Party in an endeavour to secure:

1. A peace pact between the five great powers.
2. An international discussion and agreement on a progressive reduction in all arms.
3. Prohibition of atomic, germ and bacteriological warfare and weapons, with full inspection and control.
4. An inquiry into the wages of workers in countries that threaten Britain's trade, notably Japan and Germany."

This resolution was moved by Labour Party Councillor F. Marsell of Wolverhampton. He said that the effect of rearmament in the Midlands was causing continual shortage of materials, resulting in many A.E.U. members working short time. Although the rearmament programme had been inaugurated by the Labour government, they had to ask in 1952 if they were going to commit economic suicide in order to attain it. If they carried on with the present programme they would be rightly accused of piling up arms, not for defence, but to wage war. An amendment to delete the specific proposals and substitute a more general statement, asking the government "to seek to promote discussions to settle the outstanding issues between East and West in order to make possible a progressive reduction in armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons" was defeated by 40 votes to 12.

A full debate developed. Mr. Brown of Dundee referred to the speech of "one of our foolish Generals, General Slim, whose statement that 'for every atom bomb dropped on this country, we could drop twenty' was a simple formula which contained a world of human suffering. There had been a lot of publicity given to the need for disciplining people inside Broadmoor[1] but more consideration should be given to the disciplining of lunatics outside Broadmoor."

The resolution was finally adopted unanimously, and will be placed on the agenda of the 1952 Trade Union Congress.

Editorial comment the following day in the *Times* was headed "Votes against National Safety," and went on to say "the implications are deeply disturbing." The official right-wing Labour *Daily Herald* followed with "An Open Letter to the Engineers" by the Rt. Hon. Philip Noel Baker denouncing their resolution on peace.

Two other questions closely related to rearmament were discussed: dilution and National Service. A resolution adopted by the Annual Youth Conference on National Service was endorsed. It instructed Executive Council to secure through all channels available to them the reduction to twelve months of "compulsory National Service, and that this service shall not take effect until the age of 21 years and be served in Great Britain."

The resolution on dilution was designed to prevent the flooding of the industry with unskilled workers to boost the arms programme. It instructed the Executive Council to terminate two procedure agreements and revert to the original agreement with the employers which makes it much more difficult to upgrade workers and bring in unskilled labour to do skilled work.

Prior to the National Committee meeting, application for a substantial increase in wages had already been made to the Employers' Federation by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, which embraces all the engineering unions. Despite the pleas of the members of the Executive Council to leave it to them to name a figure, the National Committee adopted the figure of a £2 per week increase. Demands on behalf of the women and youth were also adopted and the Executive Council instructed to obtain a settlement of

1 Broadmoor: A criminal lunatic asylum housing large numbers of convicted murderers, from which recent escapes have caused a certain public concern.

their claims at the same time as that of the men. The decision to claim a £2 increase upset both the Tory Press and Mr. A. Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, who spoke about "unreasonable demands" in a speech made at Salisbury. A number of delegates raised the question of action to enforce the wage demand if rejected, and the resolution adopted instructed the Executive to launch a propaganda campaign in support of the claim.

A sharp clash between the platform and the floor developed at the end of the meeting on a resolution condemning the declaration made after the return of the Tory government by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The policy of co-operation with the Tory government and of class collaboration was condemned. This stung the two members of the General Council—Tanner and Openshaw—to attempt to justify this policy by indulging in red-baiting. Behind the issue, of course, lies the fear of the workers using industrial action and developing the strike weapon. An amendment to inform the Trades Union Congress General Council that they must only co-operate with the government "on matters in line with T.U.C. policy" was carried by 29 votes to 23.

Important resolutions on Malaya, German rearmament, productivity, American air bases and East-West trade were on the agenda, but were not reached before the meeting ended. A.E.U. policy, however, is clear as adopted in 1951, that is, in favour of East-West trade and against the rearming of Germany and Japan.

In closing the meeting, President Jack Tanner revealed the open opposition of the union's right-wing leaders to the views of the rank and file. He took the extraordinary step of condemning the decisions of the meeting, using the familiar Communist bogey to cover his desertion of responsibility to lead the fight for the policy democratically adopted.

This speech will, in fact, help further to expose how completely bankrupt Tanner & Co. are. It also points the lesson to the members that it is their own fight which will be decisive for the implementation of their policy to save peace and defend their living standards.

A British Engineering Worker.

Better Workers' Health Protection!
Better Housing!

The Concern of the 8th Session of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions

THE 8th Plenary Session of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions was held in Moscow in June. The session considered the following questions: the improvement of medical services for workers and office personnel of industrial enterprises; the execution by the Ministries and government departments of the 1952 plan for the construction of housing and cultural and communal buildings and the strengthening of trade union control; and the task of the trade unions and administrative agencies of enterprises of the rolling stock construction industry in the strengthening of labour discipline.

On the question of improving medical services for the workers and office personnel of industrial enterprises, the plenary session noted that in the Soviet Union the workers' health was a matter of daily concern. The budgets allocated for public health are increasing from year to year. The network of hospitals, polyclinics, dispensaries and maternity homes continually increases. A large number of illnesses have been abolished in the U.S.S.R.; the incidence rates of malaria, tuberculosis and industrial diseases are falling.

At the present time, the U.S.S.R. has twice as many doctors as before the war. The improvement in the people's well-being and the gains of Soviet medicine have resulted in a reduction in the mortality rate by one-half in comparison with 1940 in the U.S.S.R.; the rate of infant mortality has been reduced by a still higher percentage. At the same time, the net population increase in the Soviet Union has been more than 3 million persons in recent years. In order to achieve ever greater improvement in medical care for workers and office personnel in industrial enterprises, the plenary session recognised that it is necessary that the public health agencies take measures to eliminate weaknesses which still remain in the work of the institutions for medical and preventive care for workers and office personnel in industrial enterprises and that the administrative agencies continue to improve working conditions and methods for ensuring safety and health in industry.

The plenary session placed before the public health agencies and the trade unions the task of increasing health education work among workers and office employees in order to prevent sickness and decrease the rate of illness; for this purpose exhibitions, conferences and talks on subjects relating to hygiene and sanitary measures will be organised, as well as films on health education.

The decision of the session concerning the achievements by the Ministries and government departments of the 1952 plan for the construction of housing and cultural and communal buildings and the strengthening of trade union control noted the increase each year in the U.S.S.R. of the construction of housing, children's institutions, medical care establishments, schools, clubs, communal and commercial enterprises. In no country in the world is there such an extensive programme of construction of housing and cultural buildings to satisfy

the people's needs as in the U.S.S.R. A large number of Ministries and departments in the U.S.S.R. exceeded the 1951 housing construction plan to complete for use new dwelling units and have fulfilled the plan for the first quarter of 1952.

The session gave the trade unions the task of establishing a constant check on the construction of housing, buildings for the cultural and other needs of the population and children's institutions. It gave them the task of improving the work of regional and factory trade union committees on questions of housing and communal services.

The session made it the obligation of the trade unions to pay greater attention to the improvement of the housing conditions and of all the agencies placed at the disposal of the workers employed in construction; to take the necessary measures to improve the political and cultural education of the masses of these workers and to develop their technical knowledge.

On the third question, the session of the Central Council proposed that the heads of administrative agencies and trade unions in the enterprises of the rolling stock construction industry should further strengthen labour discipline. At the same time, the education of workers and office personnel in a communist attitude toward work will be strengthened. They will pay more attention to improving housing conditions, communal services and the satisfaction of the cultural needs of the workers.

The participants in the 8th Plenary Session of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions approved with lively enthusiasm a telegram of greetings to the guide and educator of the workers, J. V. Stalin. As was pointed out by *Trud,* the organ of the Soviet trade unions, the decisions of the 8th Plenary Session aim at the constant improvement of the Soviet workers' living conditions and constitute an energetic programme for all the trade unions of the Soviet Union.

V. O.

The A.F.L. Opposes the Most Elementary Workers' Rights

IN February of this year a significant vote of the delegates to the Congress of the Free Federation of Workers of Puerto Rico, which is not only under local right-wing leadership but is an affiliated body of the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.), rejected the new "Constitution" cooked up by the U.S.A. which controls this colony.

The "Constitution" leaves Puerto Rico still under U.S. control and gives the right to the President of the United States to send troops to the island in the event of rebellion or invasion.

At the time opposition was declared by the Free Federation of Workers, a copy of their decision to oppose the Constitution on the grounds that it did not guarantee the political and civil rights of the people nor the free development of the country's economy was sent to the astonished William Green, President of the A.F.L.

The news now is that the Executive Council of the A.F.L., meeting on May 22, has got around to considering their affiliated body's protest. The result of that consideration was that the Executive Council decided to send a Committee to Puerto Rico to "investigate" the Free Federation of Workers, to "reorganise" it and to find out why it had turned down what Secretary-Treasurer George Meany called "a very good document."

A further development which highlights the A.F.L. leaders' stand and goes some way to explaining the disapproval of the Free Federation of Workers is provided by a *New York Times* report of May 29, 1952.

Despite the fact that the law passed by Congress authorising the drawing up of a Constitution for Puerto Rico stipulated that it must "include a Bill of Rights," when the Constitution, drawn up in Puerto Rico, came to be considered by the U.S. Congress for ratification on May 28, it decided to delete the whole of Section 20 of Article 11. This reads:

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labour, who thinks that the new Puerto Rico Constitution, from which the U.S. Congress deleted a section on human rights, is "a very good document." (Drawing by Yakka for "World Trade Union Movement").

"The Commonwealth also recognises the existence of the following human rights:

The right of every person to receive free elementary and secondary education.

The right of every person to obtain work.

The right of every person to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, and especially to food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services.

The right of every person to social protection in the event of unemployment, sickness, old age or disability.

The right of motherhood and childhood to special care and assistance."

The grounds for the deletion were that human rights were defined in such a "broad" way, and appeared to be guaranteed to such an extent, that they gave the document a "socialistic" or "communistic" tinge.

Mr. A. Fernos-Isern, the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico, informed the House of Representatives that he had no objection to the amendment, but he added in what must be the major under-statement of the year, that the action of the House "would result in great disappointment and controversy in Puerto Rico."

It will not only do that, but will certainly open a few eyes and lead to mass opposition to the continuance of U.S. rule.

T. F. McWhinnie.

Achievements of Burma Water Transport Workers

THE second largest inland waterways transport concern in the world is the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company of Burma. The company was owned and managed by a group of capitalists from Scotland. Every year huge profits were remitted to the shareholders in Scotland, and in Burma the assets of the company increased and its business extended. In 1941 (i.e. before the second world war reached Burma) it owned and operated over 600 steamers.

The workers employed by the company learnt much during the war. They resented the idea of serving the interests of the foreign capitalists and organised themselves into unions to fight them. Soon after the Declaration of Independence, the workers demanded that the government nationalise the inland waterways system. The Nu-Attlee agreement provided for compensation in case of nationalisation, therefore when the transport system was nationalised, many thousands of rupees were paid as compensation. The British capitalists left their trusted men from among the Burma nationals in the various responsible administrative posts.

The 8,000 workers of the Inland Waterways Transport were united before the nationalisation. Today, our federation, the Federation of Inland Water Transport Employees' Unions, is represented on the board which controls the policy of the Inland Waterways Transport Department by four representatives. At present the Inland Water Transport Administration is trying to crush the federation by encouraging rival organisations and by dirty underhand administrative measures adopted against some of the leaders, some of whom have been transferred from Rangoon to the provinces. The policy of victimisation is being applied shamelessly and ruthlessly.

Among the many achievements of our federation, with effect from October 1, 1949, we obtained the raising of the minimum wage from Rupees 35/- to Rs. 40/- per month and the then prevailing low scales of pay to those recommended by the Pay Commission. The old fixed Floating or Messing Allowance of Rs. 25/- per month was raised to the scale of from Rs. 60/- to Rs. 120/- per month according to the responsibility. We forced the opening of a Provident Fund for all wage earners and not only to clerical staff as before.

The federation has obtained the reinstatement of 38 persons who were discharged.

The federation prevented retrenchment in the Rangoon Foundry by reason of short work and succeeded in obtaining different work for 35 permanent carpenters served with notices of discharge for want of carpentry work.

The federation also effected the release of some Inland Waterways Transport employees from Moulmein who were arrested.

In 1949, the federation prevented the government from reducing the cost of living allowance by 15 per cent and retrenching 25 per cent of the staff for financial reasons.

The federation has forced the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company to continue its practice of calculating overtime payments by including the cost of living allowance in estimating the basic rate.

The federation has undertaken to make monthly remittances to the dependents of foreign employees as the management refuses to do so.

Myint Hlaing,
General Secretary,
Federation of Inland Water
Transport Employees
Unions.

How About A Shirt?

HOW would you like a couple of the latest U.S. artificial silk shirts at $10 a piece—such as, the publicity says, are worn by People of Taste? Did you say what's the catch? There's no catch. You just go to work for 12 weeks — and at the end, if you are lucky and don't smoke, don't drink, don't go to the movies and don't buy a single bar of chocolate, you'll have the magnificent sum of $20.54 in hand with which to make whoopee.

No, this isn't in one of the colonies. This is in that home of freedom and democracy where every errand boy can become President—the U.S.A.

How come, you ask? The answer is: *immigrant agricultural labour.*

From time to time advertisements appear in the British West Indian press headed: RECRUITMENT OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS FOR SHORT-TERM EMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S.A. Such an advertisement, dated May 9, 1952, said that a recruiter would be coming to Trinidad the following week to recruit workers for agricultural work under contract in the United States of America. The details followed.

Workers must be 'of robust physique . . . accustomed to strenuous muscular work in the open'. . . The work is expected to last about 12 weeks . . . Workers will be permitted to enter the United States only on condition that they remain in the employment for which they are contracted . . . If they leave their jobs the Immigration Authorities will be notified and *they will be liable to arrest* . . .

'Arrangements will be made for workers to travel by air . . . *They will have to pay the cost of their passage* to the United States and part of the cost of their passage back to Trinidad. This will cost between $160-$175 (U.S.) . . .

'Workers will be required to live in the camp or the housing provided by the employers and may have to wash their own eating utensils and clothes. *It may be necessary for them to live in a tent or in barracks with concrete floors* . . .

'The rates of wages will be not less than the prevailing piece work or hourly rate . . . within the particular area of employment. It is not yet known what these rates will be but they are likely to be in the neighbourhood of 75c. (U.S.) per hour. The contract will guarantee a minimum of $30 (U.S.) per fortnight . . .'

So you pass your 'rigid medical examination including a blood test and a chest X-ray' (at whose expense is not stated), have your fingerprints taken, get a smallpox vaccination and a typhoid fever inoculation and away you go—provided you don't intend to overthrow the U.S. Government by force and violence, speak out on peace or urge trade union militancy.

And this is likely to be your balance sheet at the end of 12 weeks' work:

Wages—say 48 hours a week at 75 c. an hour which is $36 a week		$432.00
Air Fare—say	$167.50	
U.S. Social Security contribution (1½ percent of wages)	6.48	
Contribution to expenses of B.W.I. Central Labour Organisation (4% of wages)	17.28	
Boarding and Lodging Expenses (given as approx. $25.90 a fortnight)	155.40	
15 percent of earnings paid to Trinidad government to recover 'any amount owing on passage and any dues incurred in the U.S.A.' Balance to dependents	64.80	
	411.46	
Balance	20.54	
	432.00	432.00

Of course, if your wages only reach the $30 minimum a fortnight owing, for example, to bad weather, there'll be no shirts for you at the end of the job but a $179.80 debt.

The tragedy is that the extensive unemployment in Trinidad (100,000 are totally or partially unemployed out of a population around 500,000) forces many workers to apply for this work. Low wages are another factor. Many young women factory workers get as little as 2.40 Trinidad dollars a week (1 Trinidad dollar equals 4s. 2d.). In the big stores, wages are about $6 weekly.

In the countryside, conditions are worse. Two-thirds of the land is turned over to plantations mainly owned by absentee landlords or by the government. The latter is now offering a mere one to two acres per peasant family despite the statement by the West Indian economist, Professor Arthur Lewis of Manchester University that B.W.I. peasants cannot live on less than 5 acres and must be provided with implements and cash grants.

But as the United Workers' May Day Committee says in their May Day message: 'The people's answer to these intense conditions of exploitation has been a powerful, though uncoordinated Carribean strike movement . . . Though the strikes did not all accomplish the tasks they set themselves, they are still a powerful indication of mass resentment which will lead to greater efforts and further unity of the entire Carribean working class movement. The Carribean workers must learn to move as one and to paralyse the armed hand of the imperialist foe.'

M.W.

I.C.F.T.U. Envoys Rebuffed by Iranian Workers

DURING the last few months, the struggle of the Iranian workers for better conditions, national independence and peace has grown apace. We have only to recall the setting up in Teheran of the legal Inter-Trade Union Committee and its successes, the united action achieved between workers of various beliefs not only for economic claims but also in leading the Iranian people's demand for a Five Power Peace Pact. They collected 800,000 of the 2 million signatures announced by the Iranian Peace Committee.

In the nation-wide fight for the nationalisation of the Iranian oil industry and against imperialist intrigues, the working class lost 7 killed at Abadan and Ma'ashur (in the oil region) and many injured during the March 1951 strike, one killed and several injured at Ispahan, and 19 killed and injured at the June 1951 meeting held in Teheran to mark the arrival of Harriman. Faced with this growing wave of workers' struggles, reaction is taking new measures. After hiring a foreign 'specialist' to set up fascist gangs, it appeals to the divisionist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) to revive the government trade unions which were in a bad way after the united fight of the workers. But these envoys from the splitters' headquarters were somewhat badly received by the workers, for the following reason.

In 1947, in an attempt to divert the workers from their real federation, the Central Council of United Trade Unions of Iran (C.C.S.U.), the government set up a police outfit which went under the name of a trade union and consisted of bandits ('Chaghukash'—literally 'dagger-drawer') and agents-provocateurs paid to carry out their attacks against the trade union organisations.

Under C.C.S.U. leadership, the Iranian workers inflicted one set-back after another on these splitters, who affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. a few months after the latter was set up.

Following the bloody events of March 27 (when the police and military fired on a large meeting of youth and peace partisans killing four young people and seriously injuring many others), the government abolished the last traces of trade union and democratic freedom. A state of siege was declared in Teheran, the May Day demonstration was banned, the police occupied trade union offices and the headquarters of the Inter-Trade Union Committee, more trade unionists and workers fighting for their demands were arrested and in the provinces the terror was so great that merely to say 'trade union' was dangerous.

This was the atmosphere in which the I.C.F.T.U. representatives arrived in Iran, escorted on all occasions by police and well-known anti-working class elements. Despite official propaganda and radio campaigns, the workers were not fooled. "There is no need for much comment on the I.C.F.T.U.," wrote *Zafar,* the underground organ of the C.C.S.U. "On seeing their anti-working class and reactionary Iranian confederates, anyone can assess the real nature of the I.C.F.T.U."

Not only the trade unions were of this opinion. The mass of the workers were in agreement and proved it. One day these gentlemen were invited to a cement factory. As a first precaution, the invitations were "for the celebration of the 13th anniversary of the founding of the factory." As a further precaution, three-quarters of those invited were hand-picked. Nevertheless, the workers' protests during the ceremony itself were so noisy that the I.C.F.T.U. splitters and their guides were obliged to withdraw in haste.

At No. 5 factory (manufacturing household articles), these gentlemen presented themselves in the name of the W.F.T.U. To the workers' question, "Where then is Brother Saillant?" they replied, "He will be here in a few days." But they had no more luck than at the cement factory.

During an interview given by the splitters to the Press, the latter declared that everyone in Iran took them for American agents.

From the moment these unwanted guests arrived, the trade unions in Teheran and the provinces denounced the imperialist and anti-working class nature of the I.C.F.T.U. in resolutions and communiques, while stressing that the Iranian workers, under the leadership of the C.C.S.U., in following the path of unity recognises the W.F.T.U. as the guide of the world working class.

After such a reception, the I.C.F.T.U. splitters no longer showed themselves. Even the reactionary papers grew suddenly silent on the subject so that no one knew when or how they left Iran, the working class of which had taught them such a well-deserved lesson.

T.G.

Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions

IN Peking from June 3 to 6 forty-seven delegates representing twenty countries of Asia, Australasia, North and South America met to hold a preparatory conference for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, to be held in Peking in the latter part of September.

The delegates represented Australia, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea,

Malaya, Mexico, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Soviet Union, Thailand, United States and Viet-Nam, and came from the most varied social strata, religious beliefs and political convictions. The W.F.T.U. was represented by a member of its Asian and Australasian Liaison Bureau.

But despite their racial, national, economic, political, social and religious diversity, they were united by a common aim, the universal desire—the universal demand—of the peoples of the world and of the Asian and Pacific regions in particular for world peace. They came to Peking in response to the call of the Chinese sponsors: "We cannot wait for peace. Peace must be won by the joint efforts of the peace-loving peoples."

Today the ardent aspirations of the 1,600 million people in the Asian and Pacific regions are menaced by war and preparations for war—by the refusal of the American imperialists to conclude a cease-fire in Korea on a just and reasonable basis, by the deliberate use of frightful weapons indiscriminately slaughtering men, women and children, by the crime of bacteriological warfare, by the imposition on the Japanese people of a separate treaty and military pact which violate international agreements, which deny the Japanese people's will for full independence and peace and which threatens the Asian and Pacific regions with the resurgence of Japanese militarism. The peace of the world is threatened by the imperialists, who are bringing war and savage repression against the heroic people of Malaya and Viet-Nam struggling for national liberation and independence.

After drawing attention to these threats to world peace, the Declaration of the Preparatory Conference stated:

"We believe that by acting together for peace, the peoples of the Asian and Pacific countries can change this situation. They can bring to an end all present and potential conflicts in Asia and can push back the menace of war. By turning their common will for peace into a united force for the defence of peace, they can win the conditions of peace which will assure full national independence and will bring to an end the disastrous consequences of military preparations which they now suffer. They can assure the peaceful co-existence of nations with differing political and economic systems, based on equality between nations and on the right of peoples to settle their own affairs without outside interference. They can win the application of the principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter which demands the peaceful settlement of differences between nations and the reaching of agreement between the Great Powers. They can put an end to the wasteful armaments race through international disarmament and through the banning of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and all other weapons of mass destruction. They can tear down the barriers to world trade and to free cultural exchange between all peoples.

"Peace can not be awaited. It has to be won by the peace-loving peoples in unity."

The Preparatory Conference unanimously adopted the following topics to be placed before the Peace Conference in September:

"1. The safeguarding of the independence, freedom and peace of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions; the opposing of expansion of armaments and war preparations; the prohibition of the clamour for war and propaganda inciting racial hatred; the abolition of any suppression of peace propaganda; the demanding of freedom for the peace movement; the prohibition of the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons; opposition to the bombing and massacre of non-combatants and civilians; how to emphasise the observance of international law.

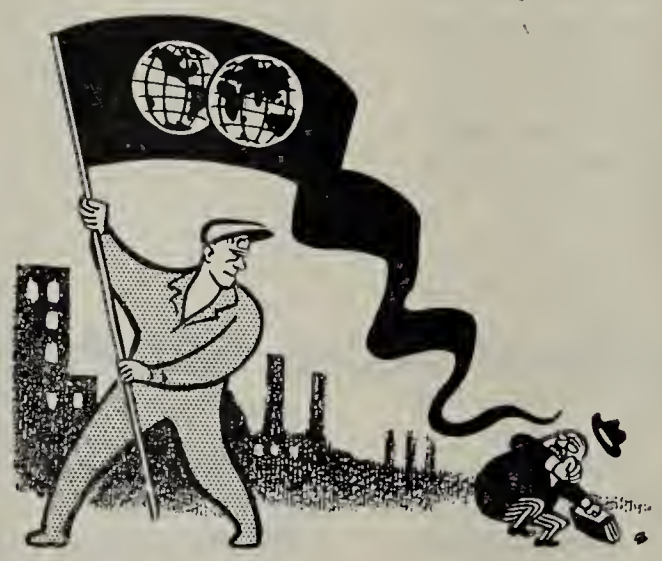
"2. The development of equal, mutually beneficial and normal international economic relations and cultural exchange; the opposing of blockade and embargo; the improvement of the people's livelihood; the promotion of the welfare of women and children.

"3. The opposing of the remilitarisation of Japan and the opposing of the use of Japan as a base for aggression, in order to eliminate the serious threat to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions.

"4. The peaceful settlement of the Korean question on a fair and reasonable basis and the reasonable solution of all questions relating to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions including Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya and other places."

The Conference in September will prove to be another important mile-stone in the struggle of the peoples of the world to "impose peace."

John Wolfard.



WORLD PRESS REVIEW

BRAZIL

The Trade Union Elections

FORTHCOMING elections in many Brazilian trade unions have been announced. These elections called by the Minister of Labour are not free; they are rigorously controlled by the Minister.

The government decree regulating elections stipulates that, above all, a candidate in order to hold a leading position in the trade unions must have the same ideological affiliations as the present political regime governing the country. The Minister of Labour applies the criterion that those holding beliefs contrary to those of the ruling clique cannot be elected.

These gentlemen in the Ministry of Labour, and not the workers, will decide whether such and such a candidate is fitted, by his way of thinking and behaving, to be put or retained in a leading position in the trade unions.

Thus, the election of any candidate can be contested not only by the Minister of Labour, but also by any other authority, police agents included. It is enough for the police to denounce a candidate as a communist, even incorrectly, for his election to be revoked by the Minister of Labour. In addition, a leader having been elected and having taken up his activities can, at any moment, be removed from office should the Minister of Labour consider that this leader has been guilty of "fraud" so far as the legal requirements for election are concerned.

Therefore it suffices that a trade union leader be imprisoned for having been named a communist—and this is what usually happens to those who energetically defend the interests of the working class—for the Minister of Labour to intervene in trade union affairs and remove this leader from office on the grounds that his ideology is contrary to that of the present regime. Thus, the Minister of Labour gives a semblance of legality to governmental interference in the trade union movement.

The government decree also refuses the vote to illiterate trade unionists. Illiterate workers are exploited just as much as those who know how to read; they have common interests. Mere illiteracy does not prevent a worker from distinguishing who are his workmates who best represent his aspirations and deserve his confidence.

In our country, nearly 70 per cent of the people are illiterate, the proportion being higher amongst the peasantry and the workers who have been deprived of education. Therefore, this discrimination amongst the workers has no justification whatever.

The government, by enforcing this decree, will even intervene in the electoral procedure. Neither the trade unionists nor the trade union constitutions control this procedure which, in all its details, is regulated by the Ministry of Labour. Therefore, the elections are not free. They are anti-working class and anti-democratic, the sole aim of which is to preserve the present state of affairs in the trade unions and to keep those elements most submissive and obedient to the Ministry of Labour in the leadership. Thus, they attempt to hinder working class activity in defence of its basic interests and peace.

The workers are beginning to understand that one of the first measures to be taken in order to struggle successfully in support of their interests is to break the ties binding their unions to the Ministry of Labour which deprives them of all freedom of activity.

A broad energetic protest movement must be organised by the working class against the Minister of Labour's decree. The workers must protest to the government demanding really free trade union elections and the stopping of ministerial interference.

While fighting this Order, and demanding free elections from the government, there must be a mass participation of the workers in the next elections. It is imperative to put forward a broad list of unity candidates who will have the support of the majority of the workers. Each list should be accompanied by a programme of specific demands which the candidates will undertake to support.

The mobilisation of the workers to fight for victory in the elections and to guarantee the effective taking of power by the elected leadership should at the same time be the mobilisation of all the workers in the struggle in support of the programme's long-term demands.

Joao Amazonas,
Member of the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, in *Gazeta Sindical* (Rio de Janeiro), June 1952.

BERMUDA

Legal Aggression

A RATHER unique legal battle seems likely to break out in Bermuda, where local lawyers and Assemblymen have risen up in arms at some of the provisions in the Act which gives the United States rights to establish defence bases on British soil. Early this week it was reported that provision in the United States Bases (Agreement) Bill to give the U.S. government exclusive jurisdiction to deal with security offences committed in Bermuda is creating a political and legal storm.

If permitted to remain on the statute book, that agreement will give the United States the right to try and convict British subjects, on British soil, for offences committed against the security of a foreign government. Regardless of any friendship that may exist between Britain and the United States, this law is both mischievous and ridiculous. The House of Assembly in Bermuda, lawyers in that island, and private citizens have made strenuous objections and have gone to the extent of sending a message of protest to the Governor. Terming the subjection of British subjects to the jurisdiction of alien courts "intolerable interference with the inherent rights of subjects," they demand that provision be made in Bermuda's laws to deal with offences against security in Bermudian courts.

We heartily agree with Bermudian protests against the basic infringement on their legal rights as British subjects. No responsible government should willingly hand over any part of its legal jurisdiction to a foreign power. With the present wave of "security hysteria" sweeping the United States, much of which has been termed completely incomprehensible in the British House of Commons, it is shocking to believe that Colonial officials would willingly surrender the rights of Bermudians to the mercies of American courts. There seems to be no reason why a Bermudian, even if guilty of a security offence, should be tried by anything but a court of Bermudians. Surrender of his basic rights of citizenship on his own soil is a travesty that cries out for immediate correction. It represents, too, a delicate point of "legal aggression," a measure that the United States government should be expected to have more sense than to propose, if truly the proposal had American origin. In any event, no citizen of any country should surrender any of those rights guaranteed to him by citizenship without a struggle, and the protest of all territories should be loud to prevent this first violation from becoming legal. We in Jamaica should remember that one of this Island's dependencies, the Turks Island, is leased as an American base. If Bermudians are expected to become subject to American security courts, it is not unthinkable that similar provisions will be asked here.

Public Opinion,
Jamaica, B.W.I.

BELGIAN CONGO

The Congo Workers Are Our Allies

THE Belgian bourgeoisie has always done its best to hide from the working class of our country the growing consciousness of the Congo working class. Their reasons are manifold . . .

In 1924, revolts were led by Simon Kibango. In 1942, there was a mass strike for a 0.5 franc a day wage increase in Lumbumbashi. This strike movement was bloodily suppressed. In 1944, the biggest strike movement ever known in the Congo took place in the Matadi region. The African slaves demanded a wage increase and the payment of overtime . . . The villagers joined the strikers. Like madmen, the representatives of colonialism threw themselves upon the slaves, shooting them and deporting thousands of men, women and children . . .

Pensions and compensation is demanded for the widows and orphans of those who fell in the war during the Abyssinian campaign. Once more, the bearers of "civilisation" reply with shootings and deportations. But the events of the last few years have disquieted the colonialists. The Congo working class in the towns is demanding more liberty to organise itself. Something must be done. Faces will be saved: in 1946, the Governor General issued an Order concerning "occupational organisations," its 103 articles stating how a trade union must be formed and how it must behave.

Articles 7 and 16 declare that a trade union can only be set up with the prior authority of the territorial administrator. Chapter 10 deals with "European advisers and almoners" in the trade unions who must be of Belgian nationality.

Articles 86 and 88 declare that the administrator must be informed of all trade union activities. He can take part in all committee and general meetings and look at all trade union documents. The District Commissioner may veto any decision or activity of the trade union.

The list of members and the names of the leadership must be submitted to the administrator . . .

This ordinance is nothing but a restrictive law rather than a measure assuring certain trade union freedoms to the workers. Such an ordinance is no proof of strength, but a proof of weakness, of the fear of the colonial oppressors for the Congo working class.

The Congo workers are not impressed by this "trade union freedom" of the Belgian colonialists. The proof is that since 1946 out of more than a million workers only 5,000 have registered as trade unionists. One has only to hear the Africans express themselves on "the governor's trade union." But the Belgian workers can themselves help to change conditions in the Congo. In the trade unions, attention must be drawn to the situation and a concerted struggle carried on against the Belgian bourgeoisie, against the Belgian government which is the common enemy of the Belgian and Congo working class.

Bwana Ndeko,
in *L'Action Ouvriere Unitaire* (Brussels), July, 1952.

SWITZERLAND

Twenty-six Thousand March!

LAST Sunday the city of Berne witnessed one of the greatest days in the history of the Swiss working class. For more than two hours 26,000 workers marched in close formation in front of the Federal Palace before gathering in the Waisenhaus Square.

Under a radiant sun, Swiss, cantonal and red flags flew over the column. Swiss workers, whose banners showed from where the various groups came, marched through the capital in protest against the federal authorities.

From early morning special trains brought some 26,000 textile workers into Berne. Young and old, men and women whose features bore the signs of hard work, marched in columns to the music of 24 brass bands.

The slogans of the demonstration were "Guaranteed Work," "Against Middlemen's Excessive Profits," "Swiss Commercial Policy Must Protect the Textile Industry," and "Consumer's Solidarity." Here was unexpected proof that the Swiss workers would energetically combat the first signs of the economic crisis. Federal Counsellor Rubattel has stated that O.E.E.C. membership—an organisation for bringing Europe under American domination—involves certain agreements which prevent the Federal Council from taking measures to protect our textile industry.

Swiss textile workers are crisis victims because American manufactures have invaded our markets and because the armaments race is impoverishing our country. The tremendous demonstration organised by the Textile Federation (F.O.F.T.) and supported by all other trades, has shown that the Swiss working class refuses to accept the consequences of this government policy.

Speeches by the Secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions and by trade union militants Schupbach, Hans Rith and Moser asked the Federal Council to take the interests of the textile industry into further account when settling their commercial policy and denounced the excessive profits made by the employers and middlemen.

Il Lavoratore, organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, 28.6.52.

GREECE

Strikes and Protest Movements

DESPITE the terrorist measures of the government and the activities of the trade union traitors, the people are struggling against famine and death by strikes, demonstrations, the closing down of shops, and so on.

The strike of various grades of workers on the Athens-Piraeus railway lasted more than a week. Workers in the electrical plants at Chalkis, Calamata, Tripolis, Jannina, Argos, Nauplie stopped work for 24 hours. Staff in the Agricultural and National Banks, stokers on coastal vessels and the technicians on Radio Athens have also demonstrated. On June 9, small shopkeepers and artisans in the Aitolie-Akarnanie region closed their

shops as they were no longer able to bear the heavy taxation. The small shopkeepers and artisans of Larissa also decided to close their shops and their federation informed the government that it would declare a moratorium as it was no longer able to pay the heavy taxes.

On June 24, small shopkeepers and artisans in Saloniea closed their shops as a protest against crushing taxes. Workers in the Piraeus quarries struck on June 17 in support of their demand for wage increase. Workers and clerical staff of the tele-communications company struck on June 26 following a government refusal to increase their wages.

Raisin producers in Patras, Zanthe and the town of Beloyannis (Amalias) decided at a conferenee to struggle for the protection of their interests. A similar decision was taken by wheat and tobacco growers.

La Voix de la Grèce,
July, 1952.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

June 30

JAPAN.—Eleven thousand Japanese workers go on strike in an important supply base for British troops fighting in Korea.

July 1

LEBANON.—Printing workers go on a 24-hour strike in Beirut to support their demand for the abolition of the principle of government suspension of workers and for the repeal of the national emergency law.

TUNISIA.—Tunisian tradesmen and artisans of Sfax stop work to protest against the arrest of 18 hostages for refusing to pay a fine of 80,000 francs imposed on the Tunisian people following patriot activities which took place in the area.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The World Council of Peace begins its work under the chairmanship of Frederic Joliot-Curie. Its agenda consists of the peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problems, peace in Korea, the banning of weapons of mass extermination and a peace pact among the five great powers.

IRAN.—Throughout the country, in defiance of martial law, young workers hold local conferences for the preparation of the World Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth. The meetings took place particularly in several wood working, tobacco and other enterprises in Teheran, in the textile mills at Ispahan and in several agricultural communities in the northern part of the country.

BRAZIL. — The campaign launched by the National Federation of Aviation Workers for the immediate repeal of the so-called "full attendance" clause is widespread throughout the country. In fact, this clause nullifies the wage increases recently won as a consequence of price increases by providing for withholding an important part of the wages of workers where attendance is considered unsatisfactory. The Inter-Trade Union Committee, which includes several important trade union federations, has issued an appeal to all workers asking them to strengthen the struggle against this clause.

July 2

CHILE.—The miners and workers of important enterprises in the province of Conception, as well as the students in Santiago, begin a 24-hour strike movement to protest against the "military aid" pact with the United States.

INDIA.—In Ahmedabad in western India, 30,000 students go on strike in solidarity with their comrades in Gujerat who have been on strike for 16 days in protest against the increase of university fees.

FRANCE.—The Court declares the proceedings against Jacques Duclos illegal and null and void and he is immediately freed. A resounding victory is thus won by the forces of peace and liberty in France and the entire world.

BULGARIA.—The anniversary of the death of Georgi Dimitrov is commemorated throughout the country. Throughout the day delegations of workers of the capital and of various organisations place wreaths before the Dimitrov mausoleum.

SPAIN.—At Barcelona, the military trial of Lopez Raimundo and his 26 comrades, leaders of the Barcelona strike of last year, opens. Workers and all democrats throughout the world protest against this proceeding and demand the immediate release of the Catalan patriots. The World Federation of Trade Unions issues a press communique asking workers to strengthen their solidarity action with Lopez Raimundo and his comrades.

July 3

ITALY.—All the share-croppers of Ombrie and a section of the province of Terni are on strike in protest against the arbitary cancelling of their contracts and to demand that they be granted loans to improve the land and mechanise the work. During many meetings which took place during the strike, resolutions were adopted demanding an end to the Korean war.

— The leaders of the C.I.S.L. (Christian trade union centre) having concluded a separate agreement with the industrialists of the "Chantiers Naval Réunis de l'Adriatique" (Associated Shipyards of the Adriatic), the workers of the S. Marco and S. Rocco Shipyards and of the S. Andrea engineering firm reject this agreement and go on strike in protest. Even the members of the C.I.S.L. participate in the strike.

— Printing workers go on strike to protest against the employers' procrastination in negotiations for wage increases and the conclusion of a new collective agreement.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—Yves Farge, on his return from a visit to Korea, gives a vivid report "on the Korean war and its international consequences" to the World Council of Peace.

FRANCE.—In Bresse, 1,500 metalworkers strike for 48 hours to protest against the employers' refusal to grant their demands. The workers are asking 25 francs an hour wage increase, a vacation bonus of 20,000 francs and a 40-hour week with payment for 48 hours. The workers march to the Prefecture of Bourg-en-Bresse to leave a protest resolution.

DENMARK.—The arrival of Ridgway in Copenhagen arouses the workers' indignation. Throughout the evening they demonstrate in front of his hotel crying "Ridgway go home."

BRAZIL.—Workers enthusiastically receive the suggestion of the Brazilian Federation of Workers to purchase an ambulance to show their solidarity with the Korean people.

GUATEMALA. — The government names the members of the National Agrarian Council which is to enforce the law on agrarian reform. The General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala and the National Peasants' Confederation are represented on this Council.

July 4

ITALY.—Workers of the important Savigliano railway equipment plant in Turin strike for 24 hours to protest against the illegal measures taken by the management regarding worker members of the factory committee. Reprisals had been taken against the worker members for calling the workers together to discuss their struggle for wage increases.

— More than 9,000 workers and office employees in the Florence industrial area stop work for two hours to protest against the illegal reprisals taken by the employers against the workers arrested during the Ridgway demonstrations.

— In many Rome enterprises workers unanimously approve the sending of strong protests to the authorities against the rise in prices of bread and spaghetti.

SPAIN. — The Barcelona military court delivers its verdict on the 27 leaders of last year's Barcelona strikes. Lopez Raimundo, the principal defendant, is sentenced to four years in prison. This relatively lenient sentence represents an important victory for the powerful solidarity campaign which developed during the year in Spain and throughout the world.

JAPAN.—Parliament adopts a government bill which seriously threatens the political and trade union rights of the working class. Huge protest demonstrations take place throughout the country. At Osaka the police charge the demonstrators wounding 34. A state of emergency is declared.

UNITED STATES.—Mr. Arkadiev, the Soviet delegate to the United Nations Economic and Social Council meeting in New York, notes that the fulfilling of orders given at the recent Moscow Economic Conference would give employment to 100,000 workers in Italy and 200,000 in Great Britain.

ALGERIA.—Oran dockers refuse to load miscellaneous merchandise aboard the "Ste Mère l'Eglise" about to leave for Viet-Nam.

INDIA.—The sentence of C. A. Balan, trade union leader of Coimbatore recently condemned to death, is commuted to life imprisonment as a result of the protests of Indian and international public opinion.

July 5

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—A large anti-racist demonstration is held near Johannesburg. The Malan police fire on the crowd and kill 3 Africans.

JAPAN.—One hundred and seventy thousand coalminers strike to protest against the employers' refusal to grant them vacation bonuses.

July 6

WESTERN GERMANY.—The International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) holds its General Council meeting in Berlin. One of the resolutions adopted asks that the "free" trade unions be represented in the Atlantic Pact agencies and another reaffirms the desire of the breakaway international to support the rearmament programme.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—At the closing of the World Council of Peace and under its sponsorship a huge popular demonstration is held amid indescribable enthusiasm in the huge Berlin Sports Palace.

— Miners celebrate their national day. Many foreign delegations arrive for this event in the G.D.R., notably from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, Austria, and Poland. A large meeting is held in Leipzig in the presence of many leaders of the German Democratic government, during which 30 miners are decorated for the high quality of their work.

July 7

UNITED STATES.—The American Chain and Cable Company signs a contract with the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.). This brings to about 60,000 the number of steelworkers in small independent plants who have settled the strike and returned to work. The "Big Six," the large steel plants, are still holding out and the steelworkers are still united in their great strike which began on June 2.

July 8

JAPAN.—Applying the fascist law adopted by the Diet, the government orders the police to interfere in a meeting on the Moscow International Economic Conference which was being held in Nagoya, an important city in central Japan. The people's response is immediate: 7,000 democrats demonstrate in the city and for four hours resist the brutal attacks of the police. Several American motor cars are burned.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The annual conference of the National Union of Railwaymen comprising 400,000 members, goes on record against the rearmament policy, the basic cause of the continuous increase in the cost of living.

July 9

FRANCE.—A day of action of the Marseilles metalworkers. Meetings and work stoppages take place in most of the factories during which the workers unitedly demonstrate for their wage demands and for the release of imprisoned patriots.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Ridgway arrives in London. From the moment he leaves his 'plane he is received with shouts and cries of "Ridgway go home" by demonstrators who had succeeded in entering the airfield. Thousands of leaflets flood the airport. Later in the afternoon new demonstrations take place in central London and outside the American Embassy.

UNITED STATES.—Nearly one million automobile workers are laid off because of the lack of raw materials resulting from the steel strike.

July 10

ALGERIA.—Nineteen children from 15 to 18 years of age appear before

the Oran correctional court after having spent 70 days in prison. These children were arrested by chance during the May Day incidents. They are accused of participating in a banned demonstration.

UNITED STATES.—The steel strike enters its sixth week. The workers in the iron ore mines and iron ore transport facilities are also on strike. It is estimated that 17 million tons of steel has been lost as a result of these strikes. The Chrysler Automobile Company foresees the reduction of motor car production because of the shortage of steel.

JAPAN.—Large demonstrations take place in the city of Kyoto to protest against the arrests of democrats under the fascist laws adopted some days ago. On two occasions, the police fire on the demonstrators, killing one and wounding several.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The strike continues in the Briggs plant and Dagenham Ford automobile plant (see preceding Fortnightly Records). It is announced that up to the present time the strike has retarded the production of 9,000 vehicles.

— The National Conference of the National Union of Mineworkers demands, in the name of its 600,000 members, that normal trade relations with the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies be re-established.

AUSTRALIA. — Waterside workers end their ban on overtime work which they have applied since April as discussions on their marginal wage claims have been agreed to.

July 11

UNITED STATES.—The large steel magnates are obliged to resume negotiations with the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.) in part because thirty-two thousand Minnesota iron ore miners are on strike in solidarity with the steelworkers.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The workers continue their struggle against the Bonn government's desire to have Parliament ratify the general treaty of war despite the opposition of the German people. At Nuremberg, for example, 13,000 unemployed ask the members of the Bonn Parliament to refuse to ratify the war treaty and to find a peaceful solution to the German problem.

IRELAND.—Four thousand Dublin printers go on strike for wage increases. Three morning daily papers and two evening papers fail to appear because of the strike.

July 12

FRANCE.—After a 5-day strike, the workers of the Paris region sanitation department return to work having obtained a 10 per cent. wage increase retroactive to June 26 and a 4,000 franc bonus.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The conference of the Scottish miners adopts a resolution condemning the Bonn agreements and asking the Labour members of Parliament to refuse to ratify these agreements and to demand a conference of the four great powers.

— Railway maintenance men of the western region of England start a slow-down strike to support their wage demands.

ALGERIA.—Oran dockers refuse to unload munitions from the ship Djebel Amour.

— The General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) wins an outstanding victory in the shop stewards' elections on the work sites of the military port of Mers-El-Kebir. In the "Galeries" site the C.G.T. candidates win 355 out of 390 votes.

July 13

CANADA. — Thirty-two thousand lumberjacks and 3,000 carpenters in British Colombia, members of the International Woodworkers of America (C.I.O.), begin their fifth week of strike. They are demanding wage increases of 35 cents an hour.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The struggle against the reactionary factory law continues with greater force. For example, the workers belonging to the Wuppertal Woodworkers' trade union resolve that they will never accept the agreements signed by Adenauer and Fette, President of the Western German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.) on the factory law. Resolutions to the same effect have been adopted by dozens of other trade unions throughout the country.

July 14

MEXICO.—Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Vice-President of the WFTU, denounces the frauds which have sullied the presidential election of July 6. He shows that American imperialism intervened in the election and denounces the environment of terror and the suspension of individual guarantees which marked the balloting.

UNITED STATES.—Since the United States Congress has not voted the necessary appropriations to pay their salaries, thousands of civil service employees will be dismissed in the near future.

ITALY.—Dockers in the ports of Genoa, Savona, La Spezia, Vado and Imperia go on strike to support their demands.

July 15

GREAT BRITAIN.—The slow-down strike of railway maintenance men forces the withdrawal of 46 express trains. Many stations in London and in the principal cities in the west are congested.

INDIA. — Large demonstrations against the famine and the rise in prices fill the streets of Calcutta. The police make many arrests.

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Appeal for the Development of the Struggle of the Workers, for the Defence of Trade Union Rights (Executive Bureau, Vienna, June 9-14, 1952).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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After the ICFTU General Council

THE General Council of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions met recently in West Berlin.

The fraternal unity of the workers of the world is more than ever indispensable today for the defence both of their living conditions and of peace. It is on the basis of this major consideration that the recent meeting in West Berlin is of interest to the world's working class.

The essential objectives assigned to this General Council meeting can only be grasped by keeping in mind the real aims of the I.C.F.T.U. and the main aspects of the present international situation.

From this point of view, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out that, wherever it becomes necessary, the workers make the heaviest sacrifices in order to unite and to strengthen their action for higher real wages, for the defence of their trade union rights, and in the first place against threats to the right to strike. The mass of the workers everywhere are linking themselves more closely with other sections of the people to support the great cause of peace, to maintain democratic institutions and to reply to the fascist type of racist offensive unleashed by the warmongers.

These events weighed heavily on the I.C.F.T.U. leaders. What conclusions did they draw as a result of the West Berlin meeting?

Before replying to that question, it is essential to examine what they were able to say in order to discover what they really decided.

The Defence of Monopoly Profits

THE General Council considered that "the level of wages and the general conditions of work existing in the majority of countries are showing tendencies towards equalisation with those in operation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries" (re-translation)—that is, downwards.

Together with all workers, we consider that it is not a question of a "tendency" but of a generalised accomplished fact, and that to the detriment of the workers of the colonial countries themselves. We would state, further, that this is due to an important degree to the consequences of the colonial type of over-exploitation which the Yankee imperialists are today forcing upon the mass of the workers in the countries which are not yet called by the name of colonial or semi-colonial.

The General Council also considered that "the application of programmes similar to the Marshall Plan and Truman's Point Four in the various regions of the

world are far from being in co-ordination with the workers' interests." (Re-translation).

Those who brazenly shattered world trade union unity because it was impossible for them to make the W.F.T.U. into an instrument of the Marshall policy cannot today openly admit that the Marshall Plan and Truman's Point Four have shamefully betrayed the major and immediate interests of the working class.

Perhaps in Berlin they might have outlined another policy for the defence of the workers' basic interests. We are compelled to state that such was not the case.

Wherever the workers are exerting the strongest pressure, it is principally for an increase in real wages and against the working conditions and prison-like atmosphere which are being created in the factories.

The West Berlin meeting thus adopted a long 17-point declaration entitled " Prices, Wages and Productivity." It is very significant that from the outset it passes ostensibly in silence over the question of " profits," let alone " super-profits."

Profits are only mentioned once in the text, and this is in an appeal to the workers' trade unions, not only to preserve profits, but even to increase them, which is also the import of the whole declaration.

In Points 5 and 6, the I.C.F.T.U. leaders declare for stabilised prices at a level appropriate to production—not too low, they state—and thus guaranteeing the workers so-called decent wages which will assure them an equitable share in the social product.

As a matter of principle, the I.C.F.T.U. soothsayers only confirm that they consider the exploitation of the workers' labour by the millionaires and multi-millionaires of industry, the land, commerce and the banks to be " equitable."

From the practical point of view, at the very time when 650,000 steelworkers were on strike in the United States, the I.C.F.T.U. General Council supported the standpoint of the powerful American steel companies, which, with almost unparalleled effrontery, pretended that it was impossible to raise the workers' wages without a simultaneous increase in the price of steel. Their government having decided in their favour, the mountainous profits of the steel companies still remain intact, and in these conditions the workers' share in the social product will thus be no more " equitable " than before.

In points 7 and 9 it is stated that the trade unions should demand a rise in nominal wages, but only in the event of a rise in the cost of living and a growth in productivity, in order to " improve " the relationship between wages and profits. Immediately afterwards there follows, word for word, the following statement : " In the rare cases in which wage increases could cause price rises, it is to be expected that the trade unions should use circumspection, bearing in mind that all inflation is harmful to the workers." (Re-translation).

Thus the I.C.F.T.U. supports the point of view that wages cannot and must not be a charge upon profits, and that any wage increase would inevitably be followed by inflationary consequences.

In spite of all the precautions in the wording of the documents, the West Berlin General Council, in defending this anti-working class position, has this time officially given its support to the arguments by means of which all the governments of the capitalist world are at present trying to justify their unjustifiable policy of freezing wages.

There is thus no reason to doubt that among the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U. the profits of the monopolists are considered to be sacred and untouchable.

Over-Exploitation

SIDE by side with this, the West Berlin declaration concludes with a recommendation to the " free " trade unions and the workers to contribute to the growth of " productivity," which will create the most favourable conditions for raising living standards.

The workers represent the decisive source of any increase in productivity. That is why the I.C.F.T.U. leaders suggest that this source should be subjected to the employers' control by the setting up of mixed committees for production or other similar bodies.

For millions of workers in the capitalist countries increased production means in the first place unemployment and dreadful poverty. In all these countries the workers are increasingly being compelled to work 48, 55, 60 or more hours a week. The lengthening of the working week is thus becoming a general fact, while at the same time retirement age is put back for those entitled to pensions.

Not only do the I.C.F.T.U. leaders say nothing about this, but under the cover of " productivity " they are also revealing their shameless attempt to get the workers to speed up their rate of work in order that the employers may obtain greater production and at a cheaper price, that is, in less time and with less workers employed.

In acting thus, the West Berlin General Council only adjusts the I.C.F.T.U. line to the new forms of the Marshall policy, to the proposals developed by the I.L.O. on wages and productivity, to the slogans which the most reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. never tire of repeating, and according to which the more that productivity increases, the more employers' profits will rise, and the more beefsteak there will be for the workers.

The action which the American steel and foundry workers have just undertaken is the latest example to date which makes a clean sweep of all these lying assertions about the marvels of " productivity."

No-one will deny that steel is in the front rank of those American industries which have carried out the greatest development in their productivity and which have shown the highest profits during recent years.

Despite this, the steelworkers have had to strike for two months in order to force a wage increase in compensation for the rise in the cost of living.

However, though the employers have had to give in as far as wages are concerned, they have at the same time managed to obtain reimbursement for the increase granted so that they are the sole beneficiaries of the increased productivity, against the interests of the real producers—the workers—and those of the consumers and the American taxpayers.

By following the path of " productivity " based on war economy, the sole object of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders is to bring the workers to increase still further swollen capitalist profits, to finance the enormous war budgets and to precipitate the carrying through of the aggressive arms plans.

They themselves have little hope that the workers will follow them. That is why, with very little imagination, they are taking up again the old idea of close collaboration between labour and capital, which all the fascist regimes have used to the full, after having borrowed it from the reformists.

These plans go so much against nature that they are doomed to failure.

The essential thing to be grasped is that the most favourable conditions are open to the workers of all trade union affiliations to get together and undertake joint action for wage increases to counter the continuous rise in prices and the upward trend of indices of productivity.

To the Rescue of Colonialism

THE latent disagreement between the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. came clearly into the open when the General Council tried to define its policy with regard to the " non-self-governing " territories.

First of all, we should recall that, in spite of an urgent request from Oldenbroek, the A.F. of L. leaders refused to come to the Berlin meeting. It is well known, moreover, that the A.F. of L. leaders speak and act on behalf of the State Department.

By virtue of this they exert pressure in the trade union sphere to ensure the passing of colonial territories to the direct control of Yankee imperialism.

The A.F. of L. leaders thus do not hesitate to deliver dirty blows to their British and French colleagues, who defend within the I.C.F.T.U. leadership the standpoint of their own imperialists.

Thus no-one could be in any doubt as to the real intentions of the A.F. of L. when its executive Committee declared itself last April, with all the seriousness in the world, for the repeal of the 1936 treaty between Egypt and Great Britain and for the " independence " of Tunisia on a footing of equality with France.

No-one need be surprised that, according to the *New York Times,* this same Executive Committee expressed its keen dissatisfaction with the domination exercised by the leaders of the British T.U.C. and the French *Force Ouvrière*[1] over international organisations.

At the same time, and by way of reprisal, hitting at a most vulnerable spot, the A.F. of L. deferred its sending of 100,000 dollars intended for the fund which the I C.F.T.U. devotes to its corrupt police undertakings of espionage and division in the trade unions.

Many of those who were in Berlin became sick at the thought of the hole made in their funds.

It is not surprising under these conditions that the report presented to the General Council in the name of the I.C.F.T:U. by the Indian, M. Shastri, proposed nothing less than placing the " non-self-governing " territories under United Nations protectorate, that is, in fact, under the thumb of American imperialism.

In addition to this, a text was proposed tending to bring overseas sections linked to I.C.F.T.U. centres directly under the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U. regional organisations.

Again acting on behalf of their own imperialists, the British, French, Belgian and Dutch delegates sat up and took notice.

It was not difficult for them to see that the A.F. of L. attitude and the above proposals relating to the colonial territories and their trade unions formed parts of one whole, the aim of which was to use the I.C.F.T.U. in order to transfer these colonial territories to the domination of American imperialism through the intermediary of the United Nations.

In the programme concerning the non-self-governing territories which was adopted at the end of the discussion, the I.C.F.T.U. limits itself to insisting that these territories be placed under United Nations protectorate, but only in cases where the governing countries fail to promote independence. The French delegates from *Force Ouvrière* abstained from voting on this programme, as also on the resolution concerning Tunisia.

Certainly this nine-point programme gives the appearance of declaring against colonialism, and proclaims the right of the people to rule their own affairs. Neverthe-

1 Breakaway organisation under right-wing Socialist leadership.

less, it contains so many reservations that it is evident that, in the minds of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders, there is no question of emancipation for a long time.

With regard to political independence, it says that " intermediary states must be envisaged for some territories," that for certain others " the maintenance of traditional institutions alongside more modern ones must be envisaged," and that in most of these territories " the *majority* of the members of the legislative assemblies should be elected by popular suffrage." (Re-translations).

With regard to economic independence, " the I.C.F.T.U. will make an effort to obtain for them financial and technical aid, particularly by the international organisations and by the institution of an international fund." (Re-trans.) This means in reality that the whole of the colonial and semi-colonial territories would be completely handed over to exploitation and plunder by the men of Wall Street, who hold the main bulk of the capital at the disposal of all these organisations.

Though it took the precaution of declaring its will for peace, the General Council confirmed the I.C.F.T.U. in its role of making the trade unions tame instruments in the service of the warmongers.

Concluding with its usual columnies against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, after having in Resolution No. 8 denied that bacteriological warfare had been used, the General Council went so far as to declare itself for the intensification of the atrocious crimes perpetrated by the American armies against the heroic Korean people, expressing its firm conviction that the fight of the United Nations against the Communist forces of aggression will be " reinforced."

In approving Oldenbroek's report, which asked for rearmament to be accepted as an inevitable misfortune, as a necessary evil, the General Council again solicited the representation of the " free " trade unions in all the national and international bodies of the North Atlantic Pact (N.A.T.O.) and the Schuman Plan.

The small circle of I.C.F.T.U. leaders thus continues to lend its support to the diplomacy of blackmail and terror, based on unlimited rearmament and leading to solutions by means of force, rather than to a policy of negotiations which lead to peace, and which the mass of the people will win.

Helped by various meetings and conferences which had preceded it, the General Council strove to polish up the weapons and perfect the means which the I.C.F.T.U. applies in order to undermine international working class solidarity, and to develop its activities of corruption, of division of the workers and destruction of the trade unions.

On the basis of a report by Reuther of the American C.I.O., the I.C.F.T.U. will develop its " educational " tasks by organising schools for " trade union cadres," particularly in Western Europe and India. For the I.C.F.T.U. it is a question of creating types of yes-men devoted to the principles of " Western democracy " and the American way of life, strikebreakers and specialists in splitting tactics and in anti-working class hatred.

The A.F. of L., the C.I.O. and the T.U.C. will devote large sums in dollars and pounds sterling to financing these activities, which will naturally be fundamentally based on France, Italy and the colonial countries.

The trade unionists of the U.S.A. and Great Britain will certainly not fail to make known to their leaders that they cannot permit their trade union dues to be used to stir up division between the workers and to undermine international working class solidarity.

Among its resolutions, the General Council adopted one on working class policy

in Japan and another on trade union co-ordination against the Latin American dictators.

If these resolutions are to have any real significance, the co-operation of all workers' forces in the world is indispensable.

On many occasions the W.F.T.U. has vigorously and publicly protested against all the attacks made on trade union rights and democratic liberties, both in Japan and in certain Latin American countries.

It was especially for the practical attainment of these vital demands of the Japanese, Latin American and other working class movements that the W.F.T.U. addressed itself to the I.C.F.T.U. last year with a view to international united action.

The I.C.F.T.U.'s reply was negative.

That means that the I.C.F.T.U. persists in envisaging nothing concrete as far as effective co-operation of the working class forces of the world is concerned and it is proof that its real intentions are quite plainly to deceive the Japanese and Latin American workers by demagogy.

It proves that the I.C.F.T.U. declares itself " in words " to be with the workers in order more easily to be against them " in deeds."

The West Berlin decisions confirms the line being pursued by the leaders of the I.C.F.T.U. That is, to split the working class, to disorganise its trade unions, to weaken it in order to leave the field free for the policy of intensive exploitation, oppression and war, which is directed and developed by the government of American Big Business wherever its domination extends.

It is to be expected that, in the coming months, the American trade union leaders, and principally those of the A.F. of L., will develop a vigorous offensive to place, through their instrumentality, the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U. and its Centres under the more and more rigid control of the State Department.

It is quite obvious that the rivalry between the principal leading groups in the I.C.F.T.U. are concerned less with aims than with ways and means.

These rivalries will, however, become continually deeper. The main causes of this are as follows : the growing opposition of the masses to the I.C.F.T.U. policy, the aggravation of the rivalries between the imperialist groups, the internal offensive of the American trade union leaders.

With the help of the big employers, the I.C.F.T.U. leaders are trying wherever possible to influence the workers' minds. But the very development of the objective situation will help to prevent them from getting the workers to admit that poverty and the threat of war are just and in conformity with their interests.

The bellowing of Oldenbroek in Berlin on the need for the I.C.F.T.U. to contribute to the crushing of the " Communist fifth columns " goes to confirm that the I.C.F.T.U. leadership, and its " appropriate " bodies in particular, are in fact participating in the police raids which the American secret service is carrying out against all workers' organisations which mean to maintain the right to carry on a real struggle for the workers' demands and for peace.

The Workers Will Achieve Unity

THESE facts will arouse still more the indignation of all honest workers, setting them against the I.C.F.T.U. and its leadership and political line, and will help them on their way to unity.

This also explains why the I.C.F.T.U. has just registered a sharp defeat at the

3rd Congress of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions, to which nearly 3 million workers are affiliated, and which turned down by 179 votes to 42 a proposal of the rightwing leaders for affiliation to the I.C.F.T.U. This was in spite of the American occupation and the hundreds of thousands of dollars which the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. delegates, Devergold and Townsend are spending for the corruption of trade unionism in Japan.

The progress on the road to world trade union unity places an obligation on all workers, regardless of their trade union affiliation and political or religious opinions :

—to develop fraternal relations at their place of work;

—to obtain reports on their trade union activities from trade union leaders who are not in the habit of submitting themselves to this requirement of trade union democracy;

—to fight for the maintenance of international relations between the workers at all levels;

—to organise a solid common front against common oppression between workers of the colonising countries and the workers of the dependent countries.

A year ago the W.F.T.U. sent an official letter to the I.C.F.T.U. making concrete proposals for united action.

The I.C.F.T.U. leaders evaded these proposals.

The idea of working class united action has since then, however, made considerable progress.

The W.F.T.U. will persevere along that path laid down in 1945 by the London World Trade Union Conference, at which trade unions of all political and religious tendencies drew up a common programme of action for the workers of all countries.

This programme still offers a basis on which agreements for workers' international united action can be achieved.

Henri Jourdain

The Volga - Don Canal

First of the Great Works of Communism

By JEAN WETZLER

THE first of the great works of Communism, the "Lenin" Volga-Don Navigation Canal, 101 kilometres long, has just been finished. On July 27, the finest ship of the Moscow Canal fleet, the "Joseph Stalin," coming from the capital, crossed the canal to reach the Cossack village, Kalach-on-the-Don, covering a distance of almost 3,000 kilometres.

First of the great works of Communism, the "Lenin" Canal is at the same time the third link in an imposing system connecting the five seas by navigable waterways. Henceforth, the Baltic, the White Sea, the Azov, the Black Sea and the Caspian will be connected with each other, having at the centre of the network and as principal port the capital of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

The first link in this system had been the "Stalin" Canal, (227 km), joining the Baltic and White Seas, child of the first Five Year Plan ; the second was then the Moscow Canal (128 km), forming a connecting link between Moscow and the Volga, and finished in 1937.

The construction of this canal, which was begun before the second world war, was taken up again as soon as the invader was driven from the country.

On December 28, 1950, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. decided to cut the time previously established for the work by two years and to finish the construction of the canal, 101 km long, in 1951, with its stairway of 13 locks spanning the watershed, 40 metres above the Don and 88 above the Volga, with its three dams, its pumping stations (the Don feeds the levels of the canal), with its quays, its ports and other works. Other undertakings which were to be finished in 1951 were a hydro-technical centre on the Don near the village of Tsimlyanskaya, with a reservoir controlling a working volume of 12,600 million cubic metres and comprising an earth dam 12.8 kilometres long, a concrete overfall 500 metres long, two navigable locks, a river port and great railways and roads passing over the dam. Finally, another great construction work which was to be finished in 1951 was a hydro-electric station on the Tsimlyanskaya dam with an installed power of 160,000 kilowatts. Canal, hydro-technical centre and electric power station were all to be put into operation by the spring of 1952. As we have seen, the schedule was strictly observed.

Now, the ships of the river fleet cruise on the "Tsimlyanskaya Sea"—that is what the "reservoir" of the Decree is already being called—which is 180 kilometres long and more than 30 km wide, and where the waves in bad weather can reach a height of three metres.

The new navigable route, writes S. Jouk, the chief engineer of the construction work, *will make it possible to ensure the transport of coal and metals at a low price from the Donets to the Volga industrial regions and, through the Volga-Don, the transport of wood to the Donbas, Rostov, the Azov and Black Seas and the western part of the North Caucasus. In this way, the fleet will always be carrying freight in both directions.*

Moscow will receive sea fish from the Azov in refrigerated ships. The Volga will supply the lower Don and the shores of the Azov Sea with paper, automobiles, tractors; the industrial Don will furnish the Volga regions with its products and the manganese of the Caucasus. In the first few years, the Don basin traffic will increase by five or six times in relation to what it is today.

. . . *On the Moscow-Rostov passenger line* (3,627 km),

the service will be ensured by very rapid and powerful ships with several metal decks; they will have 500 *cabins, a restaurant, concert and dance rooms, children's playrooms, a solarium, a swimming .pool, library, cinema, billiard room, a photographic laboratory, etc.*

But the development of river navigation is far from exhausting the extent of the construction works between the Don and Volga. The "Lenin" navigation canal in fact only constitutes a part of the infinitely vaster task of transforming nature, of that general assault by Soviet man on all that, up to now, had seemed eternal reality, in short, the building of Communism.

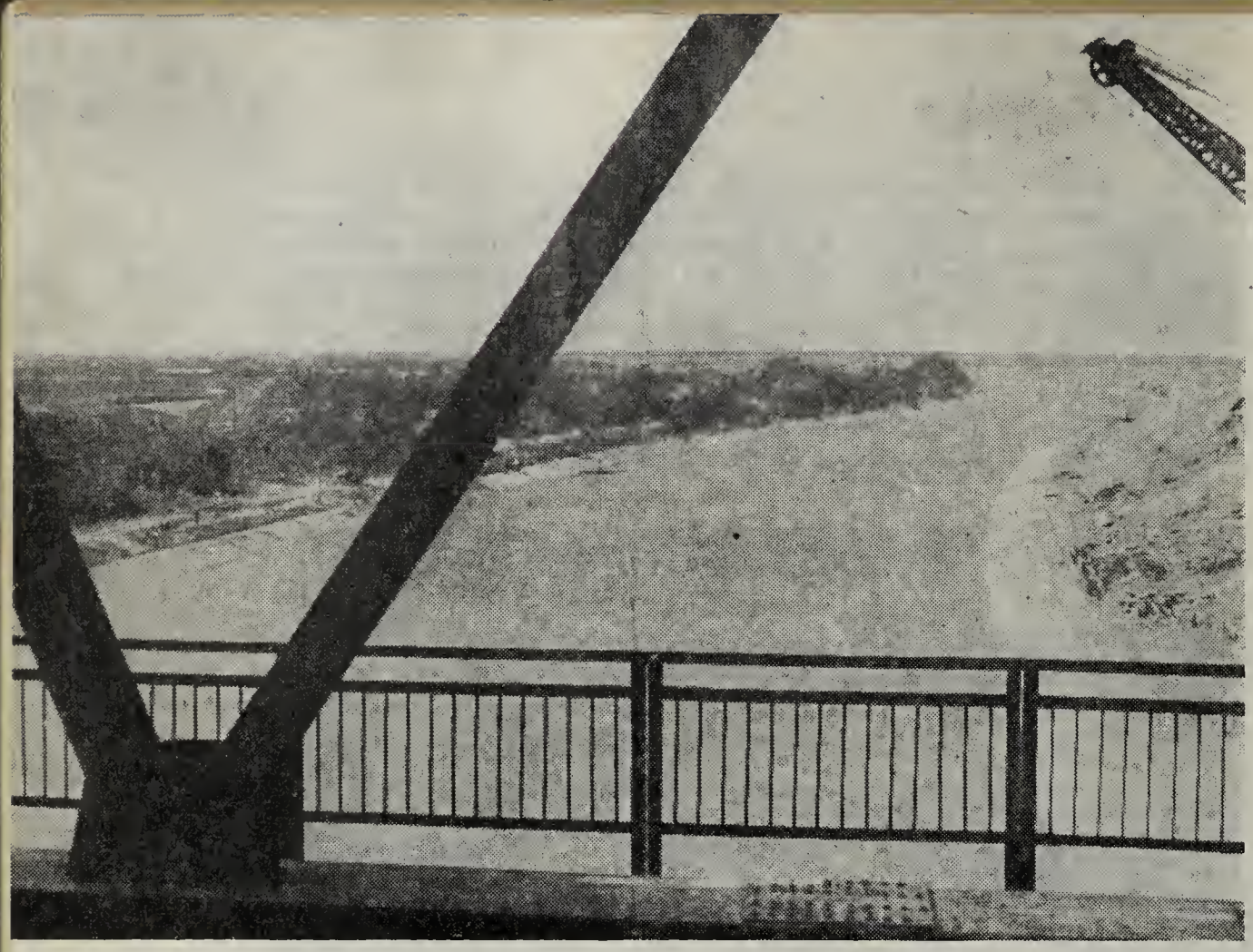
The Volga-Don junction is situated in the heart of the immense arid territory, in places even semi-desert, which extends from the Ukraine to the foothills of the Urals and to which the historic Decision of October 24, 1948, refers: to transform the soil and climate of a region of 120 million hectares, that is, more than twice the cultivated area of France, to protect it by forest belts against the scorching Sukhovayis winds coming from Asia, and to make fields and gardens bloom as far as the eye can see in those places which, today, are nothing but steppeland and shifting sand dunes.

It is for this reason that the Council of Ministers decided by the Decree of December 28, 1950, already mentioned, on the construction of an irrigation system closely linked to the navigation canal: a central canal, the Great Don Canal, 190 kilometres long fed by water from the sea at Tsimlyanskaya and running 80 metres underground in four parallel tunnels for a distance of six kilometres; seven distribution canals with a total length of 568 kilometres, 140 pumping stations on the distribution canals, with corresponding transport lines, a network of irrigation and water supply canals, with a view to irrigating 750,000 hectares and supplying two million hectares with water. (The area of Belgium is about three million hectares.) *All these construction works are to be finished in* 1956! At the same time, the Decree directed the Ministers of Agriculture, Cotton Cultivation and Sovkhoz (State farms) *to ensure a wide use of electric power in agriculture for tilling and the carrying out of other work in the fields by electrically driven tractors, as well as the utilisation of electric power for the mechanisation of operations demanding a great expenditure of labour for breeding cattle and in the other branches of Kolkhoz (collective farm) and Sovkhoz (state farm) production.*

The V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Navigation Canal.

As previously mentioned, the Volga-Don Canal, together with all the irrigation canals that are linked to it, is just a part of the gigantic general plan of the transformation of nature, which covers a territory equal in area to all of the nations of Western Europe. The Dams of Kuybyshev and Stalingrad, the works being carried out in southern Ukraine and the Crimea, and the plantation of forest belts, is all part of this gigantic project.

For example, in Soviet Asia also, there are construction projects of Communism of which the grandest, the one which most inspires the mind, is the great Turkmen Canal, which will be 1,100 kilometres long (that is to say, the distance from Paris to Budapest), the longest in the world. It will be built along the bed of the Amu-Darya, the "mad" river rushing down from the Pamirs, with a flow of 400 cubic metres per second, which will later be brought up to 600 cubic metres, that is, twice the flow of the Seine, and will irrigate 8,300,000 hectares, the equivalent of the cultivated areas of Austria, Belgium, Greece and Denmark put together. The construction of the canal with all its works and its distribution canals, as well as the construction of one



A section of the Volga-Don canal nearing completion. Powerful diesel ships now pass through the canal in both directions.

of the three hydro-electric stations planned, with its dam, *decided on September* 12, 1950, *will be completed in* 1957.

* * *

The salient point in these great works of Communism is not their mighty scope, but the methods by which they are achieved. Consider a few figures, for example.

If one were to transport by rail the 750 million cubic metres of earth used in the work of banking the Volga installations and the main irrigation canals, 20 million railway flatcars would be needed, which, if hitched together, would go three times round the equator. On top of this, 13 million cubic metres of concrete had to be prepared and poured down.

It would be absurd to pretend that such important works could be carried out in such a short space of time (and also simultaneously) without entirely new methods of work. The truth is that there would be no works of Communism without the tremendous mechanisation of work which has been brought into being by Soviet engineers.

There is, for instance, the walking excavator. Its power is supplied by 48 motors; the crane-beam is 65, or even 75, metres long, the scoop holds 14 cubic metres. In eight hours it removes 10,000 cubic metres of earth, sufficient to fill 180 wagons. And this monster excavator moves itself at a speed of three metres a minute, making use of giant pedestals which move like feet. It does the work of from 7,000 to 10,000 workers.

Then there is the suction-dredge or "earth pump," which stirs up the soil at the bottom of the water, sucks it up and throws it out as mud, doing the work of 35,000 workers.

There is also the entirely mechanised concrete plant which can be taken down and reassembled on the spot and which has a daily output capacity of 160 wagon loads, and which, with the aid of lorries, delivers the mixed concrete direct to the pouring moulds.

There is a crowd of engineers, geologists, hydrologists, tractor drivers, mechanics, concrete workers, telephonists, gardeners, printers, architects, etc., busily at work on the sites on which these gigantic robots operate, all with their minds fixed on one single aim—to obtain the greatest advantage from the mighty technical means placed at their disposal, to bring these means to greater perfection and to set new ones into operation.

An "earth pump" which stirs up the soil of the river bed, then sucks up the mixture of sand and water.

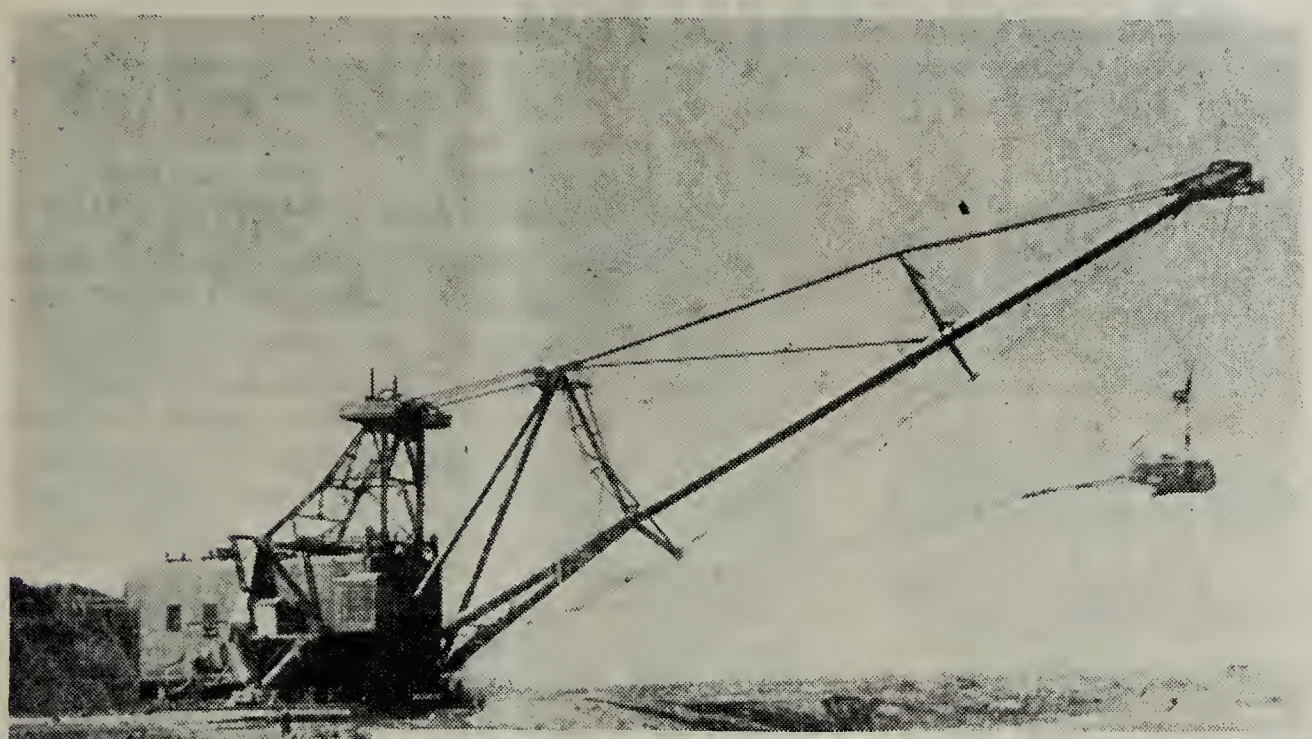
It would be madness to imagine that the construction works of Communism could be based on the mass use of physical strength, that Communism could be built by manual power. Is it possible to imagine a crowd of 10,000 workers on the work-site of the walking excavator, or an army of 35,000 workers dredging the river, no one knows how, in place of the "earth pump"?

These great works are Communist not only because they are contributing to creating the abundance of Communism, but also by the methods of work which are employed. On these works, the opposition between manual and intellectual labour disappears.

Productivity never before attained has been achieved on the construction works of Communism, a productivity without any mad speed-up, and obtained calmly by the brains commanding the machines.

Productivity destined to enrich mankind and assure his well-being.

There is no greater guarantee of the will for peace of Soviet man.



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LEFT: **A walking excavator.**

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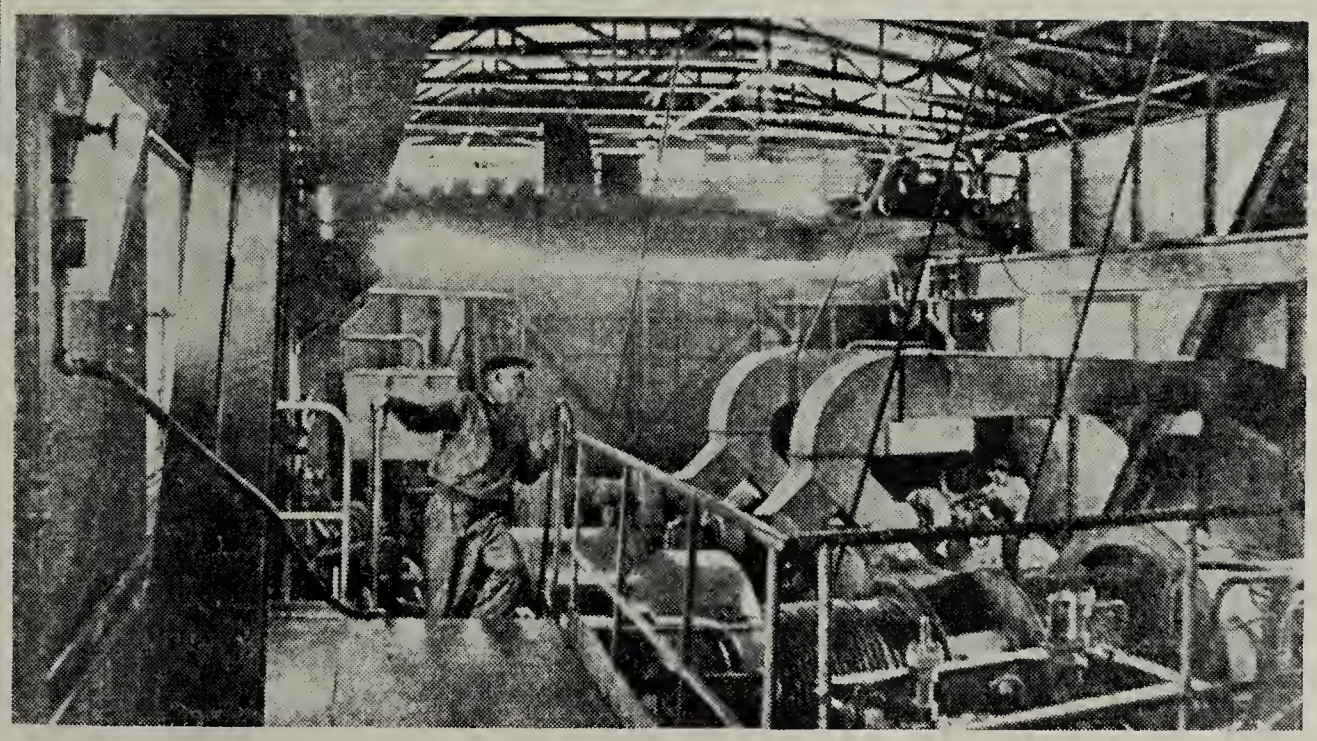

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RIGHT: **Inside a factory? It is the operator's "cabin" of a walking excavator.**

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The Thirty-fifth Session of the

International Labour Organisation

By MICHAEL QUATREPOINT

Director of the International Department of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.)

THE thirty-fifth session of the International Labour Conference was held in Geneva from June 4 to 29, 1952.

The very spirit of the I.L.O. constitution, founded on class collaboration, produces a peculiar composition at the annual conference.

First of all, the governmental representation of each member-country is as large as that of the employers and the workers put together.

As the employers are the masters of the government in all the countries represented, with the obvious exception of Czechoslovakia and Poland, there is an automatic three to one vote against the workers in each "national" delegation—except in the event of some demagogic manoeuvre.

It would be a mistake, however, to count in that way.

The "workers' delegates" are nominated by the governments, which must, according to article 3 of the constitution of the International Labour Organisation, ask for the agreement of the most representative of the workers' trade union organisations. In fact, however, the governments quite freely ignore this when the representative workers' organisation has a leadership which follows a policy which is in the interests of the workers and opposed to those of the capitalists.

This is the case with the "workers' representatives" of France, Italy and a number of other countries.

Thus, at this 35th session, as at the preceding one, the "Workers' delegates" of France and Italy are Messieurs Jouhaux and Pastore.

Though it is well known that the French C.G.T. and the Italian C.G.I.L. are the most powerful workers' centres, and are alone more representative than all the other trade union organisations in France and Italy put together, the three members of the Conference Credentials Commission, to whom appeals had been made on the grounds of non-validity, blithely concluded that the mandates held by Jouhaux and Pastore as "Workers' representatives" were legitimate.

We should point out that the "workers' representative" on this commission was a right-wing leader of the Swedish trade unions, affiliated to the breakaway international, the I.C.F.T.U.

The Right-wing Trade Union Leaders Against the Workers of the Colonial and Dependent Countries

WITH the exception of the Czechoslovak and Polish delegates and those of the French C.G.T. and the Guatemala trade unions, the workers' delegates and technical advisers at the conference were almost all members of the I.C.F.T.U., the Christian International and the Peronist trade unions of Latin America, who worked hand in glove to oppose all measures proposed by the workers' delegates from trade union organisations affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The proof of this was given in the first meetings of the workers' group, in which Brother Le Léap, general secretary of the C.G.T. and vice-president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, put forward a draft resolution worded as follows:

"The workers' group of the 35th session of the International Labour Conference,

"Considering that, according to the United Nations' Charter and the pertinent decisions of the General Assembly and of the Human Rights Commission, the right of the peoples to manage their own affairs has been solemnly recognised;

"considering that it is necessary for the workers' group, at a time when trade union and democratic rights are being brutally violated, to reaffirm strongly that respect for trade union rights, especially in the

colonial and dependent countries, constitutes the first condition for any social-democratic and progressive policy,

" protests strongly against the terrorist measures used by the repressive forces of the French government against the Tunisian people, pays homage to the victims of this policy of force applied in violation of the right of the people to manage their own affairs and of the agreements which the French government has itself imposed on the Tunisian people;

Decides :

1) to express its full solidarity with the Tunisian workers, fighting for national independence and for the respect of their trade union rights;
2) to call upon all workers and all trade union organisations without distinction to undertake and strengthen concrete united actions to render effective help to the oppressed and exploited workers of the colonial and dependent countries, and in particular to the workers of Tunisia."

The Bureau of the Workers' group, composed entirely of representatives of the I.C.F.T.U., used various manoeuvres in order to refuse the examination of such a resolution in the group.

Only the delegates of the French C.G.T., Poland, Czechoslovakia and certain South American countries opposed this decision, so manifestly contrary to the interest of the Tunisian workers of all shades of political, philosophical or religious opinions.

The real policy carried on by the men of the breakaway international behind the thick walls of the I.L.O. is very clear. It consists of doing nothing which might hinder imperialist interests.

Though these men are much more noisy in their public action, their objective, in spite of all their phraseology, is the same—to resist with all their strength the achievement of united action between the workers and their organisations, which is the only form of unity by which the legitimate aspirations of the workers can be successfully and concretely accomplished.

The same attitude of hostility towards the colonial peoples by the leaders of the breakaway international was shown during the discussion on the other resolutions.

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THIS 35th session of the I.L.O. proves the correctness of the estimations made by Brother Louis Saillant in his report to the Vienna meeting of the Executive Bureau in June.

The I.L.O. is incapable and undesirous of defending the workers' rights and freedoms, incapable of working for the satisfaction of the vital interests of the working class. In this respect, the part played by the I.L.O. with regard to trade union rights is a striking example.

After having drawn up a Convention in 1948 on the protection of trade union rights, which was notably deficient in that it had a colonial clause which exempts governments from applying this Convention in colonial countries, a narrow conception of trade union rights and an inadequate machinery of control, this organisation is now striving to cover up all attacks on trade union freedom.

All cases of violation of this Convention which have been submitted by the W.F.T.U. to the Economic and Social Council and passed on bureaucratically to the International Labour Office have been rejected, and the International Conference has practically covered up all the violations of the I.L.O.'s own legislation.

This hostility of the right-wing trade union leaders also revealed itself when the Czechoslovak and Polish resolutions on the resumption of trade, the defence of the workers' living standards and the defence of peace were submitted for discussion.

They systematically eliminated these resolutions without discussion in order to substitute for them a text which corresponded perfectly to the I.L.O.'s spirit of inertia, to the desire of these men to spin words in order to avoid any action which might give the workers confidence.

One of the objectives of the leading body of the I.L.O. during this 35th session was to vote automatically a resolution on " trade union freedom." The " distinguished representatives " of the I.C.F.T.U. were the authors of a text which tended to help the governments in their policy of repression against workers' organisations which do not fall in line with their reactionary policy.

In " legislating " on trade union action, besides the usual insinuations with regard to peoples' governments, whom they accuse of attacking trade union independence, these reactionaries are trying to justify anti-working class laws, to restrict trade union action within the framework of ultra-reactionary laws such as the Taft-Hartley Law, the Smith Act, etc.

This policy of dependence by the reactionary trade union leaders on bourgeois power clearly found complete favour with the governments and the employers, who approved this " initiative," which fits in so perfectly with their anti-working class policy.

The I.C.F.T.U. leaders were so attached to their text that no amendment, even of style, found favour in their eyes.

The contention advanced by the progressive elements—that the action of the trade union organisations depends on the trade unionists themselves, and not on the will of the governments and the reactionary employers—was considered by these gentlemen to be a " revolutionary " standpoint.

Such is the attitude of these so-called defenders of the workers.

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NEVERTHELESS, the strength of workers' action against war, fascism and poverty finds its expression even in such a gathering.

The debate on the right of the Kuomintang delegates to vote in the Conference, a matter which was raised by the Czechoslovak and Polish delegations. revealed the same cracks throughout this system.

The Chiang Kai-shek clique no longer pays its

dues to the I.L.O., having no longer any national resources, and the American government having no doubt decided to make a few economies.

The delegates of Czechoslovakia, Poland, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia voted against according the Kuomintang men the right to vote.

Though the delegates subjected to American and Peronist authority completely supported the corrupt clique of Chiang Kai-shek, the delegates under British influence abstained from voting.

The right to vote was finally granted to the Kuomintang delegates, thanks to the small states dominated by the American government.

During the conference, the W.F.T.U. demanded that one of its delegates, Henri Raynaud, secretary of the French C.G.T., should take part in the debate on social security.

One of the vice-presidents of the conference, Delaney of the American Federation of Labour, opposed in the Bureau the granting of the right of the W.F.T.U. to take part in the discussion.

A vote took place, and the conference decided by 57 votes to 37, with 41 abstentions, that Brother Raynaud be heard.

Though Delaney finally prevented the W.F.T.U. delegate from speaking by a rule of procedure (a quorum not having been established), once again it was publicly demonstrated that the reactionary policy of discrimination could be shaken, even within a gathering such as the International Labour Conference.

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THOUGH the apparatus of the I.L.O. is wholly at the disposal of the American policy of war preparation, the American government is incapable of applying completely its known principles of discrimination, of the elimination of the representatives of the Peoples' Democracies which are members of the I.L.O.!

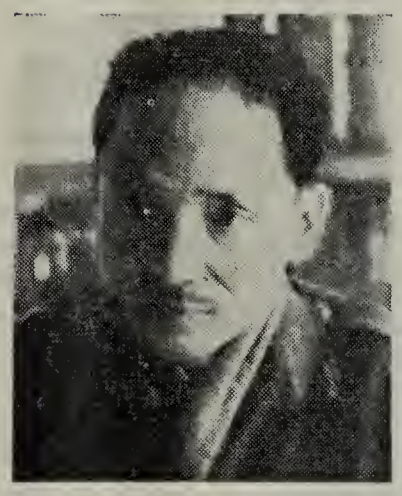
In the I.L.O., as in all other international organisations, the imperialist policy of war and the introduction of fascism is being held in check by the active struggle of the workers against their exploiters, by the strengthening of the working class movement in all countries. Owing to the presence of delegates from the W.F.T.U. and other trade union organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U., it was possible to make public the real situation of the workers and their demands.

INDEXED

The Magnificent Patriotic Emulation Movement of the Viet-Namese Workers

By HOANG QUOC VIET
President of the Viet-Nam General Confederation of Labour

FIRMLY united in the Viet-Nam General Confederation of Labour (T.L.D.), the Viet-Namese workers, manual and intellectual, are devoting their untiring efforts to supplying the army at the front and to laying and consolidating the economic foundations of the regime of people's democracy. A brief examination of the patriotic emulation movement shows the role they are fulfilling.



It extends to all branches of activity, and is deeply rooted among the mass of the workers. It is not only in full swing in the national defence enterprises, but it extends to the artisans and even to the intellectuals, who previously kept themselves apart from the mass of the people. From May 1, 1950 to December 19, 1951, five thousand innovations and new methods were registered and 1,500 Stakhanovites came to the fore. All trades have their own heroes. There are countless brilliant performances, both individually and collectively. The Ton Duc Thang and the Kien Thiet enterprises have increased their overall production by 63 per cent and 97 per cent respectively, and there are many workers who have exceeded their norm by as much as 300 per cent. The blacksmith Cao Viet Bao has even raised his productivity to 600 per cent. Another Stakhanovite worker, Vuong Bich Quat, has invented a hydraulic wheel of a very simple type which makes possible a considerable saving in labour and petrol.

What is the reason for these successes?

There are many factors, but it is worth while to mention two of the most important.

President Ho Chi Minh, the honoured and beloved leader of the Viet-Nam people, follows with special attention the patriotic emulation movement. He, in this field as in all others, provides the best education for the workers, teaching them that "patriotism demands emulation and emulation proves patriotism." On every special occasion he writes letters to the workers to encourage them and to give them valuable advice and appreciation.

The Workers' Party of Viet-Nam and the National Front stress clearly the importance of the patriotic emulation movement, specifying in their political programme that one of their essential tasks is to give good leadership to this movement. This question also has a regular place on the agenda of the meetings of the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

Considering the organisation and the stimulation of the emulation movement among the workers as the centre of gravity of its activities in the liberated zone, the Viet-Nam General Confederation of Labour constantly shows itself to be capable of carrying out its task. It devotes itself to giving the movement all the scope for a real mass movement by sending its cadres to promote the movement everywhere. The Executive Committee and all the regional trade union committees also assign themselves particular responsibility to ensure personally the successful development of the movement in certain branches of industry or in the main enterprises.

Political work is carried on with perseverance and eagerness. But an important feature of the present wave of general emulation, whose watchwords are "production, military distinction and promotion of fighters"[1], is the carrying out within the framework of the trade union organisation of the two slogans, "mas-

1 "Fighters" has come to mean in Viet-Nam all those who distinguish themselves in the emulation movement, whatever the character of their activity: military, scientific, literary or artistic work, or in the field of production.

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The raising of the cultural, political and technical level of the workers receives constant care from the trade unions. The photo shows a course of applied engineering.

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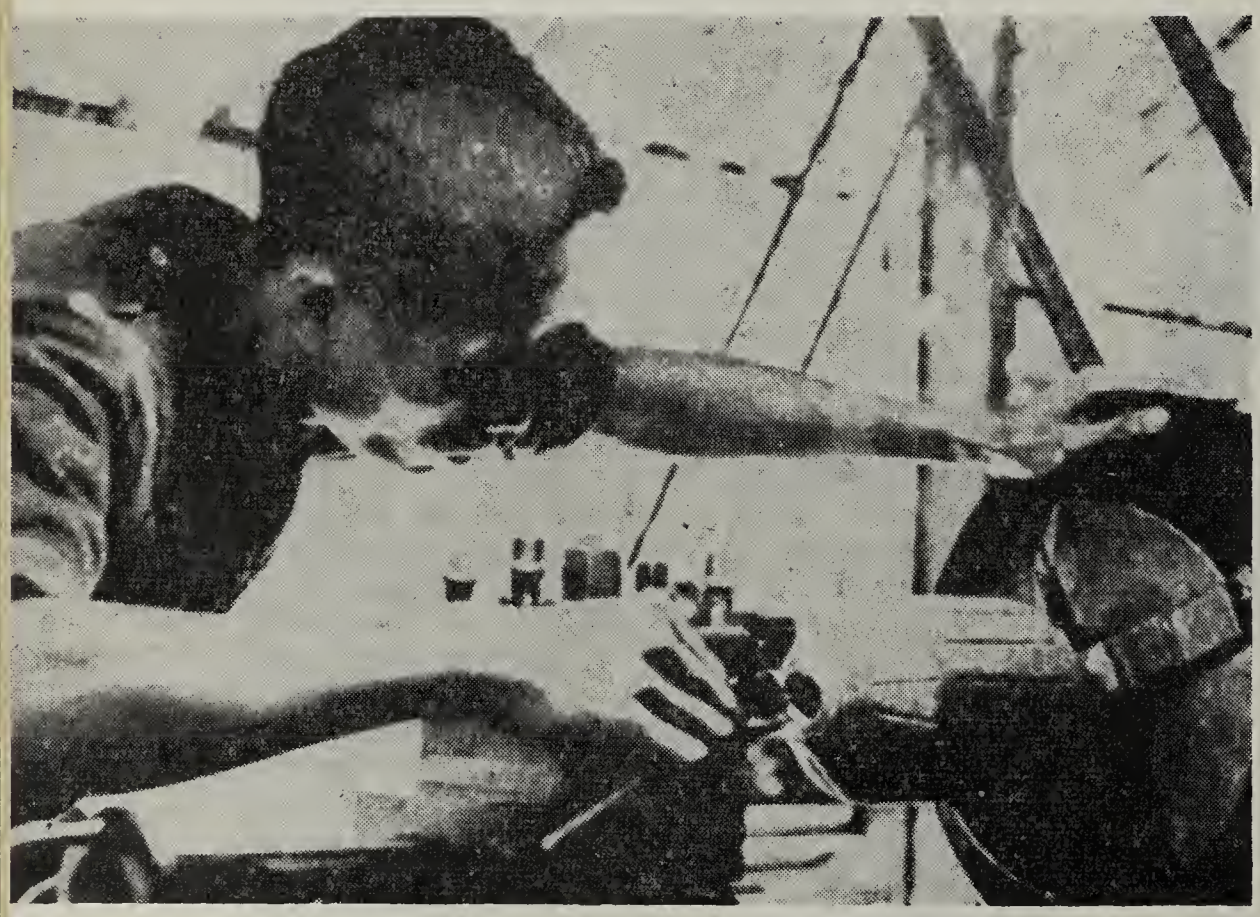

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Emulation is in full swing in the production of shells. Every worker knows that the more he manufactures, the sooner will his country be liberated.

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Arms are manufactured in small workshops like this scattered throughout the forest.

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tery of technique" and "training of fighters." The "emulation groups" link the individual closely with the group and form a type of shock-brigade among the masses. Several forms of organisation and of activity have been adopted to ensure the extension of 'new methods and the spread of exchanges of experiences. Further, the T.L.D. never loses sight of the need to unite all efforts towards a common aim. As a result of this, the workers' activities are no longer dispersed as they were before, but generally present a more or less harmonious whole.

Another factor which causes rapid progress in the patriotic emulation movement is the political understanding, the devotion and the creative power of our workers. One often notices a certain stimulus in the movement on every famous date in world or national history, or on the occasion of important events on the national or international scene. Thus, for example, there were impressive gains during the emulation week of the campaign for a peace pact between the five great powers and also to greet the 34th anniversary of the October Revolution.

There are many examples of the association of patriotism with working class internationalism. The map of Korea is placed alongside the map of Viet-Nam. You will find the picture of Henri Martin[2] on the wall of the workshop, and the workers look at it from time to time in order to stimulate themselves to greater effort. There is great eagerness to study the new methods of workers in the Soviet Union, New China and the Peoples' Democracies.

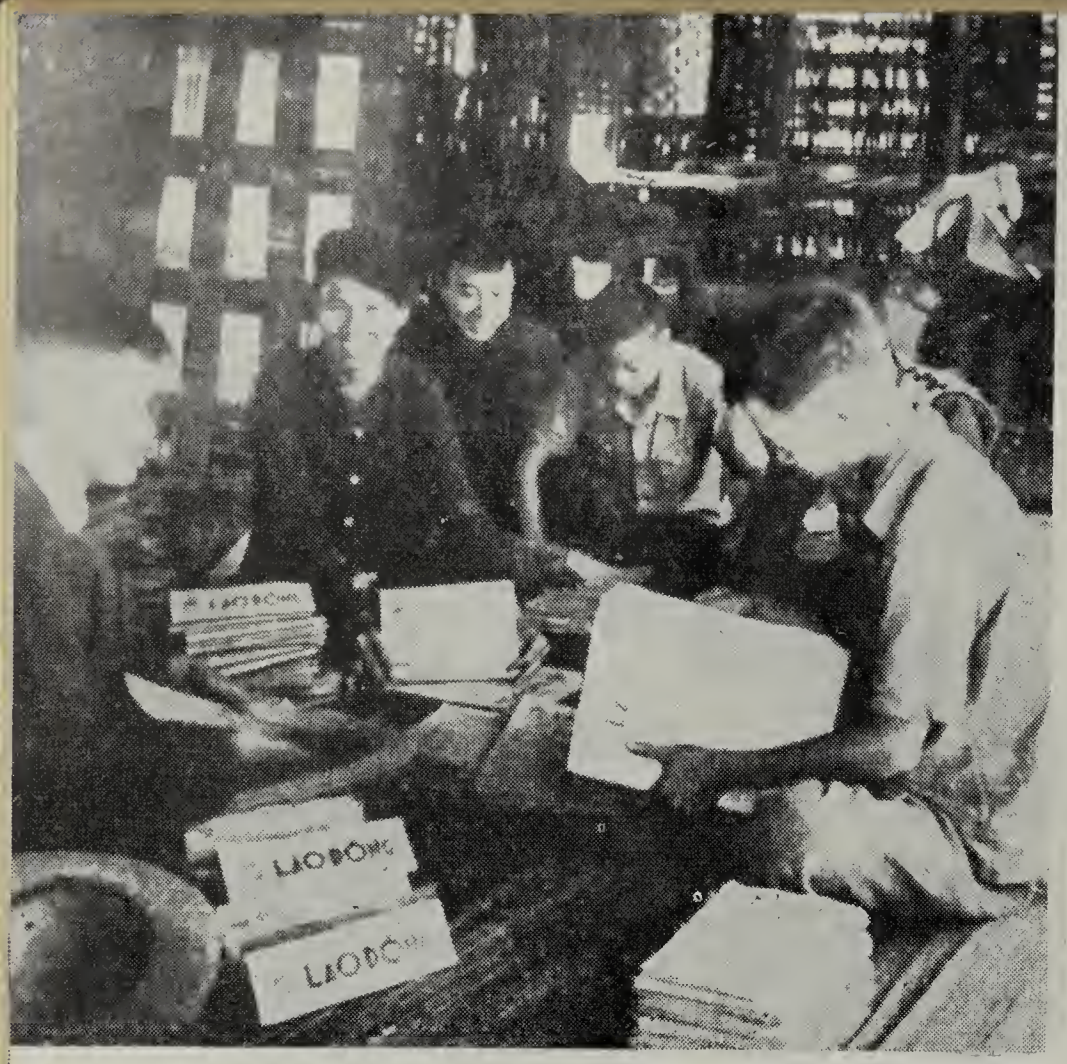
The attitude of our workers to labour is also remarkable. Their creative powers, stifled for nearly a century by the oppression of the French colonialists and the traitors, has begun to flourish since the August 1945 revolution. This is now developing to its full in the patriotic emulation movement. The uniting of this political understanding with the creative power of the workers has given rise to heroes of a completely new kind. There is the example of Ngo Gia Kham, a worker in the chemical industry, member of the Work-

A bridge destroyed by the French Expeditionary Force is temporarily repaired with the help of bamboos by the Vietnamese People's Forces.

ers' Party and three times decorated as a national hero. He is the survivor of three successive serious accidents which occurred during the course of dangerous experiments, and of which he bears terrible traces. Both his hands are knotted, his face is disfigured with scars and his eyes and ears have suffered from burns which have affected both his sight and his hearing. But nothing can prevent him from working. His infirmi-

2 Young French petty-officer who is serving a sentence of 5 years imprisonment for having distributed leaflets in the Navy condemning the Viet Nam war.

The rice plantations have been given to those who work them. These villagers are meeting to express their thanks to the democratic Government of Viet-Nam.



No difficulty prevents the regular appearance of the newspaper "Lao Dong" (work), which is the organ of the General Confederation of Workers of Viet-Nam.

ties are the badge of the strength of his worker's spirit and the nobility of his fighter's heart. Last year he again carried out splendid work. His initiative and innovations were responsible for the factory of which he is in charge, making a saving of more than 13,000 pounds of iron, nearly 30,000 pounds of coal and 110,000 work-hours as compared with 1950, while at the same time increasing production.

One cannot help but feel deep admiration for these manual and intellectual workers of the national defence enterprises who, despite the shortage of raw materials and the decrepit state and inadequacy of machines and tools, are producing continually larger quantities of bayonets, rifles and grenades and also modern arms, large and small, often of a complicated character, and of continually better quality. One cannot fail to applaud these doctors and chemists who are producing penicillin, streptomycin, etc., and who successfully perform the most delicate operations with old instruments and in small huts in which there is more likely to be dust and damp than fresh air and light.

One cannot fail to be amazed at these workers who, armed only with knives, picks and spades, cut through whole forests which appear to be insurmountable natural obstacles. Then there is the modest cook who, all on his own and with the most rudimentary utensils, prepares meals every day for 60 people.

All that has been said above brings out one incontestable historic truth, the patriotic emulation movement can only be launched and developed under the conditions of a truly democratic regime. Once these conditions have been established, there is nothing, not even the most inhuman acts of aggression of the invaders, armed to the teeth, which can hold it back. That is why the democratisation of production is an essential condition for the success of the emulation movement. Specific measures have been taken in this field by the Viet-Nam General Confederation of Labour, the Workers' Party, the government and the National Front. The setting up of Production Committees enables the workers' representatives to participate actively in drawing up production plans, bringing their rich practical experience and their sense of reality to the theoretical knowledge of the technicians. The democratic examination of every new method and every performance by the whole group concerned greatly reduces the chances of error under conditions of production which are completely or partially of an artisan type, and gives greater guarantee of determining the value of each new method.

Born of the people's democracy and the national resistance, the patriotic emulation movement helps both the people's democracy and the national resistance to go forward surely and unfalteringly to final victory.

The patriotic emulation movement of the Viet-Namese workers, which is assimilating the valuable lessons of the workers of the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies, gives a strong stimulus to the emulation movement of other classes and social strata. The increase in the production of agricultural implements and the valuable experience provided by successively launched short-term drives have enabled our peasants, continually increasing their efforts, to carry out their emulation movement in agricultural production in a splendid way. The alliance of the workers and peasants is naturally strongly consolidated on an economic basis. The intellectual workers are also conscientiously following the example of the mass of manual workers and are striving to co-operate with them as regularly as possible. This helps the workers and peasants to give our intellectual workers a better sense of reality and to orientate them on the road to progress.

Under these circumstances, one can foresee even greater and more brilliant successes in the future for the patriotic emulation movement and for the armed resistance of the Viet-Nam people, fighting determinedly under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and the Viet-Nam Workers' Party, for national liberation, people's democracy and world peace.

A Consequence of War Economy:

Lower Living Standards in Sweden

By **SVEN LANDIN**

SWEDEN is one of the few countries which managed to keep out of the two world wars. For the Swedish capitalists, these two wars were a period of untold prosperity enabling them to pile up enormous war profits thanks particularly to deliveries of iron ore to the German armaments industry. After having been a capital importing country, Sweden, at the end of the first world war, was herself beginning to export capital to the countries devastated by the war. While practically all the countries involved in the second world war came out of it exhausted, with their reserves used up and their industrial installations worn out, Sweden was ready to flood the world market with timber products and with machines and equipment. The Swedish monopoly capitalists thus raked off thousands of millions of crowns profits out of the blood of others. In 1945, the export of capital began again ; a number of new industrial installations in Western Europe, but above all on the American continent, in Australia and in South Africa are witness to the scope of this movement.

For the working class, the two wars were times of great privations although Sweden did not take part in the hostilities. The standard of living of the workers dropped. In 1917-18, a veritable famine reigned in most working class families. Long periods of mobilisation during the second world war led to great privations for many workers thus robbed of their normal wages. The final phases of these last two world conflicts were, moreover, marked by an upsurge of the class struggle: 1917-18, hunger marches, the 8-hour day demand, demonstrations for universal suffrage and a republic ; 1945, the five-months strike of the metalworkers, a united struggle of 100,000 workers.

ENORMOUS PROFITS FOR THE CAPITALISTS, GROWING WANT FOR THE WORKERS

In round figures, industrial production exceeds the pre-war level by 75 per cent. This increase, which has continued since 1945, arises out of an improvement of 25 per cent in the productivity of labour and considerable investments in industry, but also out of the presence of some 120,000 immigrant workers with work permits. The capitalists, breaking the solemn promises of the "Post-war Programme" (drawn up during the war by the Social Democrats and approved by the Communists), have to a large extent been able to determine the amount and direction of the investments. It is easy to understand what followed from this, especially since the arms race began in the capitalist countries, which led to an increased demand for certain Swedish raw materials and manufactured products, investments have only been made to benefit these sectors without taking into account long-term economic development or the needs of the working class. For example, whilst investments in industry rose to nearly three thousand million crowns, housing construction, which was 60,000 a year immediately following the war, has fallen to 40,000 during the last few years. Throughout the country there is a demand for schools, hospitals, sports grounds, etc. These demands of the people and the municipal authorities are only being satisfied to a tiny extent. The High Council of Hygiene, for example, has estimated the total needs for new construction of hospitals and health establishments at 390.5 million crowns. The government has granted this department 70 million crowns.

Foreign trade also reflects the efforts of the capitalists to make money out of war preparations on the continent. The export of ore to Hitler Germany, which played a decisive role in the unleashing and conduct of the fascist war of aggression and which, according to the Potsdam agreement, should never again go to feed a German arms industry, has now been resumed and is being systematically developed. In 1951, these exports rose to 4.85 million tons, in 1952 they are to reach 5.25 million tons. The chimneys of the German arms factories are once again smoking, and, as before, the raw material comes from the Norbotton iron ore mines. Many Swedish workers are ashamed of this and the miners of Northern Sweden have protested, declaring that it is against their will that Swedish ore is once more being put at the disposal of German war industry.

Swedish monopolies have increased their profits many times over since the war, mainly because of the growing demand on the market for export goods such as iron ore, ball-bearings, machinery, wood and its by-products . . . and be-

cause of the sharp rise in the export prices of these goods which resulted. The index of prices of export goods, which, at the time of the devaluation in August 1949, was 233, rose to 314 in 1950 and to 562 in 1951 (yearly averages). In January this year, the index rose to 609. These figures clearly indicate the enormous increase in the profits accumulated by the monopoly capitalists thanks to export. To get a concrete idea of this increase, it is enough to take the balance sheet of the 14 largest companies of the metal and wood industries, whose profits rose from 68.6 million crowns in 1949 to 168.9 million in 1951. These figures, however, only express part of the real profits, for, during the same period, the portion set aside for depreciation rose from 143.6 million to 346 million crowns; and 390.7 million are temporarily "frozen" in the coffers of the State Bank. Furthermore, the monopolies every year distribute millions of crowns in the form of free shares.

It should not be concluded from this that the Swedish monopoly capitalists draw their enormous super-profits only from "abroad." The Swedish people, and especially the wage-earners, pay heavy tribute towards the scandalous enrichment of monopoly capital, either in the form of high taxes which, more and more, go to finance rearmament, or in the form of fantastic rents and prices for primary necessities. Whereas the wage-earner only paid an average of 10 per cent of his wages in taxes before the war, the share of taxes is now more than 15 per cent; municipal taxes have also increased. It is easy to understand the burden taxes represent for the workers when we realise that 35 per cent of the wage increases won in 1952 go in taxes.

The rearmament of Sweden itself is another inexhaustible source of profits to the capitalists, for it is almost entirely based on the national armaments industry. The rearmament of Sweden began at the beginning of 1948, that is to say, simultaneously with the country's joining the Marshall Plan, and since that time military expenditure has doubled: from 800 million crowns the war budget rose to 1,650 million for this year. The credits set aside for equipment and munitions rose from 562.4 million in 1951 to 747.7 million crowns in 1952, which illustrates the importance of rearmament as a source of profits to the Swedish capitalists. The process is the same in our country as in the other Marshallised countries; the discussion of the war budget in the Parliament is preceded by a deafening campaign in the Press, which is owned or controlled by monopoly capital, on the "Russian menace," the "Red peril,"—after which the reactionary deputies and the right Social Democrats vote for the proposed budget "under the banner of unity."

PRICES AND OTHER EXPENDITURE RISE 50 PER CENT

The change in Sweden's economic policy which took place after joining the Marshall Plan has led, among other consequences, to an increase of some 50 per cent in prices and other expenses. One of the most palpable results of the Marshall Plan was the devaluation in September 1949, when the Swedish crown was devalued on orders from Washington by 30 per cent, at the same time as the national currencies of the other Marshallised countries. This measure gave free rein to a sudden increase of import prices, 29 per cent in 1951 alone. It is no exaggeration to say that the devaluation has cost the Swedish people thousands of millions of crowns in the form of increases in the prices of various goods and other items of expenditure.

A further consequence of the Marshall Plan was that the "ceiling prices" hitherto imposed on home-produced goods sold in the country — without taking into account the price of the same articles on the international market—were successively removed in conformity with the stipulations of the Marshall Plan. This measure allowed the capitalists to sell certain export products such as timber, cellulose, paper, etc., on the home market at the same price as that prevailing on the world market. As a result, these prices have followed the general world rise of raw material prices: the price of timber, for example has no longer any relation to production costs or to what is politely called a "fair profit"; it is more closely related to a usurious rate of interest. A wage-earner who after several years of pinching and scraping, manages to build his own house, is at present obliged to lay out at least 40,000 crowns, as against 30,000 a few years ago. It may be said that the additional 10,000 crowns, representing for the most part the rise in the price of timber, are the "contribution" which this worker has to pay to monopoly capital according to the Marshall Plan.

RIGHT-WING SOCIALISTS AGAINST WAGE INCREASES

A third consequence of the Marshall Plan policy was the introduction, in 1949, of the so-called price freeze policy, which was in fact, only a wage-freeze policy. The right-wing Social Democratic leaders tried, indeed, to persuade the wage-earners that if they would only give up wage increases the "policy of stabilisation" (the policy of the Marshall Plan) would stop prices rising and—in the long run—bring prices down, that is to say, increase real wages. Naturally, facts soon proved that these promises were a mere hoax. A powerful movement developed among the mass of the workers, forcing the right Social Democratic leaders to abolish the price freeze in 1951 and to proclaim "freedom of wages."

During the last two years, the workers, by their action, have won big nominal wage gains, thus preventing the monopolies from carrying out their plans for a sharp general reduction of the standard of living of the mass of the workers.

The right-wing Social Democrats have tried in various ways to limit these nominal wage increases. Firstly in 1951 and at the beginning of 1952, before the discussion on the collective agreements, they tried to get the workers to believe that the rise in prices and the cost of living would not, as far as could be foreseen, be very great; as a result, the workers were only granted small increases in the new collective agreements. But after the collective agreements were signed, which usually ocurs in Sweden at the beginning of the fiscal year, price increases came in successive waves and ate up the modest wage increases granted in the collective agreements.

The new fact, if one compares the situation with what it was during the 1949-50 period of wage freeze, is that the working masses are no longer accepting the situation. The best example of this is the development in the engineering

industry which, with 145,000 workers, is the most important Swedish industry. According to the collective agreements, the workers in this industry should have obtained wage increases of 11% for men and 13% for women in 1951. At the end of the year, however, it was apparent that the real increase in wages had been 25% for men and 24% for women. How was that possible? These increases, much greater than were allowed for within the framework of the collective agreements, can be partly accounted for by increased productivity; but as the latter only increased by 3% during the period in question, it is obvious that the wage increases are, for the most part, the result of the united action the workers have carried on in their local trade unions.

FALLING STANDARD OF LIVING

Thus if it can be said that the workers have succeeded in preventing as great a reduction of their standard of living as the monopolists would have liked, it would be wrong to jump to the conclusion that the standard of living of the Swedish worker has stayed at the level reached during the first few post-war years. Far from it; in Sweden, as in other capitalist countries, the standard of living of the mass of the workers is falling. It should not be forgotten that the wage increases won in 1951 by workers in industry—on the average 23.4% for men and 22.4% for women—were accompanied by a general rise of 26.2% in the cost of living. Among the workers of the most important industries, only those of the paper and cellulose industries were able, with an increase in their wages of some 30%, to compensate for the rise in the cost of living and even to win a certain improvement in their real wages. The increases obtained by most workers in other industries, however, were insufficient to compensate for the rise of prices. This is especially true for the miners who only obtained an increase of 18% and the leather workers who had to be content with 12-15%.

Numerous categories of workers were consequently obliged to cut down on their consumption in 1951. Whereas the tendency towards a drop in consumption which appeared in 1949-50 was essentially concerned with leisure (cinema. etc.) and certain luxury goods (chocolate, sweets, etc.), in the first half of 1951 a drop of 10% in purchases of textiles could be seen in comparison with the same period for the year 1950, whilst purchases of footwear dropped by 20-25%. Another fact, characteristic of the reduction of the standard of living of the Swedish workers, is the 13% drop in butter consumption in 1951, leading to accumulation of stocks which are now exported at a lower price than that paid by consumers in Sweden itself!

The right-wing Social Democrats, who have the majority in the government and in Parliament, are taking no measures to prevent the standard of living of the masses from falling. On the contrary, they are speeding up this development by limiting wage increases, by abolishing price control little by little, by doing away with State subsidies on foodstuffs and by increasing indirect taxation.

Stockholm dockers on strike listen to their trade union delegate sum up the situation.

THE SPECTRE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

In recent months Swedish workers have been faced with a fact that they have not known for many years: unemployment. Reduction of sales, resulting from the fall in the purchasing power of the mass of the workers, has assumed such a scale that there is now a veritable slump, in some sectors of the consumer goods industry, resulting in lower production and unemployment. Whilst the production of capital goods continues to progress (by

4% during the first four months of 1952) the production of consumer goods had fallen by 6% in the same period. This situation has been brought about partly by allowing free imports from the other Marshall Plan countries, with its result of a veritable invasion of cloth, clothing, and imported stockings and footwear, although the country's industry is capable of meeting almost the entire needs of Sweden in this field. It is none the less true that the major cause of reductions in the consumer goods industries lies in the fall in the purchasing power of large sections of the population. In spite of the fine words of the right-wing Social Democrats on "full employment", an "imperative" of economic policy, the facts prove that since Sweden joined the Marshall Plan it is precisely the economic policy followed by the government which has caused unemployment.

The first warning of unemployment appeared at the end of last year. The trade union federations announced at that time a little more than 34,000 unemployed, a "normal" figure if one takes into account the fact that the majority of these workers are seasonal unemployed (building workers, etc.) But if to this figure is added the number of workers dismissed during the weeks of Christmas and the New Year, it rises to more than 127,000. In the textile and clothing industries alone, more than 14,000 workers were dismissed during this period.

For various reasons it is difficult to get an exact idea of the extent of unemployment, but it is nevertheless possible to give a few figures: in March more than 7,700 textile workers were unemployed, including 5,000 women. In April 4,200 unemployed were counted among the building workers—whereas at the same period of the preceding year there was a great shortage of labour in this trade.

Dismissals and unemployment sharply reduce the standard of living of the workers hit. Unemployment benefits only amount to about a quarter of the daily wage for eight hours work; in certain cases a lodging allowance is added to the unemployment benefit. If the unemployed worker does not accept work offered to him in another trade, for example if a textile worker refuses to go and pull up beetroots, his benefits are immediately withdrawn.

The capitalists do not hide their satisfaction at these developments. For a long time one of the essential objectives of their economic policy has been to put an end to full employment and create a reserve of unemployed labour. They rely on this reserve to exercise pressure on the workers to refuse any further increase in wages and then to reduce them. But there are other reasons. As the arms race has developed, in Sweden as in other capitalist countries, the demand for Swedish capital goods has grown, leading to a shortage of labour in the basic industries, especially the metal industry and the mines. Up to the present, an attempt has been made to overcome this shortage by importing labour from other Scandinavian countries and from Western Germany and Italy; altogether 15,000 foreign workers in 1951 alone. In 1952, it is intended to further increase the number of workers employed in the metal industry and the mines by 7,000. The plan worked out by the authorities provides for the necessary workers to be transferred, for the most part, from the consumer-goods industries; it is cynically estimated that, thanks to the fall in the standard of living, the drop in purchasing power and the increase in imports of consumer-goods, 5,000 workers will be "freed" in the textile, clothing and footwear industries for the export and arms industries.

It will, however, be very difficult for the government to carry out these plans fully. Many workers, thus "freed" from their work, have built their own houses or bought flats near the establishments where they earned their living. They remain where they are in spite of the tempting promises of high wages in the export and armaments industries in other parts of the country which the authorities lavish on them, for they hope to be able to resume their former work. Thus are formed "islands of unemployment" where the prosperity characteristic of so many small Swedish industrial centres is swiftly changed into poverty.

* * *

THERE are thus hard times ahead of the Swedish workers as a result of the policy carried out by their government. There is no doubt that they will fight, like the workers of the other Marshallised countries, to reduce to nought the plans of the monopolies to increase exploitation of their labour power. They will also fight to expose the betrayal of the right-wing Social Democratic leaders, and to bring the Swedish trade union movement back into the great fighting fraternity of the W.F.T.U.

In Defence of British Films

By
ELIOT DOUGLAS

IN the recent film, *Ivanhoe,* based on the famous novel by Sir Walter Scott, the American stars, Robert Taylor and Joan Fontaine, play the leading parts. The main British actor, Emlyn Williams, appears through half of the film as a Saxon serf in chains.

This relationship of American conqueror and British serf is symbolic of the aims of the American ruling class towards Britain. And for the achievement of this aim American imperialism plans to destroy the British national film industry in common with those of the rest of the capitalist world. For this purpose it utilises every possible means of commercial and political blackmail to force Hollywood products on Britain and to exclude British films from overseas markets.

In this, the American State Department follows, and even extends, the methods used by Dr. Goebbels, who wrote frankly in his diary:

> "We must proceed in our movie policies as the Americans do in their policies towards the North and South American continents. We must become the dominating movie power on the European continent . . . It must be our aim to prevent so far as is possible the founding of any new national film industry . . ."
>
> (Entry of May 19th, 1942).

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF BRITISH FILMS

EVER since films came out of their early pioneering stage, the British film industry has had to struggle against America. In 1917 the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, issued a clarion call to American industrialists with the slogan: "Trade Follows the Film." Ever since, films have been used by the U.S.A. not only to make substantial profits, but also to popularise U.S. merchandise.

Vast sums were sunk in Hollywood, and American pictures began to flood the cinemas of the world; because the major part of the making of these could be recovered from showing them in the U.S.A. itself, these films were distributed abroad at rates that undercut any native product. In this situation the U.S.A. got an easy grip on Britain.

By 1925, because we had reached a position where hardly a film was being made in our studios, film-makers here got the government to compel the cinemas to show a "quota" of British films in their programmes. This quota system became law in 1927 with the introduction of the first Cinematograph Films Act[1] which also compelled all who imported foreign films to handle a quota of British films as well. By means of this complementary quota system British film-makers achieved a measure of protection from America and were able to advance considerably. The quota of British films that the cinemas had to show started at 5 per cent, and rose in easy stages to 20 per cent in 1947.

But American films were still entrenched here, largely through the American renting agencies that imported them into Britain. The production companies, Columbia, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, 20th Century-Fox and Warner Brothers, for instance, are household names in the U.S.A., and all are as well known in Britain through their firmly-established branches here, as well as through the "British" production companies such as Columbia British, M-G-M British, Paramount British, etc. Films that they make in British studios, often largely with American finance, are nevertheless classed as "British," and the film technicians' trade union, the Association of Cinematograph and Allied Technicians (A.C.T.), has taken a leading role over the years in exposing this. It has also exposed the less

1 There have been three Acts, each with a life of 10 years.

direct control through film monopolies, such as the J. Arthur Rank Organisation, which profit more from the showing of Hollywood films, sent to Britain at undercutting rates, than from making British films. The Universal-International production company in America supplies films for the Rank British renting company, General Film Distributors, which in turn is linked with Rank's two chains of cinemas, the Odeon and Gaumont-British circuits.[2] The A.C.T.'s pamphlets, *Film Business is Big Business* (published by the Union in 1939) and *Monopoly* (1946), exposed the whole set-up in great detail, and soon achieved wide sales in the industry.

All the while, American big business interests were using U.S. diplomats to help destroy the foundation of the protective quota system, which compelled the film renters who imported pictures into Britain to handle,—and, hence, to sponsor—a number of British films. Twenty years after the first Cinematograph Films Act, the Americans achieved this at the Geneva and Havana trade conferences. In 1948 the third Film Act came into force, and this no longer required renters to handle a quota of British films. As there was more profit in importing and showing Hollywood films, the bottom dropped out of British film-making, although British films were far more popular with our audiences.

As a result of America's stranglehold, 8 out of 10 films shown here today are American, and half of British film production workers are out of the industry. The annual output of British films is one-third of production in peak years, and more than half England's studios are closed.

AMERICAN IDEAS DOMINATE TOO

BUT trade is not the only thing that follows the film. *American ideas follow the American films*—ideas that attempt to brutalise and acclimatise people to war just as surely as the pre-war Nazi films did. In the recent Hollywood picture, *Steel Helmet,* for instance, the story justifies the murder in cold blood of a North Korean prisoner of war—contrary to all conventions—and *Rommel—Desert Fox* shows the Nazi killer as a soulful, misunderstood man, deserving sympathy.

Many films like *12 O'clock High, Halls of Montezuma, Sands of Iwo Jima,* and *Frogmen,* glorify the techniques of war, and argue that young men can fulfil themselves only in the heroic act of being U.S. soldiers. Others, like *I Want You* are pure recruiting propaganda, a fact carefully suppressed in the publicity for this particular picture.

This type of American film is rapidly predominating, but this is not restricted to Hollywood pictures. The top creators of Anglo-American films made in British studios are American, and although the pictures are nominally "British," the ideas in them are largely American. The employers constantly give the excuse that this "makes the film saleable in America"—an attitude that is aped by many erstwhile independent British producers these days, and has long been proved to be fallacious; so the grip of the U.S.A. tightens on the British industry. This has been strongly resisted by the A.C.T. and by Equity, the actors' trade union, whose members are kept out of work when American directors, script-writers and stars are employed.

The intended effect of such films from both British and American studios on our audience may be imagined from the fact that the Hollywood stoolpigeon film, *I was a Communist for the F.B.I.* was followed the next

" Yankee Culture," the Westminster workers have pasted on this American poster.

2 Although the cinemas retain their original names, the two circuits are combined into one film booking organisation, Circuit Management Association.

week by the British *High Treason*,[3] which slandered workers for peace. Most of these films that serve the American drive to war are accompanied by lurid posters of violence on the hoardings and in the press, and so the propaganda is spread still further.

BRITISH FILM WORKERS FIGHT BACK

BUT, as has been indicated earlier, even before the film workers were organised in trade unions, British film-makers have had a strong tradition of fighting American big business. The film workers have drawn on this tradition in campaigning for their jobs and against the encroachment of American influences. At the end of October 1948 a thousand workers *from all the unions* at Denham Studios went on strike against the management's redundancy policy. In February 1949 four hundred film workers from the Gainsborough Studios, threatened with unemployment, marched from Shepherds Bush, London, to the Houses of Parliament with banners, inscribed with such slogans as "Save the Film Industry, and Save Dollars." In September 1950 delegates from the A.C.T. told the Trades Union Congress annual conference at Brighton of the union's plan to produce films itself on a co-operative basis, in order to give some employment to film workers and to help expose capitalist trading methods.

In January 1951 the Film Industry Employees' Council, consisting of five of the principal trade unions in films[4] organised a conference in London, opened by Sir Laurence Olivier (leading member of Equity and A.C.T.), to awaken interest among trade unionists and other members of the general public to the crisis in film production. The five unions jointly put forward a ten-point plan for solving the crisis, which was widely reported in the press the following day. During the next few months Trades Councils in London, Manchester, Edinburgh and Westminster passed resolutions of support for British film workers on the initiative of members of the F.I.E.C. Unions.

Athough these unions have achieved unity in formulating their policy, they have not succeeded in uniting in struggle to defend the British film industry, nor have they yet found the way to associate the entire organised trade union movement with them in struggle to defend the British film industry.

Following the 19th annual meeting of the A.C.T. in London at the end of April 1952, there are signs that the five Unions of the F.I.E.C. may go forward together with the planned campaign of activity *against* the undercutting by American films, and *for* the making of British pictures to replace some of those American films now shown in overwhelming numbers in British cinemas.

The simple demand that British films be made is being voiced increasingly in the unions, which are also demanding that the government find the necessary finance for this. To those who argue that the government cannot spare the finance, the suggestion is being made by a number of film workers that the government could cut down its devastating arms programme, because the money, that *might* now be coming to the government's Film Finance Corporation[5] for films, goes in swelling the rearmament bill.[6] These demands have

3 It is very significant that the two Boulting brothers, who made such progressive films as **Pastor Hall** and **Fame Is the Spur** have now sunk to the level of the smear; after **High Treason** they landed a five-picture contract with M-G-M.

4 A.C.T., Electrical Trades Union, Equity, Film Artists' Association and Musicians' Union—the National Association of Theatrical and Kino Employees resigned in 1949.

5 Set up by the former Labour government, as a result of trade union pressure.

6 The fact that the Churchill government, as part of its arms drive, has disbanded the government's own film company, the Crown Film Unit, reveals the hostility of the pro-American Tory government towards the idea of a healthy, independent, British film industry.

A group of film workers showing their posters and banners before demonstrating through the streets of central London.

a further link, when it is realised that the American film company, 20th Century-Fox, has a financial tie-up with airlines and oil; Warner Brothers with iron, steel, cars and banks; Paramount with rubber, oil, cars, railways — all with interests that profit from war preparations.

Film workers are only too anxious to work on something healthier than the type of film Hollywood now sends over. Another aspect of this desire for better films comes from the audience, who have not only staged protests at such American war films as *Steel Helmet*, *Sands of Iwo Jima*, and *Rommel — Desert Fox*, but have warmly welcomed shows put on by various democratic and peace organisations, as well as by independent film societies like the New Era Film Club with already over 1,600 members, and a number of affiliations from trade union branches and trades councils. These shows, often on the sub-standard 16 mm. films, consist of progressive films from Britain, the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies, People's China — and the other, progressive America—as well as international film classics.

The celebrated British actor, Sir Lawrence Olivier, presides at an important national conference in defence of British films.

Realising the value of these films, some trade unions have sponsored their own films; in 1945 the Amalgamated Engineering Union had a thirty-minute film, *Unity is Strength*, made for them by a documentary film company, and the following year the Electrical Trades Union sponsored *Power in the Land*. In 1950 and 1951 film records of the London Trades Council's May Day demonstrations were made, and these received wide showings on 16 mm. projectors.

These progressive film performances are growing in influence, although through organisational difficulties they are still on a very small scale compared with commercial shows. They serve, however, to prove what a hunger there is for decent, healthy pictures to take the place of the vast outpourings from Hollywood. It is another symptom of the support for truly British films that exists in this country, despite high-powered U.S. publicity. This popular support is the surest sheet-anchor that the British film workers have for their campaign in defence of British films.

Sketch drawn during the trial by the British observer, V. CUTLER.

The Trial of the Barcelona Heroes

AN INTERVIEW WITH BRITISH OBSERVERS AT THE TRIAL

FOLLOWING the Barcelona general strike, which reverberated throughout Spain and shook the Franco regime, 41 persons were arrested of whom 27 were held for trial, outstanding among them being Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, General Secretary of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. The news of the arrests alarmed world democratic opinion, and a campaign of solidarity quickly commenced and developed, reaching a height which it is now clear has decisively influenced the course of events. From the outset the Franco authorities became aware that the actions of Lopez Raimundo and his fellow leaders of the Barcelona general strike were enthusiastically supported by very wide sections of the people of all countries. This led to a shifting of the ground of the charges. The "crime" of the 27 was now said not to be the organising of the general strike, but the illegal re-constitution of the outlawed United Socialist Party of Catalonia! This news was followed by a strengthening of the campaign for the release of Lopez Raimundo and his fellow prisoners so that a searching spotlight was turned on the treatment of the 27. The effects of this can be seen in the following facts:

1. No less than a year elapsed between the arrests and the trial, which finally took place on July 2nd and 3rd of this year. During this time all 27 prisoners were transferred to the dreaded Ocana jail, Toledo, from where so many Republican fighters against Franco have been taken out and shot. The transfer from this death-house to Barcelona registered the first gain for the campaign to save Lopez Raimundo and his companions.

2. The prisoners were subjected to pressure to renounce their views in exchange for trial by a civilian court and the expectation of acquittal. The spirit in which this "offer" was rejected was expressed by Lopez Raimundo—"They are trying to drag us to court on our knees, but we will go there on our feet."

3. During the year following the arrests, the trial was more than once announced and then put off.

4. For the first time in a trial of this character civilian lawyers were allowed the accused.

5. Above all, foreign observers were allowed to be present at the trial.

The observers were: FRANCE, M. Paul Villard

(Front National Judiciaire and the Groupe de Catholiques Independents du Palais); ITALY, Signor Ferretti (Associazone Italiana Giuristi Democratici); BELGIUM, M. Roger Collinet and M. Jules Chomé (Association Internationale de Juristes Democrates); GREAT BRITAIN, Mr. David Widdicombe (Society of Labour Lawyers and International Brigade Association and Friends of Republican Spain) and Miss Vanda Cutler, Interpreter; representatives of the French, American and British Consulates were also present.

Interviewed by *World Trade Union Movement,* Mr. Widdicombe spoke of the legal aspects of the trial and said that his chief impression was " the width of the law under which the accused were tried. It covers any normal political activities." He pointed to the fact that civilians were being tried by a military court, consisting of 5 serving officers, held in the Military Headquarters. " In such circumstances," he said, " the decision is bound to be more of a political than a judicial one." The eight defence lawyers, chosen by the accused, did a good job, he thought; but they had a hopeless task. The prisoners naturally would not deny their acts and the defence was really limited to pointing out the mitigating factors, such as that the prisoners had only advanced their views by peaceful methods. " As a member of the Labour Party," concluded Mr. Widdicombe, " I do not agree with the particular political views of Lopez Raimundo and his fellows, but I have great admiration for their courageous and sincere bearing in court and their stand against Franco."

Full notes of the trial were taken by Miss Vanda Cutler, Interpreter, and from them it is clear :

- That the trial, held under the 1943 law, was an abuse of even the Franco " legal code " as the charges ought to have been tried under the ordinary Penal Law and in the civil courts.
- That grave economic inequalities exist in Spain, and that the main objects of the accused were " the betterment of working class conditions, peace and independence for Spain," in the words of defence lawyer Sr. Juan Mestre Sala.
- That there was no evidence of anything but peaceful methods of advancing their views by the prisoners who were sincere men and women whose actions were based only on conviction. Said defence lawyer Sr. Martin Fuste Salvatella : " If we punish conviction as such we shall end with the same result as with the judges of Galileo. Today everyone admits : " Eppur si muove," " Nevertheless the earth does move."

When one recalls the prevailing atmosphere in Franco Spain today, a notable aspect of the trial was the outspoken character of the statements of the defence lawyers by contrast with any previous trial—a significant reflection of the presence of international observers, the world interest in the fate of the accused and, last but far from least, the brave stand of the prisoners themselves (defence lawyer Sr. José Ma. Mas Casals referred to the refusal of the prisoners to deny their guilt as a source of difficulty for their counsel.).

Lopez Raimundo and his fellow prisoners defended their activities with great dignity and courage, and in so doing put the corrupt tyranny of Franco in the dock. Lopez Raimundo accepted full responsibility for his acts, but rebutted all misrepresentations of their meaning and purpose. Yes, he was opposed to the regime, but the intention was to replace it with a democratic system based on free elections resulting from the will of the majority. The President of the Court (Lieut. Col. Jose Navas San Juan), who had heard the defence lawyers with but few interruptions and with an effort to create an impression of courtesy, adapted a different tone to the accused. When Lopez Raimundo said he " Does not want Spain dragged into a war against . . . ", he was cut short by the President who directed the official shorthand writer to omit the last remark and note that Lopez Raimundo had been ordered to sit down.

Joan Pages Moret, with an outstanding anti-fascist record including service in the Republican Army and in the French Resistance and subsequently a German prisoner-of-war, was cut short during examination by his lawyer when describing the poverty in Spain, but nevertheless continued . . . " Luchamos por el pan, la paz, la libertad ! " (" We struggle for bread, peace, liberty ! ").

So it went on as Lopez Raimundo's fellow prisoners boldly spoke out when they had an opportunity to do so. Juan Mistral Balaguer put the whole case in a nutshell—" If we have the right to better conditions, why are we under trial ? " This brought from the Prosecutor a threat to close the session to the public. One after another, the statements of the prisoners were cut short by the President as they made their points. One protested that when he was arrested his wife and daughter were brutally treated before his eyes; another insisted he was within his rights distributing propaganda which was in the interests of the country; another insisted his actions were motivated by patriotism.

The prosecution case, the speeches of the defence lawyers, and the statements of the prisoners all revealed how broad is the opposition within Spain to the Franco regime—and how utterly baseless it is to describe this opposition as purely " Communist." The prosecution speech referred to widespread anti-Franco organisation in the cities, towns and countryside, embracing areas and factories. Besides the Press of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, " Treball " and " Lliuta," and the Communist " Mundo Obrero," the prosecutor spoke of " copies of other publications which, although they do not uphold the same ideology as these parties, have in common with them opposition to the regime." He also referred to " factory committees which they (the prisoners) endeavoured to form in all, or the most important, enterprises in the city, and actually succeeded in a certain number where they organised ' cells ' which brought together the ordinary rank-and-file." In a revealing sentence he mentioned the " Tarragona region, in which we do not know the

villages where the party *has* the greatest influence."

The prosecution asked for sentences of 20 years imprisonment for Raimundo; 15 years for 4 others (later reducing the demand to 10 years in the case of Felisa Girbau); 12 years for a further 4; 10 years for 2; 8 years for 6; 6 years for 8; and 4 years for the remaining 2 (reducing this to 2 years in the case of José Triadu). The actual sentences testify to the strength of the international solidarity campaign. Lopez Raimundo and 3 others were sentenced to 4 years; 3 received 3 years; 7 two years; 9 six months and 4 were acquitted. Allowing for the time the prisoners were held before the trial, and remissions of sentences introduced in connection with the International Eucharistic Congress at Barcelona, these sentences should mean the release of Lopez Raimundo and the three others with 4 year terms in several months, and the immediate release of all other prisoners. This is a tremendous victory for world democratic opinion, but it is not the end of the story as the following facts reported by Miss Vanda Cutler will make unmistakably clear.

Gregorio Lopez Raimundo
Barcelona Prison
Spain.

Dear Brother,

In the name of the workers of the whole world, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat expresses to you and your comrades its sympathy and its admiration for the firmness and courage which you have shown in demanding before the executioners of the Spanish people the right of the workers to fight against poverty and oppression, for peace and freedom.

Interpreting the will of the workers of all lands, we are developing action to demand the repeal of the Barcelona military court's verdict, by means of which the Franco authorities, once more trampling on the workers' fundamental rights, sentenced the leaders of last year's Barcelona strike movements.

As evidence of the scope of this international action, hundreds of resolutions have arrived at the W.F.T.U. offices, signed by tens of thousands of workers of all countries, protesting against the arbitrary sentences passed on you and your comrades, and demanding your release.

In greeting you, we also greet all the anti-Franco democrats and workers imprisoned in Franco's jails. The W.F.T.U. is giving its full support to the world campaign for their release and for the setting up of an International Commission to inquire into the situation and the inhuman conditions of the anti-Franco political prisoners.

Yours fraternally
Henri JOURDAIN
Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

Prior to the trial, information from Spain told of Raimundo and the 26 being subject to brutal treatment. Miss Cutler questioned Lopez Raimundo about this:—Vanda Cutler: "It is said a great deal in England that you have been beaten by the police. Do you wish to say anything about this?" Lopez Raimundo: "Yes! What has been said is true, and I say this quite frankly in front of my lawyers. Yes, I was beaten." Miss Cutler adds that the ill-treatment stopped when the International campaign developed. In reply to a similar question, another prisoner said to Miss Cutler . . . "They treat us no better than the worst criminals," and, as a plain clothes man interrupted, he repeated, "You know it's true, you know it's true."

Throughout the trial, Lopez Raimundo's left cheek twitched continuously, and the faces of all the prisoners bore the results of their imprisonment and treatment. Miss Cutler described the expression as that seen on the faces of returned prisoners-of-war.

During their year-long imprisonment before trial, the prisoners—as is the general rule in Spain—were dependent on food brought by relatives and obtained at the price of unending toil, devotion and self-sacrifice.

The concessions reluctantly yielded to the insistent demand of world public opinion in no way affect the character of the Franco terror, and only continued vigilance and intensified pressure can ensure that the heroes of the Barcelona trial even now are not subjected to fascist vengeance. More than the Devil fears holy water, Franco fears the light of day. It is significant that neither before nor during the trial was it mentioned in the Spanish Press. This makes all the more deplorable the situation noted by Mr. Widdicombe: "As far as could be observed no representative of the foreign Press or news agencies were present." This observation was supported by the other international observers—and it should be pointed out that many correspondents of the foreign Press, including the London *Times*, are assigned to Franco Spain.

The verdict of the Barcelona court-martial must encourage to still further efforts all who contributed to the solidarity campaign on behalf of Raimundo and his fellow prisoners. With such irrefutable evidence of the value of these efforts, vast new forces can be won to reinforce this campaign which must go on till its aims are completely achieved and the freedom and safety of these indomitable fighters against the Franco regime of starvation and war is assured beyond any doubt.

The workers of Caracas (Venezuela) demonstrate for the release of their leader, Jesus Faria.

RELEASE Jesus Faria and Max Garcia

Max GARCIA, vice-president of the Venezuelan Oil Workers' Trade Union Unity Committee, was arrested in the ZULIA oil region along with his brother, Pantaleon GARCIA. after thirty months of persecution. He is a fighting associate of Jesus Faria who is the most highly respected leader of the oil workers and president of the Trade Union Unity Committee. At the present time, Max Garcia and his brother are being kept in solitary confinement, subject to conditions which are leading to their death.

The case of Max Garcia is not an isolated one. More than 4,000 who have fought for the workers, for peace, democracy and the independence of their country fill the prisons of Venezuela. Scores of citizens have been murdered. Concentration camps have been set up, like that of Guasima, in the Orinoco delta, to which more than 600 workers and democrats have been sent. In the *San Juan de los Morros* jail, where hundreds of prisoners are kept, Jesus Faria, leader of the Venezuelan working class, has been kept in solitary confinement for more than two years.

The military dictatorship, oppressing Venezuela and maintained by the oil companies, has unleashed the most vicious repression against the working class movement. The Workers' Confederation of Venezuela, the Oil Workers' Trade Union Unity Committee and many trade unions are banned and the right to strike suppressed.

The fight to save the life of Max Garcia is now linked with the demand for the immediate release of Brother Jesus Faria and other workers persecuted by the Venezuelan dictatorship, and with action for the respect of democratic and trade union liberties.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has sent the following telegram to the head of the Venezuelan Military Government at Caracas:

> " In the name of the World Federation of Trade Unions we protest strongly against the persecution and tortures inflicted on Max Garcia, vice-president of the Venezuelan Oil Workers' Trade Union Unity Committee. We consider this detention, added to the 2 years' imprisonment of Jesus Faria, principal leader of the oil workers, a new violation of the rights inscribed in the United Nations Charter and demand the release of these working class leaders."

The working class of Venezuela is not alone in the struggle. It can count on the firm solidarity of workers of all countries.

Thousands and thousands of protests from workers, trade unions, and democrats all over the world should be sent to the Military Junta of Venezuela to demand the liberation of Jesus FARIA, Max GARCIA and the other victims of the dictatorship.

World Federation of Trade Unions.

The W.F.T.U. at the 14th Session

of the

Economic and Social Council

By IRADJ ESKANDARY

THE 14th session of the Economic and Social Council opened on the 20th May, 1952, at the new U.N.O. building in New York.

As a category "A" non-governmental organisation holding consultative status at the Council, the W.F.T.U. notified the Secretariat of the United Nations of the composition of its delegation at the beginning of May. However, the three W.F.T.U. representatives were not able to meet in New York until the 20th June, 1952, i.e. a month after the official opening of the session.

In fact the United States Government, in flagrant violation of the agreement which she had entered into with the United Nations, had succeeded by means of delaying tactics in retarding the granting of visas to the W.F.T.U. representatives. It was only after the W.F.T.U. had made vigorous protests to the Secretariat of the United Nations and after frequent interventions by the representative of Poland at numerous meetings of the Council, supported by the representatives of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, that the United States Government eventually granted the visas.

Despite the difficulties created by the American Government with a view to impeding the W.F.T.U. from taking part in the work of the Council, the W.F.T.U. was once again able to bring the workers' cause before the United Nations.

Although the procedure imposed by the Council rules is restrictive, limiting the right to speak and the length of contributions in accordance with the authority granted by a preliminary committee called "N.G.O. Committee," the W.F.T.U. was able to intervene on 9 questions which were among the most important points on the agenda of the 14th session of the Council.

Apart from general questions bearing directly on the living conditions on the mass of the workers, such as the world economic situation, unemployment, productivity and world social conditions, the W.F.T.U. insisted on its right to speak on the questions of discrimination, emigration, the discussion on the report of the I.L.O. the documents relating to human rights and finally on the serious problem of the attacks on trade union rights.

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SINCE the defence of workers' interests is the basis of all W.F.T.U. actions, it is clear that the W.F.T.U. representatives could not limit themselves, in their interventions, to becoming involved in purely academic discussions such as one normally sees developed in the Economic and Social Council.

The W.F.T.U. representatives felt it their duty, not only to expose the theoretical errors in the official documents, but also to demonstrate, with the help of their own documents, the workers' point of view and to put forward their demands in the form of definite proposals.

The documents of the United Nations Secretariat were constrained to minimise the serious repercussions of the war economy on the social situation in the capitalist and under-developed countries. They tried to gloss over without mention certain fundamental problems, such as the lowering of real wages, the heavy burden of taxation, the disastrous consequences of speed up, the growth of unemployment and the very serious results of the decrease in the amounts budgeted for housing, health, education, social security and safety regulations. The W.F.T.U. representatives set themselves the task of showing the fatal effects of the war economy on the social and economic situation of the world population, and particularly on that of the workers, wherever possible putting forward definite practical proposals.

Basing their arguments on indisputable figures, the W.F.T.U. representatives showed that the serious situation existing at present in the capitalist countries arises directly from the armaments policy

and the war economy imposed by the governments of these countries. They proved, similarly, that despite the contradictions inherent in capitalist regimes, it is possible, within the framework of this system, to substitute for the disastrous war economy an economic programme designed to protect and improve the well-being of the people.

" It is obvious," said comrade Elinor Kahn during her contribution on the world economic situation, " that it is not possible to achieve a lasting improvement in the standards of life without reducing the amounts spent on armaments. The W.F.T.U. invites the Council to recommend immediately : a reduction in military expenditure and the use of the funds which this would release for social and cultural purposes with a view to raising the standard of living of the masses, the extension of peaceful development schemes, production and trade for the improvement of the well-being of all peoples."

Along the same lines, Fernando Santi, Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) and a W.F.T.U. delegate, warned the Council of the fatal effects of the armaments policy on the level of employment. " The general and fundamental cause of the aggravation of the present situation," he declared, " is the policy of rearmament. In effect, unemployment is growing because purchasing power is going down, and consequently sales are falling. Hence production diminishes (textiles, clothing, shoes, etc . . .); because factories are closed down for conversion to war production (motor-cars, tractors, electrical apparatus). Essential raw materials such as steel, leather, manganese, sulphur are 'cornered' for strategic stockpiling or reserved for war factories (engineering, chemicals), and the normal channels of exchange, particularly between capitalist countries on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies on the other hand, are blocked. Peaceful work such as the building of schools, hospitals, and houses is stopped (building, sanitary ware) and the civil budget shrinks at the expense of the military budget (public services, civil service). It is false to say that rearmament prevents unemployment: on the contrary, the increase of unemployment in the world is directly due to rearmament which represents the most unproductive investment and is consequently un-economic and a shocking waste of the labour force and of raw materials."

Another member of the W.F.T.U. delegation, Iradj Eskandary, showed similarly, in the course of an intervention to the Council on productivity, that " the vast production of armaments, by switching a large proportion of industry, machinery and equipment to war production, considerably lessens the possibilities of using these for peaceful productive purposes . . . Increased productivity reached in this way is essentially an increase in production for war and brings in its wake disastrous consequences for the workers. It also constitutes super-exploitation of the workers and an increase of profits for the employers; similarly it is an important source of unemployment and poverty."

Again, during an intervention on the world social situation, Eskandary, having analysed the lamentable living conditions of the majority of human beings under the capitalist system, showed that, leaving aside causes inherent in the economic and social regimes of the capitalist, colonial and dependant countries, the aggravation of the world social situation today is above all due to the war economy and the policy of rearmament.

To conclude, the W.F.T.U. representatives exposed the plans of certain trade union organisations, showing that considerable achievements could be won if the money actually used for military purposes could be immediately used for peaceful work.

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THE W.F.T.U. representatives also were able to refute, on the theoretical plane, certain erroneous theses of the capitalist arsenal designed to obscure the real reasons for the worsening of the world social and economic situation.

These theories, adroitly slipped into the official documents of the United Nations, attempt in the first place, to explain that the " elasticity " of the economies of the United States and the countries of the Atlantic Pact, despite a constantly increasing war production, can allow for the general expansion of their economies. Secondly, they try to prove that rearmament is an effective means of absorbing unemployment and achieving full employment in capitalist countries. Thirdly, that increased productivity is in itself a means of raising the standard of living whilst leaving out of account the conditions under which this production is taking place. And finally that hunger and poverty, ignorance, a lowered standard of life, a housing crisis, unemployment and the other social miseries from which the majority of humanity is suffering have their origin not in the social injustice which this policy engenders, but are due to a considerable increase in the population or to the state of mind of certain groups or of a certain section of the population.

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APART from these general questions, the W.F.T.U. representatives also had occasion to put forward the workers' point of view concerning several other important problems on the agenda, and in particular on questions relating to discrimination, the protection of minorities, emigration, the discussion on the report of the I.L.O. and finally on the serious question of complaints about attacks on trade union rights.

So far as the problem of the fight against discrimination is concerned, the debates were centred on the question of ascertaining if, in conformity with resolution No. 532 B. (VI) of the General Assembly, the sub-committee on the fight against racial discrimination and the protection of racial minorities ought to be re-established or if it ought to be dissolved as had already been decided by the Council.

The debates of the Social Commission, like those

of the Council, showed that the position is no longer one where the American government can count on an automatic majority. For despite fallacious arguments and the combined efforts of the American, British and French delegations to suspend the sub-committee indefinitely (the joint proposal of the delegations was to defer the sub-committee to the end of 1953), a clear majority composed of representatives of the semi-colonial and dependent countries was for the Polish proposal, supported by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, calling for the sub-committee to start meeting as from 1952. The anti-imperialist feeling was so strong that not only did the representatives of the smaller countries adopt a clear position against the proposals of the imperialist powers, but equally they forced these powers themselves to abstain in the course of the debates in the Council from voting against the proposals made by Poland. Thus the point of view of the W.F.T.U. calling for the meeting of the sub-committee during 1952 was approved by the majority of the Economic and Social Council.

By contrast—on the question of the complaints over the violation of trade union rights, the standpoint of the W.F.T.U. was presented by Elinor Kahn. She contended that the Council should renounce its previous decision on the reference back, pure and simple, of all complaints to the I.L.O. and that it should itself give a ruling on each particular case. This proposal was opposed by the French, British, Belgian, Canadian etc. delegations and was finally rejected despite the active support of the representatives of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

A resolution was approved by the Council to refer back, as in the past, all complaints to the I.L.O., which in practice is equal to burying them altogether in the great cemetery made for this by the International Labour Organisation.

On the 4th July, 1952, the Czechoslovak representative opened a discussion on the immediate liberation of the Spanish trade unionists tried before a Court Martial, and in particular referred to the trade union leader, Gregorio Lopez Raimundo. This made a great impression on the majority of the members of the Council and was only deferred by a procedural trick on the part of the British delegate who pleaded ignorance of the facts and lack of information regarding the trial, although the whole American Press had that very day given detailed information on the trial. The W.F.T.U. delegation regarded it as its duty to publish an explanatory note on the events which led the Spanish government to try the Barcelona strikers before a Court Martial. This memorandum was distributed to all members of the Council and to the Press on the day fixed for discussion of this subject. Nevertheless, the Council decided to defer the debate until the question of the violation of trade union rights should come up for discussion, basing itself on the fact that these trade unionists were condemned only to "relatively light" punishment and that consequently the Council believed that it was not necessary to discuss the question immediately. Thus the case of the Spanish trade unionists went to rejoin the other cases of the violation of trade union rights and was referred, as we have said previously, to the I.L.O.

The debates on the question of the Director General of the I.L.O. gave the opportunity to the W.F.T.U. delegation to show, with the help of arguments taken from the text of the same report, the real character of this institution which, instead of defending the interests of the workers, as its name would suggest, always take up a position in defence of capitalist governments and employers. On this occasion the delegation showed the anti-democratic system of the I.L.O., which comprises a majority of government and employer representatives, and

The W.F.T.U. delegation at the session of the Economic and Social Council. From left to right, I. Eskandary, F. Santi, Elinor Kahn.

where the real representatives of the working class are systematically rejected, as was shown during the last session of the Conference of this organisation in June last.

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THE interventions during the course of this session showed once again the fundamental difference between the position of the W.F.T.U. and the I.C.F.T.U. In fact, the I.C.F.T.U., which had asked for the right to intervene on a number of points, namely, on the world economic situation, full employment, the world social situation, technical assistance, the question of refugees, human rights and the economic development of the under-developed countries, constantly took a position in line with government plans and with the official conclusions drawn up by United Nations bodies. No solitary theses in favour of the workers' cause was presented by the I.C.F.T.U. delegation which, defending above all things the point of view of the American government, concentrated its efforts on attacks, more or less camouflaged, against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies.

It will suffice to cite a part of the speech of the I.C.F.T.U. representative to the Council concerning methods of financing economic development. The I.C.F.T.U. representative, having sung the praises of the economists, the industrialists and the legislators for their attitude towards the under-developed regions and the means of contributing to the improvement of the economic and social conditions of these areas, declared: "The old dollar diplomacy is no longer practised. All that remains is the distrust of certain of the under-developed countries, who fear that the help they receive is accompanied by interference in their national affairs. Although such policies undoubtedly belong to the past, the under-developed countries would still prefer to receive their assistance from a recognised international source. The I.C.F.T.U. has already agreed to the proposal presented in the report (this concerns the report of the International Bank under the domination of American capital) and according to which credit must be made available each year to the underdeveloped regions. It holds that this proposition is of benefit to the giver and to the receiver." And a little further on the I.C.F.T.U. delegate added "it is altogether rational to foresee that a large part of the credits should come from the national finances and from other internal sources. One should not forget either, that the sums laid out by the developed countries, from an economic point of view, will come from the contributions of these countries. The national capital and foreign capital must collaborate to create a favourable climate for the success of these operations. The leader must show clearly that the credits must not be used for the exploitation of the working class of the borrowing country (sic) and the beneficiary must be ready to idemnify the moneylender in case of expropriation . . . to assure the wellbeing of its dynamic economy the western world must ensure close economic co-operation with the insufficiently developed areas."

It is difficult to be clearer in the defence of capitalist interests and of imperialism. One could search vainly through the contributions of the I.C.F.T.U. representative without finding any suggestion of the defence of the workers' interests and of the working class of the under-developed countries. Furthermore, the I.C.F.T.U., which had itself brought forward a complaint against the attacks of the authorities of the Saar and of Trieste against trade union rights, did not deign to ask for the right to speak on the relative points concerning the violation of T.U. rights, thus accepting the abandonment of the claims of the unions affiliated to its organisation (the I.C.F.T.U.) to the so-called "Tribunal."

The W.F.T.U. standing by its working class principles, had, through its delegation, to intervene on behalf of the rights of the workers of the Saar and Trieste when defending those of other workers in organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

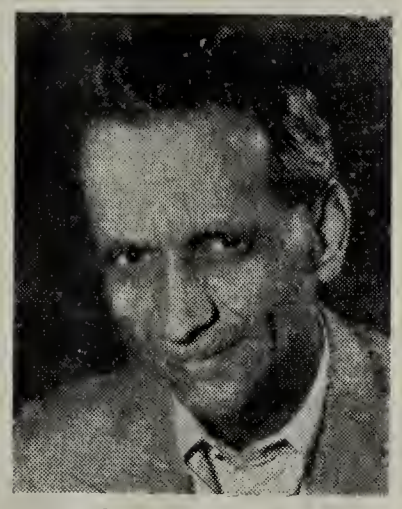
The work of the W.F.T.U. during this session of the Council has shown the falsity of the allegation made by the U.S. delegate on the 26th May 1952, according to which "The W.F.T.U. would have a purely propaganda interest in the work of the United Nations."

The number of points on the agenda on which the W.F.T.U. intervened as well as the strong impression made in the Council by the quality of the contributions of our representatives have once again shown the falsity of these allegations.

Government Irrigation Projects and Workers' Conditions

Projects for Experts and Contractors—Cholera for Workers

TROPICAL agriculture requires vast quantities of water. Canalising available river and lake waters into the fields, digging wells and building lakes, conserving water resources by careful preservation of forests, etc., is an absolute necessity for agriculture in countries like India, blazing under the hot sun.



S. A. DANGE, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U.

Given plentiful water, we have the other advantage that we can raise two or three or more crops a year.

Lakes, rivers, canals, wells, forests, were never allowed to be private property in the ancient and mediaeval days. The state and the village community held them on the people's account and maintained them.

Where a king tried to appropriate them as personal or private property, there was a crisis which generally ended in the overthrow of the king, if the phenomenon became widespread and general.

The British smashed the village community and with it the common ownership of water and forest resources. They refused to maintain the old irrigation systems or to build new ones.

This, with other factors, such as excessive rent and money taxes, ruined agriculture. In the 19th century, we had four famines killing millions.

The only class that benefited was the landlords and money-lenders.

The government of India, led by the Congress Party, now propose to build huge irrigation systems and electrical power stations attached to them.

It is a laudable idea. So one likes to know how it is going to be done. Above all, we want to see how the hundreds and thousands of workers who are working on these projects are being treated.

The first claim on this huge expenditure is of the "experts" who instigate the schemes. The experts are generally Americans and British. Indian engineers and builders are *ipso facto* held to be "incapable" of planning such projects.

No doubt investigation is necessary. But much of it is based on bourgeois racketeers, out to make money by charging bogus or fantastic costs to the public treasury.

In Madhya Pradesh, an investigation project cost over 16 lacs[1] or rupees. Then the project was abandoned because requisite finance were not available.

The second claim is of the foreign and Indian companies and contractors, who charge fantastic prices for their supplies and supervision. The final costs are nowhere near the original estimates. In the name of rising prices, the estimates go on rising.

In the cry of "rising prices," the government and the companies always put down wage increases as a prime factor. Our contention is that on all these projects the workers are treated in the most inhuman manner. Their wages are lowest, because they are recruited from those very peasants who are rendered landless by those schemes, or are already ruined landless labourers.

Our contention is that while lacs are spent on air-conditioned houses and luxuries for the officials of the government and the foreign experts, no housing, water or sanitation is provided for the workers in these projects.

The following account published by the newspapers shows how the workers on these projects are being treated.

CHOLERA OUTBREAK IN HIRAKUD

"Unofficial reports received here say that on account of the panic created by the recent outbreak of cholera, labourers in large numbers left the construction site of Hirakud, where the muti-purpose dam across the Mahanadi is being constructed. It is stated that most of the labourers, on the earth work, who are on daily wages and number about 15,000 to 20,000, have left the place for their home.

"According to information available in official circles here, cholera broke out in an epidemic form on March 21 and up to April 5, 170 attacks were reported in the local hospital and 29 *proved fatal*.

"According to information available here, the epidemic was confined to the labour colony on the left embankment and the cause of outbreak is presumed to be *lack of proper drinking water*. Due to diversion of the river channel to the right side of the river to facilitate construction of the dam, the people of the

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1 1 lac=10 thousand.
1 rupee is 1 shilling six pence sterling or 21 U.S. cents.

colony on the left embankment had no other source of water supply except the *pools* in the area.

"All the medical personnel in the area was mobilised to meet the situation. In addition to mass inoculation, arrangements are being made to supply tap water to all these colonies. Since labourers in the area collected from different neighbouring states, the Director of Health of Orissa has intimated to the Directors of neighbouring states of the exodus of labourers due to cholera epidemic so that they might take necessary precautions.

"All District Health Officers of Orissa also have been informed to keep a watch on those returning from Hirakud. According to reports received so far, the epidemic has been localised and is now well under control." (*Hindu,* 12.4.52.)

This account shows that the government authorities, the contractors of labour and all concerned paid no heed to the minimum necessity for the thousands of workers—that of drinking water. These planners were out to build a dam to supply water to millions to grow food. But their claims of being solicitious about the welfare of the people are exploded by the fact that near at hand they had no eyes to see and heart to feel that thousands of these very people were dying without water.

Not that there is no water. In January, at the same place, the Hirakud Cement Factory, with a capital of 150 lacs, was opened by the Dalmia. For the boilers and the factory water was found and water pipes laid. But not for these workers on the dam.

The result was that so many died of cholera, that thousands had to leave work and go away. There is no water, no housing, no medical attention for the workers on these projects. But we learn that the original cost of 478 lacs allotted for this dam has already been pushed up to 870 lacs.

No part of this increase is due to the workers. In the name of food and the country, the capitalist racketeers, foreign and Indian businessmen and landlords, selling equipment and land to these projects are making millions.

When the workers organise against this fraud and for the realisation of their most human demands for water, wages, houses, and medicine, they are denounced for obstructing "works of public utility."

The lacs of workers on these projects must organise and demand minimum living wages, housing, water supplies, sanitation and application of all the laws regarding hours of work, payment of wages, compensation for injuries and social insurance. The workers cannot accept the plea that these government works are for public use and not for profit, when crores are carted away in profits by all sorts of private interests.

S. A. Dange,
General Secretary,
All-India Trade Union Congress.

In Japan : On the Road to Unity

THE 3rd Congress of organisations affiliated to the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions, held in Tokio at the end of last month, was an event of exceptional importance to the Japanese working-class movement.

Let us take a brief glance at some background history.

In the first place attention must be drawn to two important Congresses—of the State Railway Workers' Federation on the one hand, and the Miners' Federation on the other—which preceded the Congress of the General Council by several weeks and acted to some extent as a curtain-raiser to it.

At these Congresses, as it happened, the reactionary leaders of the two Federations, respectively 400,000 and 290,000 strong, were swept aside, just as the leaders of the General Council were to be a little later; these Congresses took a firm stand for peace and against the treacherous and anti-working-class policy of the Yoshida Government.

Another factor which contributed towards the tense atmosphere of struggle destined to pervade the Congress of the General Council was the arrival in Japan of two notorious fellow-travellers of the imperialists, sent for urgently from the U.S.A., Messrs. Townsend and Devergold; the first representing the I.C.F.T.U. and a member of the Executive Committee of the C.I.O., the second representing the A.F.L. Upon his arrival, Devergold announced publicly that he had come to organise the "anti-communist forces" in Asia, and in particular the Japanese Trade Unions which were destined to form their core; as for Townsend, his role as a wrecker was soon exposed by the big Japanese Press which contributed 700,000 dollars to the sum at his disposal for financing splitting activities within the Trade Union movement.

It was thus in a situation marked on the one hand by a growth in strength of the movement towards unity and progressive policies among the rank and file of the unions, and on the other by underhand intrigues on the part of agents of the I.C.F.T.U., that the 3rd Congress of the General Council of Trade Unions took place.

The chief questions which confronted the Congress were:—

(i) The attitude of the Unions towards the separate peace treaty and the remilitarisation of the country.
(ii) The basic demands of the working-class.
(iii) The international affiliations of the General Council.

From the very opening of the Congress a bitter struggle developed between the delegates of the progressive unions (Electricity, Chemicals, the Coal Industry, etc.) and the reactionary leadership of the General Council backed by certain federations still under the influence of the Right-wing Social-Democrats (Seamen,

Textile workers). A progressive majority very soon arose from the floor of Congress, and it was in vain that the High Priests of reaction, Hosika, Mouto & Co. strained every nerve to try and sabotage, one by one, the proposals for action put forward by the different federations.

The resolution finally adopted underlines the necessity for struggle against the threat of a new war which the American monopolists are forcing on the world; it calls on the workers to join the battle against the separate treaties and the "security pact"; against rearmament and the cession to the Americans of military bases on Japanese soil, and against capitalist attacks on the rights of the workers. The acceptance of this resolution was not altogether an easy matter. For example, the reactionary union leaderships succeeded in preventing the inclusion of some important demands of the Japanese working-class, such as the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

The right-wing leadership suffered a particularly significant defeat when its proposal that the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions should affiliate to the 'International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' was defeated by a shattering majority. In point of fact, only 42 delegates out of 221 supported this proposal. The elections to the leadership of the General Council put the seal on the victory of the progressive forces. Sousoumou Foudsita of the National Union of Electrical Workers was elected President, Kaorou Otta of the Federation of Chemical Workers, Akira Imamoura of the Japanese Union of Teachers, Iositake Morotmi of the Federated Union of Workers in the Coal Industry, Vice-Presidents; and Minorou Takano was re-elected General Secretary.

A new leadership has thus been elected, made up in the majority of men enjoying the confidence of the workers, and who without a doubt will lead the General Council into the path of progress and unity.

* * *

THE victory of the forces of progress within the Congress of the General Council is particularly important because of the perspectives of unity which it opens up. In fact, the Congress of Japanese Workers' Unions—the national centre affiliated to the W.F.T.U.—sent to the General Council on the very eve of the Congress a declaration emphasising the possibility of building a solid basis for united action by the two centres—after a purge of the leadership of the General Council, and the exclusion of traitors such as Hosika and Mouto.

The Congress of Japanese Workers' Unions proposed the following programme of action:—

(i) A campaign against low wages, for the institution of a minimum wage, and for the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

(ii) Economic independence and unfettered foreign trade, the re-establishment of normal commercial relations with the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union, the expansion without hindrance of the peaceful sectors of industry, and freedom for business initiative in all directions.

(iii) Struggle against repressive laws; freedom of speech, Press, opinion and assembly; recognition of the right to strike, and the repeal of the law against "subversive activities."

(iv) The defence of those parts of the Constitution which have peaceful features, the struggle against rearmament, the ending of the occupation regime, and the immediate departure of foreign troops, the campaign for a true peace treaty, and the annulment of the separate treaty with its annexations signed under duress, the campaign against military bases on Japanese territory, against compulsory military service, against the manufacture and transport of war material, for peace in Korea, and the immediate sending home of the armies of aggression.

(v) Unification of the Trade Union movement and the strengthening of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions.

(vi) Severing of all connection with the I.C.F.T.U. and affiliation to the W.F.T.U.; participation in the Congress of the Partisans of Peace in the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

(vii) The overthrow of the Yoshida Cabinet, dissolution of Parliament, and the formation of a united front government of national liberation.

It is plain that these proposals for united action from the Congress of Workers' Unions correspond to the wishes of the workers of this country. The idea of the united front had already been put forward by the Automobile Workers' Union at the time of May Day; it was also the dominating feature of the mighty demonstrations and strikes carried on in unity against the fascist anti-working-class laws of the Yoshida Government; bearing witness to the will of the workers to finish once and for all with a divided trade union movement, and to wage their common struggle in unity with each other.

The defeat of the right-wing trade union leaders in the General Council is no accident. It is proof that the movement towards unity in Japan is now on the road to greater and greater successes. The working masses are no longer willing to have at the head of their mass organisations such leaders as Hosika and Mouto who continually betray their interests; Japanese workers remember with anger the betrayal of the former leaders of the General Council who, after the bloody events of May Day, declared that the demonstration had taken place without their approval.

These powerful actions of the Japanese working-class which is now in the vanguard of the struggle for peace, for the independence of their country, and against colonial slavery, will gain for it the sympathy and ever-growing support of the workers of the whole world.

W.S.

The Italian Workers Have Reached an Important Stage in Their Unity Fight

FOR many months, the Italian industrial workers have been engaged in a great struggle for the raising of their living standards and for the revival of the national economy. They have just won a first and important success. On June 14, an agreement was signed between the trade union organisations[1] and the "Confindustria,"[2] dealing with the following points:

1) an increase in family allowances;
2) the establishment of seniority scales and indemnities in the event of dismissal;
3) the creation of an Interconfederal Technical Commission for the revision of the composition of salaries, which is extremely confused and at present one of the main factors for exploitation and discrimination between the workers.

* * *

What is the economic background to this success?

The situation in Italy is characterised by a far-reaching depression, a continually worsening crisis in all sectors of production and a constant lowering of the living standard of the mass of the people, increased unemployment, which has now reached the imposing figure of four and a half million totally and partially unemployed, etc., all this being due, above all, to the government's policy of rearmament and restriction of productive investment.

The DOXA Institute of Statistics, though under government inspiration, recognised that 75% of Italian families have an income below the basic minimum, and 49% have an income not even sufficient for food. (The average monthly income of a family is 25,787 lira, according to official figures, as against an official basic minimum of 62,000 lira, and we are not speaking of the southern part of the country where wages of from 300 to 500 lira a day are a normal thing.)

This economic weakness of the workers has its repercussions in the business of shopkeepers, artisans and small and medium industrialists. There is a continuous round of bankruptcies. At the same time, the great industrial monopolies, whose interests are safeguarded by government policy, are making fantastic profits.

* * *

That is why the directing committee of the C.G.I.L., estimating that a substantial improvement in the economic situation of the country was impossible without raising the living standard of the broad masses of the people, demanded several months ago an immediate increase in all wages. It accompanied this with another demand, that the wage increases should be covered by the profits of the great monopolies, and not compensated by a general price increase, which would thus be paid for by the workers themselves. With this aim in view, it proposed to the other trade union organisations common action to obtain a reduction of prices in those sectors of monopoly production which govern the other industrial sectors as well as agriculture. Thus small and medium industry would be able to make good the increase in their cost of production arising from the wages increase by saving on raw materials, to which should be added a decrease in production costs as a result of increased business. In this way, retail prices would not be affected by the wage increases.

However, the C.I.S.L. and the U.I.L. did not accept this joint action. The leaders of the C.I.S.L., not wishing to hear any mention of a reduction of monopoly prices, but nonetheless not being able to come out openly for increased prices for fear of compromising themselves in the eyes of their members, stated that the remedy for the mass poverty was a reduction in retail prices and a policy of "wages linked to productivity."

One does not need to be very clever to see through the demagogic meaning of these slogans. At a time when the Christian-Democratic government is increasing rents, fares and electricity charges, when the prices of articles of prime necessity are mounting continually while wages are practically frozen, the C.I.S.L. leaders let loose an unprecedented wealth of propaganda for a lowering of retail prices, and thus for a war against the shopkeepers. What else does all this means but to set the workers against the shopkeepers, to try to make the workers renounce their demands in favour of a completely illusory reduction of retail prices, to look for a diversion in order to preserve the huge profits of the monopolies?

The "Confcommercio" (shopkeepers' organisation) took up a stand, quite naturally, against the policy of the C.I.S.L. leaders, which slandered the shopkeepers. But in the course of a discussion carried on in the press with the C.G.I.L., the shopkeepers' organisation declared itself in agreement with the line proposed by the unity trade unions: increased wages in order to raise the purchasing power of the workers, to stimulate production and to decrease the number of unemployed.

This unity of viewpoint between the shopkeepers and the workers is indisputably a new fact in the history of social relations in Italy, and a source of serious preoccupation for the great industrialists and the C.I.S.L. leaders.

Meanwhile, the C.G.I.L. proposals were approved by the workers in hundreds of meetings in the factories, workshops and other enterprises. The struggle developed in scope throughout the country, with millions of workers taking part, including members of the other trade union organisations, despite the efforts of the right-wing leaders to prevent it. In hundreds of enterprises the united action of the workers succeeded in overcoming the intransigence of the employers and in winning substantial wage increases.

1 The C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour), a unity organisation affiliated to the W.F.T.U.
The C.I.S.L. (Italian Trade Union Labour Confederation), under Christian-Democratic influence, affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. (breakaway International).
The U.I.L. (Italian Labour Union), under Social-Democratic influence, affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.

2 Organisation of the industrial employers.

Faced with the fighting spirit of their own members, the C.I.S.L. leaders had to change their tactics. They seized upon one of the long-standing demands of the C.G.I.L. for an increase in family allowances. Limiting this demand to dependent children, and acting as lone knights, they presented the demand to the "Confindustria." This was only another attempt to restrain the workers' fighting spirit, an attempt based on a limited demand—though important—and in any case relatively harmless to the industrialists.

But the "Confindustria" refused to hold discussions. The C.G.I.L., always faithful to its policy of broad unity, then proposed to the other trade union organisations a meeting at which an examination could be made of the possibility of bringing the various demands together on one list.

Under pressure of the workers, the C.I.S.L. and U.I.L. leaders were no longer able to refuse joint action. A single list of demands was drawn up and, after long and laborious discussions, the "Confindustria" had to abandon its initial intransigence and accept an agreement.

* * *

What gains have been won?

First, a substantial increase in family allowances, and not only for dependent children as had been demanded by the C.I.S.L., but also for the wife and relatives living under the same roof. About 90,000 million lira will go into the workers' pockets as a result of this.

Next, the settlement of two important problems of interest both to manual and non-manual workers—stages of seniority and indemnities for dismissal. The non-manual workers and civil servants in particular, as well as public service workers, will have an appreciable wage increase as a result of the new settlement of seniority scales.

Finally, a basis was found for the unification of the different items which make up workers' wages. The system of calculation at present in force is deliberately confused, and completely falsifies the incidence of output on wages. It brings about a gap between wages of men and women, and establishes unjustified differences between the workers of different provinces. The Interconfederal Commission set up as a result of the agreement is to abolish these grave injustices.

* * *

The agreement reached between the trade union centres and the "Confindustria" represents a first and considerable success for the Italian workers, which was only made possible by the workers' fighting spirit, stimulated by the C.G.I.L.

But the struggle goes on. It is now not only a question of getting the family allowances applied to the non-industrial sectors, but also of achieving the much more general plan elaborated by the C.G.I.L. for the raising of living standards.

As was announced by Giuseppe Di Vittorio, general secretary of the great unity trade union centre, the C.G.I.L. will further elaborate the objectives of the struggle at its coming Congress, and will determine the forms and methods of action in the new stage into which the trade union struggle in Italy is now preparing to enter.

Maddalena Secco.

How the Workers Learned from the E.N.V. Strike

THE recent strike of 1,000 engineering workers at the E.N.V. factory in London contains experiences of value to all workers. These experiences bear out the principle that not only does united action assist workers to win their immediate demands, it also provides a training school in which the workers deepen their understanding of the nature of capitalist society and the capitalist state, and thus appreciate more clearly how they can help the advance of the working class.

The E.N.V. dispute (which started on November 9, 1951, and lasted until February 6, 1952) was the culminating point of a series of provocative and anti-trade union activities of a foreman.

The decision to strike was taken at a mass meeting, after the management had refused to remove the foreman to a position where he had no control over the workers.

Although the workers were quite determined in their stand, there was a general feeling that once the management realised how strongly they felt some solution would soon be found.

There was not the understanding of the issue at stake (the challenge to the sacred rights of management) and it was believed that logic and fairmindedness would prevail. "There could be no doubt." "Our case is so good." "If once again it is put before the management there is bound to be some move to reach a settlement."

In fact at this stage these illusions led to an understandable desire on the part of the workers to contain and localise the dispute. Militant workers who tried to point out the wider issues involved were not always well received.

However, the Strike Committee, appreciating more fully what was at stake, went ahead preparing for a struggle of some duration. One of the things they were most careful to do was to hold nothing back from the workers. Good news, bad news, it was all put before them to discuss along with the Committee's recommendations.

The Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union made the dispute official and gradually, stage by stage, the workers began to realise they were in a fight. Not just against a foreman, nor

even against the management of E.N.V., but against the whole of the engineering employers backed by the whole of the employing class, the Tory government and its state power.

These lessons were learnt in various ways and each example drove the lesson home.

For instance, criticisms of the failure of the Strike Committee to get publicity in the national daily press were made. The Committee said "All right, we have had a go without results. Let us organise deputations to the big press houses and there you will find out why."

This was done and the strikers learnt about the conspiracy of silence that exists when workers want to put their case before the public.

The action of the police in interfering with the pickets also made the workers realise that the E.N.V. management were not fighting on their own, but were able to rely on the state machine. This lesson was also learnt afresh at a later stage when the Court of Inquiry gave its verdict.

With these lessons before them came the understanding that if they were going to win, they must gain the widest possible support. The only people to help them would be other workers in other factories.

This realisation resulted in the stepping-up of the whole tempo of the campaign. The workers' own press, the *Daily Worker* and *The Metal Worker* were used to the utmost. To put their case before other organised workers, the strikers went all over the country. They marched in demonstrations to nearby factories, and no opportunity was lost to put their case and win support. More and more people were thus actively drawn into the fight.

After 12 weeks, the employers were forced to go outside their procedure agreement and submit to a government Court of Inquiry, the findings of which were: Removal of the foreman but also removal of the convenor of the shop stewards from his convenorship. The workers realised that their struggle had caused the Tribunal to find in their favour, and recognised the clause about the convenor for what it was: a sop to the employers and an attempt to rob the workers of complete victory.

They agreed to honour the decision and return, but made it quite clear by resolution that to them their convenor was still the leader of the trade union movement in E.N.V. This has been made abundantly clear since their return.

During the strike, the level of understanding and working class solidarity was raised, and a sense of strength and ability to do things together increased beyond measure.

The workers are now more sure than ever who are their friends and who are their enemies. They know that by united action, embracing all workers, far beyond their own department or factory, they can win their demands.

Many new workers came to the fore in activity and took on responsibility. This will help the factory trade union forces in the future.

The lessons that stand out are:

1) When the workers are in struggle they must at all times have the opportunity of fully discussing all the facts. They will fight if their cause is just, and if the leadership constantly goes to them with positive proposals, at the same time presenting all the facts to them.

2) The activity generated brings the workers in closer contact with the class and state forces against them, and in turn this generates more activity and understanding.

3) The transport workers were magnificent in their solidarity action, some lorries turning back with their loads after coming all the way from Scotland or Wales.

4) Need to consolidate the advance in understanding by sale of progressive working class publications.

5) Need to consolidate the real feeling of solidarity which began between strikers and nearby factories which gave so much help.

6) Need to set up quickly an organisation that can conduct a prolonged dispute if it develops that way.

We had a strike committee with the following sub-committees:—

a) Finance.
b) Correspondence.
c) Contact.
d) Press and Publicity.
e) Transport.
f) Pickets.
g) Hardships.

The chairman of each sub-committee met with the chairman, secretary and organiser of the strike committee to form an Executive Committee and ensure that the decisions of the full strike committee were being carried out.

Always be on the look-out for new people who show keenness and give them some responsibility and a chance to develop.

An E.N.V. Worker.

New Attack on Kenya Trade Unions

A NEW anti-trade union law has been introduced by the government of Kenya, British colony in East Africa.

Africa is in a ferment. With trade unionists playing an active part, the peoples in every part of that huge continent are struggling against oppression, while the imperialists make ever more frantic efforts to hold their positions and beat back the movement for liberation. East Africa is no exception to the general picture.

The government of Kenya has distinguished itself in recent years by its cynical and ruthless attacks against the trade unions, and has now armed itself with

a Trade Unions Ordinance which gives it even greater powers than those which it already had.

The new Bill became law on 25th April, 1952, and was published in full in the Official Gazette Supplement, Ordinances 1952, on 20th May, 1952.

The most insolent proposal contained in the Act is that of unions "on probation."

Probation is a system well-known to English law and is normally used by criminal courts, which have power to place criminals and other persons under strict supervision, in order that their every-day conduct can be observed and guided.

Kenya's new law will not bring the trade unions under the system operated by the criminal courts, but will place certain trade unions under the supervision of the Registrar of Trade Unions, appointed by the governor.

In Kenya, even under the existing law, registration of a trade union is compulsory. Every trade union must apply to be registered and if registration is refused it must be dissolved.

The grounds upon which the Registrar may refuse registration are specified in the new Act, but they are so wide as to give him almost unlimited power in this respect.

One of the many reasons for which the Registrar may refuse registration is that the secretary or treasurer of the union is, in his opinion, "incapable, by reason of not being sufficiently literate in the English or Swahili language, of carrying out adequately . . . . (his) duties."

It is in connection with applications for registration that the proposal for "probation" is brought in. When a trade union applies to be registered, the Registrar is to have an absolute discretion to defer registration for three months; if he does so, the union is a "probationary trade union" during the three-month period.

At the end of the three months, the Registrar has power either to grant or refuse registration.

The inspiration for this arrogant piece of legislation seems to have come from Malan's South Africa, where the idea of "probationary" unions has already been mooted.

The other outstanding proposal in this new Act amounts to a serious attack against the unions on a broad front.

There are to be created new organisations, distinct and separate from the trade unions, which are intended to be weak, anaemic imitations of trade unions, the purpose being to offer to the workers an alternative to trade unionism and thereby weaken the unions and split the workers up into numerous small groupings.

"Employees' Associations" will consist of workers employed by one employer. "Employees' Organisations" will consist of workers employed by different employers, or the same employer in different trades or industries. The third type, "Staff Associations" will be combinations of workers employed by the central and local organs of government.

Two methods will be used to try to keep these organisations extremely weak and ineffective. First, they will not be allowed to collect contributions from their members or have any funds, except an "office expense fund" and a "welfare fund."

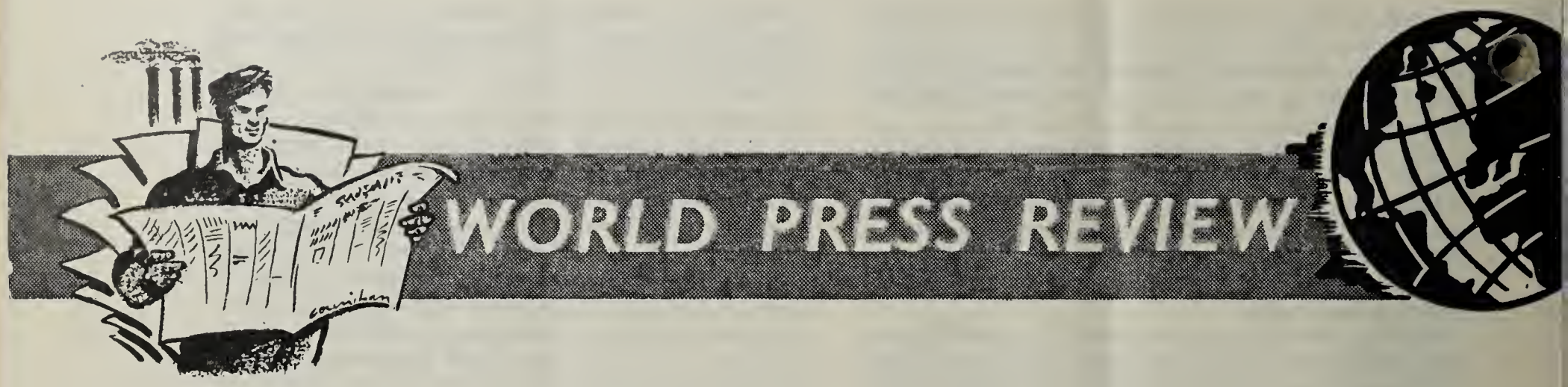
The office expense fund is very carefully defined in the Bill and it is obvious that it is to be kept down to a bare minimum, and it may not even include the salary of an executive officer or secretary.

The welfare fund will be administered under government supervision.

Secondly, each organisation must register with the Labour Commissioner and will be under his "general supervision," while special rules governing the activities and functioning of these bodies will be introduced by the member of the Legislative Council responsible for Labour matters.

Many other repressive features are to be included in this new law, including criminal provisions against picketing which are calculated to put the most carefully conducted strike into a strait-jacket. (The provisions dealing with picketing, which also appear in the existing Trade Unions Ordinance in Kenya, are taken word for word from the English Trade Disputes Act, 1927, which was repealed in 1946 by the Labour government under pressure from the whole trade union movement in Britain.)

Ralph Millner, British lawyer.



ITALY

Lessons of the Fiat Conference

THE debate which took place in Turin on the problems affecting the deep and permanent crisis in the largest Italian automobile firm has undoubtedly marked a new stage in the labour movement's struggle and has clearly put their responsibilities to the Fiat management.

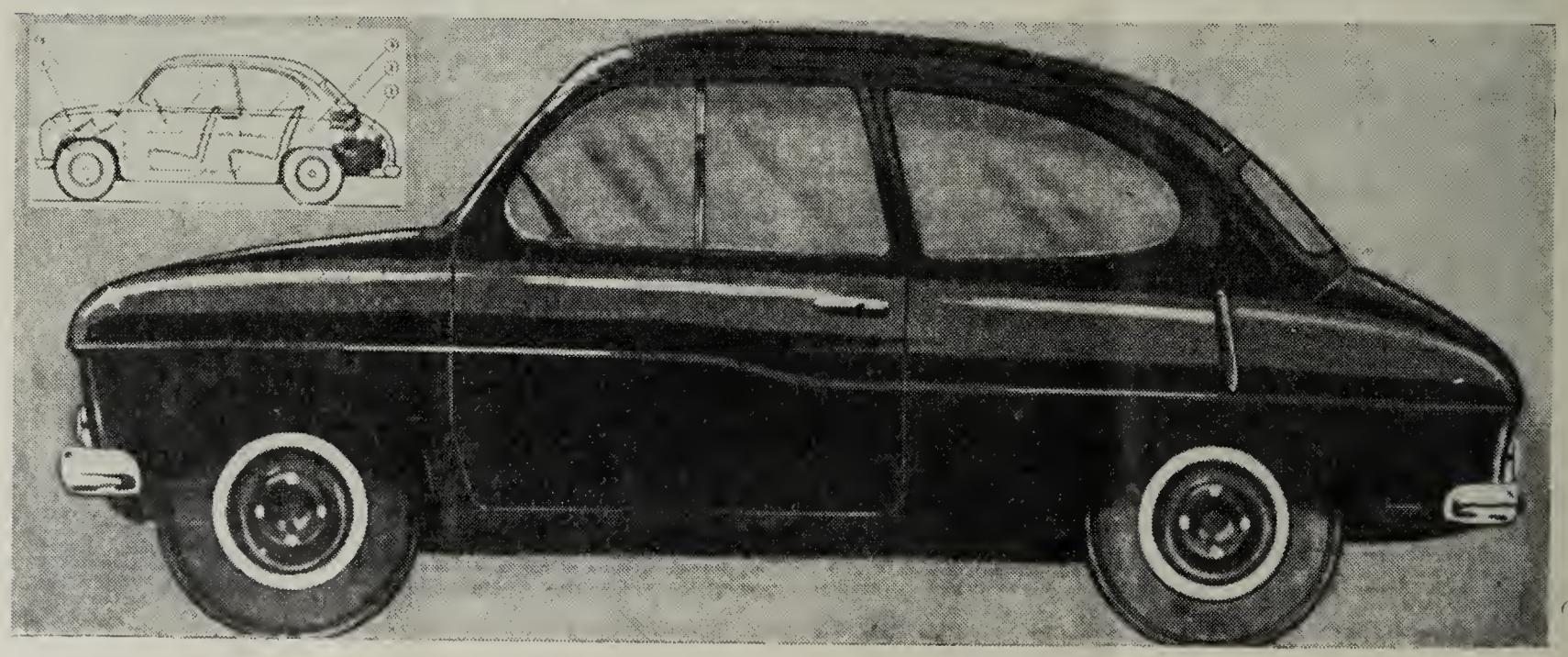
What, in fact, has the management of the huge monopoly done to resolve the crisis provoked by their own policy? No measure has been taken to deal with the basic causes of the crisis. The monopolists confined themselves to reaffirming the validity of the Fiat policy and to maintaining, in production, a management which is increasingly putting Fiat products out of the market for the great mass of Italian consumers, and is opening increasingly precarious prospects for the stability of employment. They have, in short, wanted to follow a policy of expediency aiming solely at exploiting, without looking ahead, the occasional possibilities offered by the Italian and international market, a policy which yesterday was reflected in the production of luxury automobiles and today is seeking its preservation in war orders.

This policy, which signifies the renunciation by the monopolists of the will to resolve, by basic measures, the crisis which is now dimming the Fiat prospects, is, of course, accompanied by a thorough stiffening of discipline and labour relations within the Fiat plants. In fact, the repeated dismissals of leaders and other officials of the working class movement, the unconstitutional attempt now being followed of stifling the functioning of organisations fulfilling the constitutional rights of the workers, the provocations to discredit the Turin workers and to distract public opinion from the problems raised by the Fiat crisis and by the causes of this crisis—all these facts are disquieting indices of the completely anti-democratic outlook of the top leaders of the Fiat group and express the incapacity in which they find themselves to introduce the proposals of the workers' organisations and to propose to the inhabitants of the city and the country a production policy of effectively guaranteeing the resumption of production and economic stability.

A policy based on expediency always goes hand in hand with a policy of violence. At Fiat's as elsewhere such a policy indicates the bankruptcy of the ruling class grown incapable of carrying on efficient worker-management relations based on a reasoned production programme.

All these problems, and particularly the reappearance of 'fascism in the factories,' were calmly examined by this conference discussing the reorganisation of Fiat. Being well aware of the impossibility of creating democratic relationships within the factories given the lack of any economic prospects, the Turin workers presented well drawn-up proposals in full solidarity with other classes of workers interested in the reorganisation of Fiat and the well-being of our engineering industry.

The Fiat workers do not stop at demanding work for peace and at protesting against dismissals. The plans for this utility car are due to the initiative of the Fiat workers. If the manufacture of this car was effectively undertaken it would make a decisive contribution to reducing the unemployment brought about by war production and the crisis of the Fiat Trust.



Foremost under discussion were such proposals as that of production of a utility touring car, and the increase and standardisation of tractor and lorry production. These proposals reflect the wishes of the Turin workers, as well as those engaged in agriculture and transport and who are directly concerned in fighting together for the reorganisation of Fiat, the introduction of a Fiat policy and of a new creative, and not destructive, production scheme which will assist the development of the national economy.

Thus the workers, artisans and shopkeepers taking part in the conference showed their confidence in the productive capacity of the great Turin enterprise as well as their desire to make of this monopolist instrument for the exploitation of the national market an instrument for peaceful economic development. The demands of the Turin workers also express a further specific requirement of national importance: the defence and strengthening of democracy within and outside the factories based on economic development and on the fight against monopoly and poverty.

Notizie Economiche, June 1952.

GREECE

Unemployment

WHILE Lapham, American economic dictator in Greece, talks of "stabilisation," unemployment is growing throughout the country.

The Salonika newspaper *Ellinikos Voras* reports that, according to official figures, the number of unemployed in Salonika has reached 35 per cent of the total number of workers. According to the same statistics in Serres, Drama, Cavalla, Xanthi and in the other cities of Greece, 17 per cent of the workers are unemployed.

The Minister of the Interior, Rendis, declared in Parliament that there would be mass dismissals of civil servants probably affecting 20,000 persons.

A few days later, on June 25, the government announced its decision to dismiss all "unclassified" civil servants.

A large number of enterprises closed down, throwing thousands of workers on the streets. In May, 1952, alone, more than half the textile factories were closed.

The periodical *Dyer* of London reported on June 13 that after the decision of the Greek Government to suspend all credit to the spinning and weaving mills, 38 of these factories in Athens and other cities of the country closed their doors, throwing eight thousand workers and office workers out of work.

The lignite mine firms announced to the government and the American Mission that the mines were going to be closed down. Two thousand five hundred workers are thus threatened with dismissal.

In Corinthia, the owners of restaurants warned the government that if the new additional surtaxes on turnover are not abolished, they will be obliged to close their restaurants.

It should be finally noted that the Mutual Security Agency itself estimates that there are at present 400,000 unemployed in Greece.

The situation in the countryside and on the islands is tragic. Cartalis recently exposed the demagogy of his government in relation to the "policy of protection favouring the peasants." He declared: "We cannot fix high guaranteed prices for agricultural products and incur large expenditure in buying them up because the money at our disposal for this purpose is too limited." (But there is enough for war purposes). Thus the government, instead of protecting the poor peasants, abandons them to the mercy of the greedy speculators. The price of wheat fixed by the government at 2,148 drachmas a kilo does not even correspond to two-thirds of the pre-war price. The speculators and flour merchants, speculating on the absolute need for the peasants to cover their harvest and threshing expenses, buy up the wheat at 1,489 drachmas a kilo, in order to resell it during the winter—as they did last year—at 3,900-4,600 drachmas a kilo.

The olive oil producers who have delivered their products have not yet been paid. Venizelos is trying to palm the olive producers off with vague promises. The American Monetary Commission rejected the request of the cotton growers to be paid for the products delivered. In the meantime, the big merchants are lowering the price of unsold cotton and oil by 50 per cent. The peasants of Samos cannot even buy rationed articles because their products remain unsold or are bought up dirt cheap by the state and big merchants. The speculators are lowering the purchase price of oil to 6,250 drachmas a kilo in order to resell at 12,500 a kilo.

The Voice of Greece, 1.7.52.

SOUTH AFRICA

"We Have Reached the Deadline."

"WE have reached the deadline—there can be no retreat," said Mr. J. N. Ngwevela, president of the Cape Western Region of the African National Congress, in a statement just prior to his defying the ban imposed on him by the Minister of Justice.

Mr. Ngwevela said:

"I was elected by my people to lead them to freedom. The Government has closed my mouth, because it realises that I am awakening you to fight for your rights.

"I am breaking those bonds. I would rather die fighting for my rights and for my people's rights, than surrender to the oppressor.

"It is the duty of every democratic citizen of Africa to stand firm and support the struggle of the Non-Europeans. The struggle is not directed against the Europeans. We Africans and the rest of the Non-European people are convinced that as long as there are discriminatory laws in this country, we shall never have harmony and peace among the different races of our population.

"Africans, Indians and Coloureds, the struggle has begun! Come forward as volunteers. Defy the unjust laws! We cannot retreat now! Do not think you will get freedom as a gift. Support the decisions of your national organisations.

"Remember—if we stand together and act as one man we can quickly gain our objective. Remember in our motherland we have no say in the making of the laws governing us.

"Mayebuya Mayebuya I' Afrika!"

From *The Clarion* (Cape Town), 26.6.52.

INDIA

Who Gains from Increased Production?

WHILE the spokesmen of the capitalists have been crying hoarse about the declining productivity of Indian labour, the following figures about the biggest establishment in India, namely, the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., published in a recent issue of the *Indian Labour Gazette,* give a lie direct to this slander against the Indian working class.

Years	Total number of man-shifts worked	Total production of saleable steel (tons)	Production of saleable steel per man-shift worked (tons)
1948-49	7,845,624	667,640	.085
1949-50	7,831,683	724,199	.093
1950-51	7,933,080	780,000	.098

It will be seen that in two years between 1948-49 and 1950-51 production per man-shift worked increased from .085 to .098, or by more than 15 per cent.

But who has gained by this? The workers? No. They did not receive any wage increase. The consumers? No. They had to pay higher prices for steel or iron products. The only people gaining from the increase in productivity were the coupon-clippers whose net profits rose from Rs. 4.24 crores[1] in 1947-48 to Rs. 5.44 crores in 1949-50, or by 28 per cent.

India Today, Allahabad, June 1952.

VENEZUELA

Thousands of Oilfield Workers Dismissed

THOUSANDS of workers of the Venezuelan oilfields have been laid off this year. The oil companies are taking advantage of a regime of

1 1 crore is 10 million.

national betrayal in order to continue with impunity their policy of re-adjustment of production prices. Violations of the collective agreement are causing indignation among the oil workers. The companies are using the system of contract-labour to worsen the workers' situation. Workers who earned 22 bolivars a day are re-employed by the contractors for 17 or 18 bolivars a day.

The contractors do not fulfil any social security obligations. They dismiss the workers before the end of a year's work in order to avoid paying them holiday pay and other benefits and indemnities to which the workers are entitled. There is no provision for medical care. The company shops continually increase their prices, in gross violation of the list of articles and prices.

To this is added the daily abuses committed by the National Guard, which, on the orders of American military instructors, is taking on veritable Gestapo functions in the oilfields. As a result of imperialist intervention in our country, the oilfields have been transformed into concentration camps, with a reign of terror, persecution, torture, poverty and famine. Any worker who dares to put forward any demand is apprehended by the agents of the police or the National Guard. Active peace supporters, opponents of imperialism, all who fight for better working and living conditions, are dismissed by the oil companies, imprisoned and persecuted.

This situation is the consequence of war policy. The oil companies are dismissing workers and reducing their expenses while increasing their profits, and at the same time they are transforming the Venezuelan oilfields into "strategic" zones, thus liquidating all vestiges of human liberty and establishing a terror regime.

Noticias de Venezuela,

April, 1952.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

July 15

AUSTRIA.—A powerful meeting of workers is held in Vienna commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the shooting down of Viennese workers by Austrian reaction. The speakers call on the workers to fight resolutely against war and fascism, against the inclusion of Austria in the Atlantic Bloc, for freedom, peace and progress.

CHILE.—Fifteen thousand workers from the nitrate mines in the province of Antofagasta strike for 24 hours to protest against the recent ratification of the military agreement signed between the Chilean Government and the United States. The strikers also protest against violations of their working agreements by the management of the mines.

GOLD COAST. — The Locomotive drivers and firemen go on strike for their wage demands and particularly for equal wages with those of the drivers and firemen of European origin.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.— Found guilty under the fascist law for "suppression of Communism," the trade union leader Solly Sachs is sentenced to six months' hard labour.

FRANCE.—The dockers of Bordeaux, having refused to load war material on to the ship "Atlas" bound for Morocco, the authorities are forced to call in troops to carry out the loading.

— At the Desfossés printing works in Paris and Issy les Moulineaux, the workers, after a 9-day strike carried out in complete unity, obtained a bonus of 13,000 francs, 6,000 of which is payable immediately and 7,000 in October.

July 16

UNITED STATES.—Metal workers employed by the enterprise responsible for the construction of the atomic city, Los Alamos (New Mexico), go on strike bringing the construction work to a complete halt. They demand wage increases.

BOLIVIA.—The "American Smelting and Refining Company" informs the Bolivian government of its intention to close down its Corocoro copper mine in Bolivia because of the unrest among the workers.

FRANCE.—Thousands of employees and leading personnel in the Social Security Family Allowances Administration stop work at the call of the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. (Christian Centre), and the F.O. (breakaway centre affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.). The personnel thus engage in a united struggle for the proper application of the wage agreements, which the government is attempting to violate.

ALGERIA.—One thousand, five hundred men and women tobacco workers in Algiers go on strike for wage demands. The principal tobacco factories in Algiers are at a complete standstill.

July 17

ITALY.—At the session of the General Council of the Italian Federation of Free Trade Unions (C.I.S.L.) under Christian-Democratic influence, the Secretary, J. Pastore, was forced to recognise the seriousness of the crisis hitting the engineering, chemical and textile industries. He stated that in northern Italy in 1,776 enterprises of these three industries, comprising a total of 213,000 workers, 153,000 are on part-time and 14,000 unemployed.

INDIA. — Powerful demonstrations aganist famine take place in Calcutta. The police interfere attacking the demonstrators with tear gas bombs. There are 30 casualties.

POLAND.—The production plan for the first half-year of 1952 has been achieved by 100.3%. The overall production of the whole socialist industry has increased during the second quarter of 1952 about 20% compared with the second quarter of 1951.

July 18

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Government refuses to ratify wage increases agreed by the employers' federations of launderers, hairdressers, etc. The increases concern 1,500,000 wage earners.

IRELAND.—The Committee of the British Trades Unions Congress (T.U.C.) responsible for Northern Ireland officially recognises that this region has 51,000 unemployed.

HUNGARY.—The Government publishes a balance sheet of the plan for the second quarter, 1952, showing that it has been fulfilled by 101.7% in industry. Industrial production has increased by 23.5% in comparison with the second quarter of 1951.

DENMARK.—The leadership of the port workers' trade union asks the government not to grant military bases to the American imperialists.

FRANCE.—The peace camp records another victory in winning the release of the writer and journalist, André Stil, detained on the arrival in France of germ-warfare General Ridgway.

July 19

INDIA.—A general strike is launched by the Calcutta workers and by 100,000 students and schoolboys to protest against the police brutalities committed during the recent demonstrations against famine.

July 20

NEPAL.—A peasant revolt breaks out, liable to extend throughout the country. The Nehru government sends police reinforcements to the Indo-Nepalese frontier and takes security measures to prevent the peasant revolt in Nepal from extending to Hindu territory.

ITALY.—Clashes occur in Genoa, between police and dockers on strike. Strikers reply with stones when police attack with tear gas.

INDIA.—At Multan, in the Punjab, police fire on a crowd of 5,000 demonstrators assembled in front of the police station to protest against an order banning all public meetings.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Sixty motions calling for a reduction in the armament programme have been sent to the office of the Annual Labour Party Conference which will be held in October. Twenty motions oppose the rearmament of Western Germany, others demand the recognition by the United Nations of the People's Republic of China, and six are anxious about "the continuous bloodshed in Korea which threatens world peace."

FRANCE.—The National Congress of Teachers (independent) representing 140,000 teachers, ends after four days of debate. Although all viewpoints were represented among its 600 delegates, the Congress declared itself unanimously on a series of important problems such as the defence of secular education, for a revision of the minimum wage, and the defence of education in the overseas territories. The congress also declared itself unanimously in favour of an end to the war in Indo-China, against any lengthening of military service, against the Franco repression and against all attempts at restricting the freedom of political and trade union opinion.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The meeting of West German young trade unionists ends in Frankfurt-am-Main. Fifteen thousand young men and women took part. The meeting took place under the slogan of the fight for peace, unity and freedom, against the aggressive, anti-national policy of Adenauer. Those taking part adopted a resolution protesting against the anti-working class law on works councils.

— Even though working on short time and threatened with unemployment, the 1,600 workers in the Auguste Engels factory in Velpert, decide unanimously to refuse to carry out an order for 20,000 shells passed by the Adenauer government.

July 21

IRAN.—Large strike movements accompanied by powerful patriotic demonstrations have been taking place for three days in the main cities of Iran, such as Teheran, Abadan and Ispahan, to protest against the appointment by the Shah of the avowed agent of imperialism, Ghavam-el-Sultaneh, as head of the government. Violent clashes break out between demonstrators and the armed forces, resulting in the death of 500 workers, and a large number of wounded. In spite of the police brutalities, Teheran remains practically in the power of the demonstrators who demand Ghavam's departure. All the anti-imperialist parties march in unity in this great movement against the country's subjection.

FRANCE. — Just as the threshing season begins, 2,000 agricultural workers in the north department, by their united struggle, win a 13% wage increase.

July 22

CHILE.—Office and municipal workers launch a nation-wide strike for their wage demands. The strike is to last 48 hours in Santiago de Chile, Valparaiso, Villa del Mar and Concepcion.

UNITED STATES.—A wage cut of 8½ cents an hour has been forced upon 3,500 textile workers in Maine following the signing by the C.I.O. textile workers' union of a new agreement with the Pepperell and Continental mills companies. This agreement is a veritable betrayal of the interests which the union is supposed to represent, and there is great indignation among the workers.

— Robert A. Lovett, Secretary of State for Defence, says in a press statement that the steelworkers' strike, which has lasted for 51 days, has caused the loss of 20% of the production of war material planned for 1952.

July 23

U.S.S.R.—The Bureau of Statistics publishes the results of the national economic plan for the second quarter of 1952. Production has increased by 11% compared with the same quarter last year, output has increased by 6%, and the sale of goods by 11%.

TUNISIA. — The railwaymen employed by the Sfax-Gafsa company go on strike by unanimous decision in protest against the dismissal of the secretary of their trade union.

AUSTRALIA. — Dockers and ship painters of Newcastle, after a five-months' strike, win their demand for payment for travelling time and return to work.

IRAN.—Resounding victory of the Iranian people. The American agent, Ghavam-el-Sultaneh, placed at the head of the government by the Shah, is forced to resign by the tremendous wave of indignation caused throughout the country by his appointment.

FRANCE.—Agricultural workers in the Cher department, after a long period of struggle, including strikes, stoppages of work and the sending of delegations, win a 30% wage increase for the threshing season.

ITALY.—The strike of 100,000 share-croppers in Tuscany is developing in complete unity against the sudden expulsions carried out as reprisals, for the immediate launching of schemes for land improvement, and to demand co-direction of agricultural cultivation.

July 24

JAPAN.—The Congress of trade unions belonging to the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions ends. The Congress has been the scene of a bitter struggle between the left wing, represented by the electrical, chemical and coalmining unions, etc., and the other trade unions under reformist influence. The right-wing leaders have suffered a significant defeat, the Congress having turned down their proposal for affiliation to the breakaway international, the I.C.F.T.U.

July 25

UNITED STATES.—The steelworkers return to work following an agreement between representatives of the trade unions and the employers. The agreement is based on the following points: 1) an average wage increase of 16 cents an hour; 2) six days' paid holiday a year for all workers; 3) three weeks' paid holiday a year for workers with over 15 years' service. The government has authorised an average increase of 5 dollars 64 cents a ton on the price of steel, an increase which will have repercussions on the whole of industrial production.

July 26

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—Over 800 non-Europeans have already been arrested by virtue of Malan's anti-racial and anti-working class laws.

EGYPT.—Throughout Egypt and the Sudan the population joyfully welcomes the news of the abdication and departure of King Farouk.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The workers' protests against the passing of the law on joint administration and against the betrayal by the right-wing leaders of the West German trade union centre (D.G.B.) grow throughout the country. In Stuttgart, 60,000 metalworkers declare for a strike against this anti-trade union law. Two hundred and fifty delegates representing 150,000 Ruhr miners urge the D.G.B. Bureau to proceed immediately to action. A meeting representing 100,000 North Rhine-Westphalia building workers protests against the law.

INDONESIA.—Thirty thousand workers of the Java sugar industry strike for 40 hours for an increase in bonus rates following government intervention attempting to force arbitration disadvantageous to the workers.

July 27

BULGARIA. — The results of the state plan for the second quarter of 1952 are published. The plan has been fulfilled 100% in industry, and the volume of industrial production has increased by 9.4% compared with the second quarter of 1951.

U.S.S.R.—The Soviet people celebrate the opening of the "Lenin" Volga-Don Canal. There are many meetings and popular rejoicing throughout the country in honour of the completion of the first of the great construction works of Communism.

July 28

TUNISIA.—The strike of railwaymen employed by the Sfax-Gafsa company ends, the secretary of the trade union, whose dismissal caused the strike, having been reinstated.

July 29

ITALY.—The strike of two million agricultural workers called by agricultural workers' trade unions belonging to three national centres, the C.G.I.L., the C.I.S.L. (centre under Christian-Democratic influence) and the U.I.L. (under Social-Democratic influence), develops in complete unanimity in all the country's agricultural areas. Many demonstrations are held, during which the Italian agricultural workers proclaim their decision to carry on the struggle in unity until their family allowances are increased in line with agreements made by employers with other sectors of production and commerce.

FRANCE.—One thousand five hundred workers become unemployed as a result of the decision of the management of the Hotchkiss automobile factory to close the factory. There is great indignation in St. Denis, and many delegations call on district and municipal councillors.

July 30

GREECE.—Three hundred thousand shopkeepers throughout Greece close their shops in protest against the Monarcho-Fascist government's economic and fiscal policy. The strike is planned to last two days. The government alerts the police and bans all demonstrations.

SOUTH KOREA.—Over 1,500 dockers go on strike in the ports of Pusan and Suyong. They refuse to unload arms and munitions for American troops, and American soldiers and marines are forced to unload the ships themselves.

FRANCE.—Two hundred dockers of the port of Bastia, in Corsica, go on strike in protest against the arbitrary exclusion of their trade union secretary, Pierre Dellabella, from the Central Labour Bureau.

July 31

BELGIUM.—Strikes and demonstrations against the extension of the period of military service to two years spread throughout the country. Thousands of workers, including metalworkers and coalminers in the Liegè and Charleroi regions, go on strike to express their active solidarity with the soldiers who are demonstrating and protesting in the barracks.

A CATALOGUE OF W.F.T.U. PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH

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Let us achieve united action of workers of different trade union affiliations and the unorganised workers in order to ensure the success of our struggle.

Appeal for the Development of the Struggle of the Workers for the Defence of Trade Union Rights and Freedoms (W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, Vienna, 9—14 June, 1952).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
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The Trade Unions Internationals —Builders of Unity

THE transformation of the economy of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries into an economy for the preparation of war has had a serious effect on industries working on the supply of goods for civilian needs, especially the textile, clothing, footwear, fur, hides, leather, automobile and building industries. One can say in general that a serious crisis is affecting all forms of production directly connected with the welfare of the populations.

This crisis has brought about a considerable increase in total and partial unemployment in all capitalist, colonial and dependent countries.

In the *United States,* according to the governmental labour statistics of January 1952, twenty-three regions were particularly affected by unemployment, with a percentage of 6 per cent. The industrial sectors affected were textiles, footwear, accessories, automobiles and building. The number of workers employed on a national scale had fallen from January 1 to December 31, 1951, by 14.5 per cent in the automobile industry by 10.4 per cent in the leather products industry and by 9.3 per cent in textiles. In April 1952, 10,310,000 wage earners were working less than 35 hours a week.

In *Great Britain,* the official figures of workers totally unemployed in textiles and clothing rose from 10,400 in May 1951 to 160,400 in May 1952, a sixteen-fold increase.

In *Western Germany,* the number of workers on short time in the textile industry rose from 47,000 in December 1951, to 170,000 in April 1952.

In *Belgium* almost a half of the textile workers are either unemployed or on short time.

In Japan, 40 per cent of the 330,000 textile workers are totally or partially unemployed. In the space of two months—November and December 1951—72 textile firms went bankrupt.

Textile enterprises are closing down in *Sweden, Holland, France,* and *Italy.* The number of totally unemployed in these branches of industry runs into hundreds of thousands in the two latter countries.

In *India,* 150 rayon factories in Bombay decided last May to reduce their production by 60 per cent.

We have selected the textile industry because it is that in which the situation is most significant and most dramatic. Stocks of clothing materials remain unsold. Factories are closing down, and others are reducing their working hours, and all this is taking place while millions of people lack clothing.

But a similar situation also exists in other industrial sectors working for civilian needs.

The crisis of consumption in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, the growing poverty of the mass of the workers, the continuously spreading unemployment, are all the direct result of the policy of war preparation and the measures brought about by that policy, such as the trade standstill with regard to the U.S.S.R., China and the Peoples' Democracies, which deprives the economy of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries of these important outlets.

The monopolies, with the help of the government in their service, are doing everything to subject the workers to a continually greater degree of exploitation through the imposition of speed-up, and are reducing and restricting social security benefits. In the capitalist countries in which the workers won better living and working conditions after the defeat of fascism, the governments, carrying out faithfully the desires of the monopolists, are trying by legislative means to rob the workers of their gains.

Labour contracts and laws for social protection are being violated systematically and on a continuously wider scale in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. Armed repression is used in order to prevent the workers from defending their living and working conditions by the use of the most effective weapon at their disposal—the strike.

The violation of laws and labour contracts, the intensive exploitation and the lengthening of the working day, are bringing very serious consequences for the workers' health, and work accidents are on the increase.

In all the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, the number of workers affected by industrial diseases is constantly growing, together with the number of accidents. In less than one month—from December 20, 1951 to January 15, 1952—270 miners were killed in disasters due to inadequate safety measures: 119 in Illinois in the United States, 100 in Bolivia, 15 in Norway, 17 in the Orange Free State (Union of South Africa) and 19 in Canada. In the United States, the Secretary of State for the Interior declared that 23,000 violations of the laws on mine-working were committed in 1948. Despite that revelation, the government has done nothing to prevent the mining trusts from continuing to violate the laws nor to ensure safety for the lives of the miners.

Also in the United States, 2,100,000 workers in various industries were injured in accidents in 1951, 16,000 fatally, (Bureau of Labour Statistics).

Let us take the example of a small country, Luxemburg: we find that the Industrial Inspectorate registered 11,612 work accidents in 1951, as a result of which 24 workers died and 2,000 were disabled from work for a period of more than 13 weeks.

☆ ☆ ☆

WORKERS are engaged in a bitter and determined struggle for the improvement of their living and working conditions, which are continually worsening as a consequence of the policy of war preparation, and in defence of their social rights and their democratic liberties.

The great task of the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) is to provide help in this struggle of the workers of the various industrial categories, to contribute with all their strength to the achievement of unity of all workers of the same category on an international scale, to promote for each category an international united front of the workers, the guarantee of victory in the common fight against the national and international trusts and monopolies.

In order to achieve this indispensable unity, all the Trade Unions Internationals (Miners; Metal and Engineering Workers; Food, Beverage, Tobacco, Hotel, Cafe and Restaurant Workers; Agricultural and Forestry Workers; Chemical and Allied Trades Workers; Building, Wood and Building Material Workers; Land and Air Transport Workers; Seamen and Port Workers; Leather, Shoe, Fur and Leather Goods Workers; Postal and Radio Workers; Textile and Clothing Workers and the World Federation of Teachers' Unions) some time past addressed concrete proposals to the International Trade Secretariats of the I.C.F.T.U., as well as to international trade organisations which follow the policy of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. All these proposals were directed towards the attainment of common action on the basis of the concrete situation in a given branch of industry.

For example, the Textile and Clothing Workers' Trade Unions International, after a close examination of the crisis in these two branches of industry, greeted the struggle waged by these workers against the closing down of factories, against dismissals and against the crisis, a struggle waged not only in their own interests, but also in the interests of other sections of the workers. It proposed to the appropriate International Trade Secretariats of the I.C.F.T.U. and to the corresponding organisation of the Christian Trade Unions, a meeting in which measures would be jointly examined for common action by the workers concerned.

The Miners' Trade Union International not only proposed joint action to safeguard the lives of miners and to force the employers to respect the laws on work safety in the mines, but also called upon the International Labour Office to plan action by all the international organisations.

The attitude of the International Trade Secretariats to this unity standpoint of the Trade Unions Internationals, a faithful reflection of the will to unity of the broad masses of the workers, has been completely negative, or, even worse, hostile. In some cases, the rightwing leaders of the International Trade Secretariats simply failed to reply to our proposals for unity, but in other cases they refused point-blank any co-operation with the Trade Unions Internationals.

There is not the slightest doubt, however, that the crisis, unemployment, work accidents, industrial diseases and the savage exploitation of the workers affect all workers without regard to their political ideas or their trade union affiliation.

Instead of developing joint action against the common enemy together with other workers' organisations, the rightwing leaders of the International Trade Secretariats are practising shameful political discrimination. And these are the very people who shout so loudly that they are "non-political." They disregard the will to unity of the workers who have placed their confidence in the Trade Unions Internationals.

Instead of fighting on the international level against the employers of a given branch of industry, the International Trade Secretariat leaders turn against the workers of that branch of industry.

Nothing is more revealing in this respect than the discussions and the resolutions of the various I.C.F.T.U. congresses, for they settle the policy of the rightwing leaders of the International Trade Secretariats. The Milan Congress of the I.C.F.T.U. in 1951 should receive particular attention from the workers. As the daily newspaper of French big industry, *Le Monde,* wrote on June 17, 1952, "over three-quarters of the motions presented by the I.C.F.T.U. to the Milan Congress dealt with economic and social questions, and were inspired by political preoccupations foreign to the working class as such."

The *New York Times* wrote on July 9, 1952, with regard to the I.C.F.T.U. Congress, that whichever of the two parties succeeded in winning the trade unions of the whole "free world" would be able to win the cold war.

And dollars are pouring in to "win the trade unions." Irving Brown, the well-known specialist in trade union splits and commercial traveller in Europe of the American Federation of Labour, has declared that: "The A.F.L. has been spending several hundreds of thousands of dollars every year in Europe since 1945, the greater part of which has been for France. We spend a great deal on the *Force Ouvrière.*"[1] (Re-translation).

Part of these dollars evidently comes from the trade union dues paid by the American workers who, without being aware of it, and without any account being given to them, are thus contributing to financing trade union splits in the interests of their own exploiters—the American monopolies. Further, *Le Monde* reported on June 17, 1952, that the C.I.O. accuses the A.F.L. of not relying any longer on its membership dues, but of accepting funds from the State Department.

According to *Le Monde,* the trade union activity of these gentlemen consists of "explaining American policy," of advising France to withdraw from the C.G.T. the right of trade union representation and of "bringing back into the ranks of free trade unionism the militants who were purged for having supported the Vichy regime."

It is not surprising in these circumstances that the I.C.F.T.U. General Council meeting in Berlin in July 1952 should have reaffirmed its support for the rearmament ordered by the American trusts and should have demanded that "free trade unionism" be represented on N.A.T.O., the Atlantic military organisation.

While a growing resistance is being revealed among the whole of Western European public opinion, and even in certain capitalist circles, against the Schuman Plan—imposed by the American trusts— the champions of "free trade unionism," who also direct the International Trade Secretariats, are envisaging the setting up of a trade union for the miners and metalworkers of the Schuman Plan countries. In their eyes, this would provide both strengthening of the Schuman Plan on the trade union level and the means for a further split in the European trade union movement.

1 French breakaway trade union centre under rightwing socialist leadership.

Following blindly the general policy of the I.C.F.T.U., the rightwing leaders of the International Trade Secretariats are not interested in the real defence of the workers whom they pretend to represent.

By systematically refusing the unity proposals made by the Trade Unions Internationals, made in the name of all workers fighting for an improvement in their living conditions, in defence of their social rights and their liberties, the International Trade Secretariats are more and more turning their backs on the real problems and needs of the mass of the workers.

☆ ☆ ☆

IT is an incontestable fact that the workers feel deeply the need for unity, not only in the countries in which the trade union centres are really representative of the working class and are also the best builders of unity, but also in the countries in which the bosses of the large trade union centres conceive of no activity other than anti-unity propaganda in line with the interests of the monopolies.

For example, there are the electrical workers in Great Britain, who passed a resolution at their annual Conference asking the Executive Committee of the trade union to take the first step towards unity and to promote " a meeting between the I.C.F.T.U. and the W.F.T.U. in order that those bodies may seek ways and means of unifying the two organisations and, if that is found to be impossible in the immediate future, at least to find common grounds on which to take joint action on problems of common interest to both organisations.

The annual conference of the Association of Supervisory Staffs and Engineering Technicians in Great Britain passed a resolution asking the governing committee of the Association to contribute together with all workers' international organisations to the development of democratic trade unions in Germany and Japan.

But the working class is not alone in understanding the need to strengthen international liaisons by all means, and especially by means of united action in each industrial category. This desire is being felt increasingly among other social strata.

The teachers, peasants, scientific workers, etc., are demanding with increasing insistence of the leading bodies of their trade unions and professional organisations the strengthening of unity in every country and on the international scale.

Thus, the Association of Scientific Workers in Great Britain rejected a resolution proposing their disaffiliation from the World Federation of Scientific Workers.

The need for united action is revealing itself also among the members of the teaching profession in primary and secondary schools and in the universities.

The *Comité d'Entente,* which brings together representatives of two independent international federations, and the Teachers' International Trade Secretariat and the World Federation of Teachers' Union (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), have accepted a draft " Charter for the Teaching Profession," which was put forward by one of the independent federations—the F.I.A.L. This draft, which contains the teachers' professional and social demands, will be discussed by the teachers of all countries and by the professional organisations affiliated to the *Comité d'Entente.*

People in the countryside are also fighting alongside the town workers against the consequences of the policy of war and poverty imposed by the international

monopolies. The peasants, small farmers, share-croppers and agricultural workers of the Marshallised countries and of the colonial and dependent countries are putting forward their demands and taking an active part in the defence of their countries' independence, in the fight for freedom and for the peoples' well-being.

☆ ☆ ☆

WHATEVER the splitting manoeuvres of the workers' enemies, the Trade Unions Internationals will not only continue, but will intensify, their unity activity for the defence of the professional and industrial interests of the workers.

The European metal and engineering workers have already taken part in the broadest unity in the preparation and work of the International Conference for delegates from this industry which was called in Vienna by the Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Unions International in February of this year.

The land and air transport workers and the seamen and dockers of the countries of Africa sent their delegates to the conference of these workers which was held in Algiers in March.

The Building, Wood and Building Materials Workers' Trade Unions International is preparing for a meeting, on a broad unity basis, for the workers of these industries of the countries of Western Europe. This meeting will have as its essential aim an examination of a problem which is in the minds of all workers of these industries and of people of most varied social strata—the problems of housing.

The proposal of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions to call a World Unity Congress of all teachers' organisations is meeting with an increasingly wide response, and is exposing those who are speculating on political motives in order to try to maintain division of the workers.

The Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International is engaged in developing still further help and solidarity to the various categories of agricultural workers, the small peasant proprietors, farmers and share-croppers of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All the Trade Unions Internationals will increase their efforts to help and advise the trade union movement in the colonial and dependent countries.

They will take all necessary measures to prepare the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Security and Social Insurance, and will give their support in this sphere to the workers of the various industries by all the means at their disposal.

The Trade Unions Internationals are supporting with all their strength the action of the workers against super-exploitation, unemployment and the closing of factories, and in defence of trade union rights and liberties.

The Trade Unions Internationals have as the perspective in their immediate work the development of solidarity and mutual help among the workers of the whole world. They will intensify their actions of fraternal solidarity towards all workers and all trade unions, whether or not they are affiliated to the Trade Unions Internationals, as in the cases of the solidarity shown by the Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Unions International to the American steelworkers, by the Chemical Workers' Trade Unions International to the workers of the Tata Chemical trust in

India and by the Miners' Trade Unions International to the Indian and Sicilian miners.

All the Trade Unions Internationals will continue and intensify their activity. especially for the strengthening of the trade union movement in the colonial and dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As in the past, the aim of this activity will be the strengthening of unity among the workers, and will be completely free of any form of discrimination. They will continue the exchange of delegations and of experiences between the workers of the various capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, and between these workers and the workers of the countries of Socialism and Peoples' Democracy.

The united action of the workers will overcome all the barriers which the American and Americanised governments are trying to build in order to prevent the Christian, Social-Democratic, Communist and non-party workers of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries from seeing through the lies and calumnies spread with regard to living and working conditions in the countries in which exploitation of man by man has been done away with.

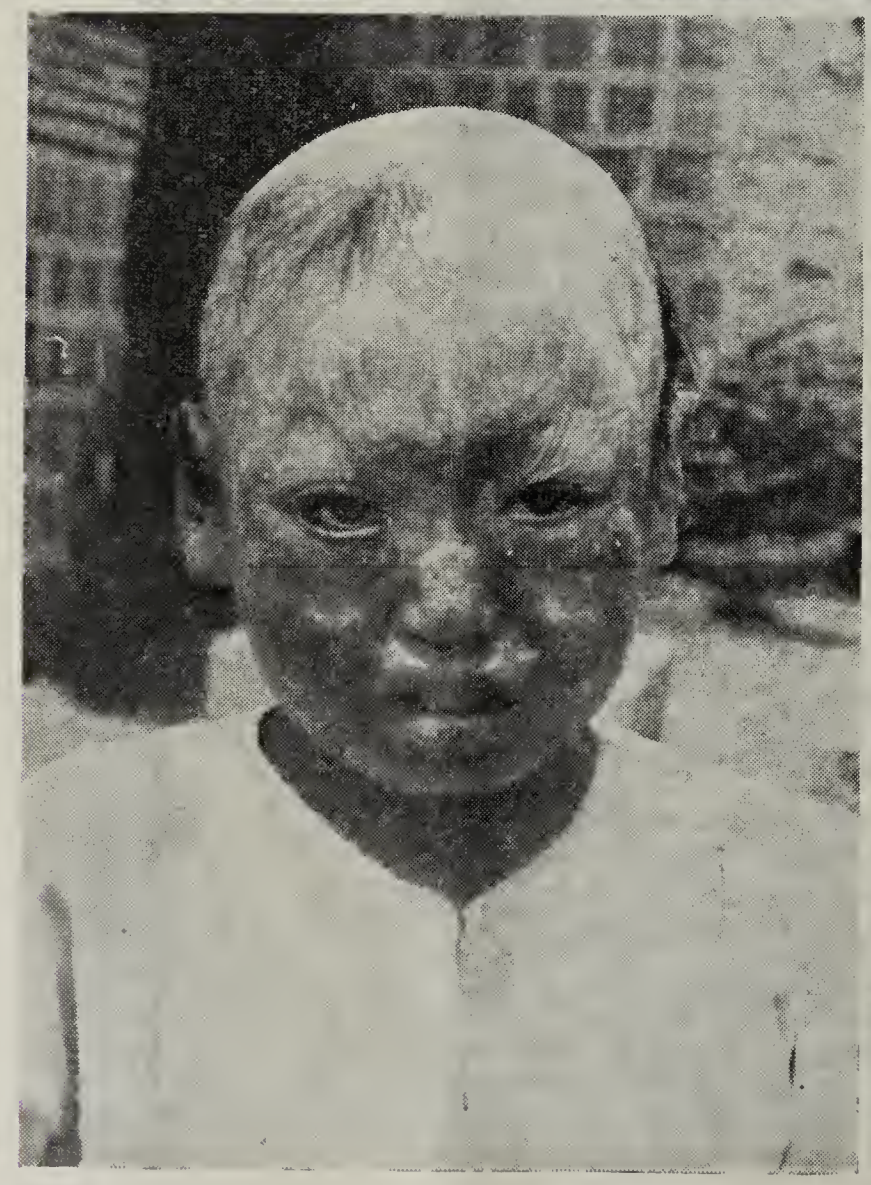
The Trade Unions Internationals will continue their fight against the trusts for united action, the guarantee of victory in the fight for better living conditions, for the defence of democratic and trade union liberties, for the strengthening of friendship between the workers of the whole world, and for peace.

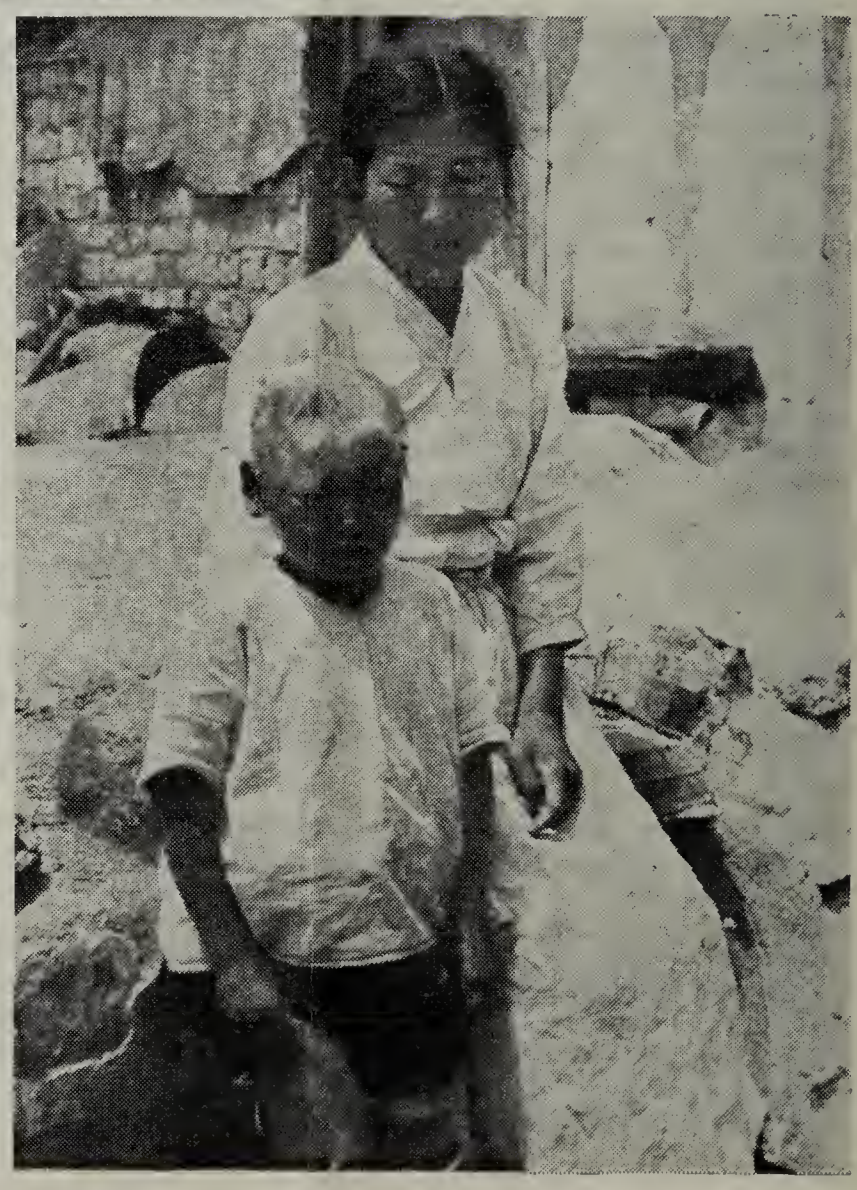
L. Grassi

THE NAPALM KILLER

Tens of thousands of napalm incendiary bombs have been systematically poured on Korea in the past few weeks. See the horror of this hell!

Look at these nightmare masks! They were once human faces. See this ten-year-old





S PASSED THIS WAY

Korean boy, looking like an old man. His eyelids are burnt. He will never again close his eyes, even in sleep.

Look at this woman of Kaesong ! Her face, her back and her loins are nothing but horrible scars, burnt to the bone.

Significance of Employers' Attempts to Change Wage Structure

by ANDRÉ BARJONET

Secretary of the Centre for Economic and Social Studies of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.)

THE wages situation in France, since the pro-American turning-point of 1947, has been mainly characterised by:

(a) a constant reduction of their purchasing power—at present less than half that of 1938;
(b) serious structural changes which tend to increase productivity and make the workers lose their class consciousness so as to facilitate the development of the war economy which the Americans want.

We should like today to draw the attention of readers of *World Trade Union Movement* to this second aspect of the question.

* * *

THE essential change which has taken place during the last few years consists in the general substitution of various forms of bonus wage systems for time-wages.

It is true that the existence of systems of payment by results is far from being something new: hitherto, however, these methods of remuneration were—except perhaps in the metal industries—the exception, and time-wages (generally hourly) were the predominant form. In the building industry, for example, piece-work wages and wages with bonuses were almost completely unknown before the war—today the opposite is the case.

Under the capitalist system, the wage is not and cannot be—whatever its form—anything but the price of the mere labour power of the proletarian: under these circumstances it is clear that we are not called on to declare in the abstract for one form of wages rather than any other. We have no reason to prefer time-wages *in itself* to a wage with bonuses *in itself*. On the other hand, it is correct to examine concretely the aim pursued *at present* by the capitalists, who are extending different forms of payment by results.

The remuneration from payment by results is divided into two separate parts:

(a) the basic rate, which is fixed and which applies to a given output in a given period of work. Theoretically, at least, any worker of average skill should be able to carry out this minimum production in the allotted time.

(b) the bonus, which is variable and which applies to additional output carried out during the time allotted to the worker to produce his number of pieces.

In itself, this system is no more to be condemned than any other form of wage under a capitalist system; but the way the French industrialists are currently applying it makes it into a particularly effective instrument of super-exploitation.

First of all, the industrialists fix the basic rate as low as possible and, very often, below the national guaranteed minimum wage for all trades. This aspect of the problem requires a few words of explanation. The law of February 11, 1950, passed as a result of the united action of the workers, has, as is well-known, restored the right to negotiate wages within the framework of collective agreements.[1] Also, in order to protect the least favoured workers against arbitrary decisions on the part of the employers, it stipulated that on the national level a minimum wage should be fixed for all trades and that no employer, under any circumstances, would have the right to pay less.

It is quite clear that the basic wage (basic rate) of systems of payment by results should *at least* be

[1] Up to that date, wages were fixed by a ministerial decree.

equivalent to the minimum guaranteed wage for all trades, since it corresponds to the normal production of a worker of average skill and thus constitutes the price which compensates for the normal wear and tear of his labour power.

But, as we have said, the basic rates are at present almost always lower than the minimum wage and *it is in relation to these inadequate rates that the premiums (bonuses) arising from additional production are fixed.*

It is true that in accordance with the law of February 11, 1950, the employers are obliged in this case to pay the worker the difference between the basic wage and the minimum guaranteed wage, but it remains true that, all bonuses being calculated on the basis of this lower rate, the worker on payment by results loses by this system to the benefit of the employers.

But this is not all. At present, the French capitalists are introducing on a more and more general scale *regressive* bonus systems, in which, for each additional piece produced by the worker, the bonus is reduced.

The combination of these two procedures (basic wage lower than the guaranteed minimum and regressive bonuses) naturally leads to a drastic intensification of labour. In order to feed his family, the worker on payment by results is under the obligation to work ever faster. In certain cases he of course earns more than the time-worker, but he becomes more rapidly exhausted and runs more and more serious risks of accident.

It is worth pointing out in this connection that many employers dare to claim that the workers are responsible for these accidents because they themselves remove the safety appliances from their machines.

To this it is first necessary to reply that the great majority of machines used in France are without any safety appliance whatsoever. It is, however, true that where such appliances exist the workers sometimes remove them, but it is precisely the regressive systems of payment by results which force them to do so; handicapped from the start by the inadequacy of the basic rate, the worker is, in fact, obliged to work ever faster and can no longer respect safety regulations.

In general, the basic rate corresponds to the output laid down for an hour's work. Many industrialists tend to calculate it on the basis of a minute. The advantage of this for the employer is evident. A worker can very easily understand what 180 hours work a month means, but he realises much less clearly what is represented by 10,800 minutes work in the month! The additional pieces produced in an hour being also first divided by sixty and then re-multiplied by the total number of minutes, in the end the worker has no longer any idea of what the wage he finally draws really represents.

Certain establishments which use calculating machines divide the hour not into 60 minutes but into 100 units themselves divided into 100. Wages are fixed in relation to these units and the "pay slip" becomes completely unintelligible to all but specialists.

The result of all these practices is an intensification of labour, a reduction of real wages and the obscuring of the very notion of wages.

But the employers' attack does not stop there. As we have pointed out, the employers are legally obliged to make up the difference between the basic wage and the minimum guaranteed wage. This is how, notably in the leather industry,[2] the employers get around the law: for the basic wage they fix ever-higher production norms so as to have the workers who fail to reach these norms legally considered as "deficient" and they are then no longer obliged to pay them the minimum guaranteed wage!

Still in order to reduce real wages—without, however, daring to attack nominal wages—the employers very often resort to the classical procedure of *downgrading* which consists of placing a worker in a lower trade category while making him do the same work as before.

Downgrading can also take the form of giving a worker additional duties. In the first case, a higher skilled worker is baptised "a less-skilled worker" and kept at the same job; in the second case a less-skilled worker is made to do the job of a higher-skilled work . . . . and kept at the same wage!

In certain industries, such as the textile industry, definite wage reductions take place whenever a model is changed. The workers are on piecework and, as the task is no longer the same, the rates are changed in consequence, but without the isolated workers being able to foresee the effects of these changes. It is only at the end of the fortnight that the worker will see from his pay slip that his net wage has fallen by some 5 or 10 per cent.

Finally, a procedure currently utilised by the employers consists in introducing numerous bonuses of all sorts without changing the wages proper. What we are referring to here are the monthly, quarterly or annual bonuses having the most varied names, which are not to be confused with the premiums or bonuses which are added to the basic wage in systems of payment by results and which we have already mentioned. The workers who, quite understandably, attach more importance to the total amount of their remuneration than to the way in which it is made up, often do not regard with enough suspicion this method of payment, which leaves them at the mercy of a sudden (and perfectly "legal") withdrawal of all or part of the bonus.

Apart from this, the growing proportion of bonuses in the total earnings received by the workers gives the capitalists an additional means of putting pressure on their workers. For these bonuses depend, to a large extent, on the "goodwill" of the employers, and the workers may hesitate to undertake action in defence of their demands if thereby they would risk losing the bonus or at least having it reduced.

By this vicious procedure the employers have, in effect, succeeded in reviving the old system of *fines*, which is nevertheless forbidden by law.

* * *

THIS article, of course, has not exhausted the question of the employers' attempts to reduce real wages while increasing the intensity of labour by means of more or less novel methods of remuneration.

2It should be remembered in this connection that M. Pinay, who is Prime Minister and a manufacturer in the leather industry, was for a long time Vice-President of the Employers' Federation of this industry.

From the brief survey we have made it nevertheless appears that laws which appear most clearly and solidly established, such as those which provide for a guaranteed minimum wage for all trades or forbid fines, can always be circumvented in a thousand different ways by the employers if the working class relaxes its vigilance in the slightest. As long as we live under a capitalist regime and especially in a period of war economy within the framework of the "Atlantic" policy, the united working class will have to wage a daily battle, not only to win new successes, but also to impose the observance and application of advantages already won, even if they are "protected" by the letter of the law or by contractual agreements.

The second lesson arising out of this article is the necessity for the working class to require that basic wages should not, under any circumstances, be less than the guaranteed minimum wage. The struggle against regressive systems in any form must be waged at the same time.

In the third place, it is clear from these few facts that the working class has every interest in struggling to have the various bonuses which are today part of the total earnings made an integral part of the wage proper. The workers will thus make it harder for the employers to attempt to reduce wages and they will be incomparably freer with regard to their employers.

Finally, the fourth great lesson which we must bear in mind is that the capitalist class seeks by all means in its power to confuse the very notion of wages being the price of labour power.

By increasing the number of methods of payment and complicating them to their heart's content, the bourgeoisie seeks to cover up a very simple fact: that the workers, whatever their different specialities, have in common the fact that in order to live they are obliged to sell their labour power to the capitalist class. The sale of their labour power to the employers by the workers is the objective bond which links them all together, and this implies the absolute necessity of the unity of the working class.

The ideological clarification of these problems is thus also a method, which should not be overlooked, of ensuring the success of working class demands and of putting an end to the Atlantic policy of social reaction carried out by the employers and the government.

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Canadian Textile Workers Fight Back

INDEXED

By **R. KENT ROWLEY**
President Canadian Textile Council

At midnight, April 1, 6,000 cotton workers in Montreal and Valleyfield, Quebec, walked out on strike against the Dominion Textile Company, the largest textile manufacturer in Canada. Since that time, one of the bitterest fights for economic justice and Canadian independence has been waged. All the resources of the employer press, radio and other propaganda outlets have been used against us, the Quebec government, the police, the courts, plus a most treacherous stab in the back from United States "labour" leaders—and yet the workers have stood firm. The picket lines are solid; not a worker has crossed the lines.

The strike was preceded by eight months of negotiations, conciliation and arbitration. All legal machinery was exhausted to no avail. The company adamantly insisted upon breaking the spirit of the workers in its employ.

The Significance of the Strike

The issues involved are of paramount importance to all labour. Aside from the many secondary questions, important though they are, the two main items are: 1) wages; 2) productivity (i.e. contract procedures covering work loads, bonuses, piece-work rates, etc.) The union asked for $0.25 per hour increase (the average earned rate now is $0.98), plus a minimum rate of $1.50 per hour for the skilled crafts. The company refused any increase whatsoever during all negotiations until just before the strike deadline; when they offered 10%. On the productivity question, the union requested safeguards against speed-up by establishing negotiating procedure for work loads and production changes. The company insisted upon absolute freedom to change work loads and working conditions as it saw fit, plus the right to instal an "incentive bonus" plan that would radically affect the piece-work earnings of all workers by attaching them to greatly increased work loads. They also demanded a "management's rights" clause that would place power in the hands of the company to "hire, fire, classify, transfer from piece-work to hourly-work and vice versa"; and a whole string of conditions that would effectively destroy real collective bargaining during the life of the agreement. The company made no secret of the fact that it intends to enormously increase the exploitation of the workers to bring them to the productive level of the southern cotton mills of the United States. (Actually the productive efficiency of the struck mills is very high by world standards, one of the Montreal mills having an efficiency rate as high as any in America, and the big Valleyfield mill with 3,000 workers having a continuous 3-shift operation without even stopping for eating periods.)

The Strike-breaking Tactics of the Company

The company tried from the first night to break the strike by bringing in some 300 company guards, foremen, etc., to the Valleyfield mill with the idea of maintaining some semblance of operation. The workers reacted immediately in a pouring rain-storm and by 2.30 a.m. the last of the bosses was driven from company premises. Since that time, only a few maintenance personnel with union passes have been allowed to enter.

The workers of this company have been members for ten years of the United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. However, the Canadian union of some 15,000 members has been organized in Canada by Canadians without any help whatsoever from the American union "bosses."

From the outset, the company announced that it would not deal with the Canadian officers. When government intervention was sought, the Minister of Labour for Quebec, Antonio Barrette, made a public statement that he would not deal with our elected officers either, but would meet with such "responsible leaders as Roger Provost of the Quebec Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) or Claude Jodoin, President, Montreal Trades & Labour Council (A.F.L.). (This is the same Jodoin recently a delegate to the I.C.F.T.U. meetings in Rome). It was no secret that these gentlemen had been proposed by the company itself. It must be borne in mind that neither Provost nor Jodoin had anything whatsoever to do with the textile union or the industry, but are well-known reactionary company-collaborators and friends of the notorious anti-labour government of Premier Maurice Duplessis.

Provost and Jodoin issued statements accepting the government-company proposal and tried to solicit support of the strikers against their elected leaders, particularly the writer and Madeleine Parent, Quebec organizer of our union. However, they were repulsed and

the workers stood firm, understanding full well that the intent was to sell out the fight against speed-up.

Towards the eighth week of the strike, the International Secretary-Treasurer of our union, one Lloyd Klenert, came to Montreal ostensibly to aid in the solution of the strike and to bring additional financial relief to the suffering families. He appeared before our Joint Strike Committee with vague promises of solutions and help.

His real purpose became apparent, however, when three days later he called a press conference, announced the dismissal of the entire Canadian staff of the union, the appointment of Sam Baron, former blackballed leader of the rival C.I.O. textile federation, a notorious reactionary, now hired by the A.F.L. as Canadian director, and arrangements made to open negotiations with the Dominion Textile Company. He also announced that Roger Provost, the company-government agent, would be in charge of the strike. In the meantime, during the night, Klenert's agents smashed into the Canadian office of the union, broke the doors down, and made off with ten years of records, contracts, documents of all kinds, plus some $1,000 in cash that had been painfully collected at plant gates for relief.

Klenert, who is a typical American "labor" leader, completely docile to the instructions of the United States' State Department, had met the writer just prior to the above conduct and proposed a deal whereby these American bosses would generously consent to allow us to retain our positions if we would issue statements denouncing the progressive labour movement and agreeing to the "southernization" of the Canadian mills. It goes without saying that this insulting "offer" was thrown back in his teeth. Klenert's reply was that he had instructions to do a "hatchet job" on us and he was going to do it.

The entire press unleashed a vicious attack upon the strikers and their leaders, charging "irresponsibility," "communism," and a host of other things. Our strike headquarters in Montreal and Valleyfield were attacked by thugs with the aid of uniformed police, our Valleyfield organizer, Conrad Leblanc, was beaten and arrested. But our members fought back.

The Strikers' Reply

Our funds were completely tied up in court cases, so that all revenue either from our treasury or union dues from working members was immediately cut off. Attempts were made with hired thugs to take over the picket lines and in Valleyfield succeeded for a few days until our members rallied and, in a pitched battle at the plant gates, drove off the interlopers and re-established control. During the ensuing weeks, many of our members have been arrested and beaten. The propaganda and pressure has been tremendous. The police, without any warrant, have seized and occupied our Valleyfield strike headquarters. Meeting halls are everywhere denied to us, so that we must meet in fields at the city limits.

And yet the strike is still 100 per cent. The American racketeers have not been able to obtain sufficient support either to hold meetings themselves or to break our picket lines. At a meeting, hastily called, of the Canadian Council of our union, the elected members voted unanimously to sever the affiliation with the United Textile Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor. We are now an independent union under the name of the "Canadian Textile Council." We are fighting on all fronts to maintain our contracts in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. And we

A strike picket in front of the Dominion Textile Company.

are carrying the great load of the strike against these treacherous blows. Our greatest problem is to find the funds to feed our people and to maintain a minimum of necessary apparatus.

The Canadian Trade Union Situation

Here it should be remarked that organized Canadian labour is in a position peculiar to it alone. Canada is the only substantial independent nation in which the labour movement is a subsidiary affiliate subjected to the central control of a foreign nation. The Canadian Congress of Labor, with some 350,000 members, is the Canadian legislative body dominated by unions affiliated to the American C.I.O.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada with some 500,000 members is the central legislative body dominated by unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. There are some federal and national unions affiliated to both centres, but their voice is relatively weak and ineffective. Some years ago, under pressure of the rank and file discontent with foreign domination, the Trades and Labor Congress began an historic battle with the American Federation of Labor under the slogan "Co-operation: Yes! Domination: No!"

At the great Victoria convention of the congress in 1948, the decisive rank and file delegates' vote drowned out the reactionary wails of the paid A.F.L. officials there present. However, at the height of the struggle and with national support, President Percy Bengough and his associated officers backed down before the pressure of American interests and of our own Canadian government policy, and retreated in a most cowardly fashion into the comfortable arms of the A.F.L. hierarchy. This, of course, has been followed by expulsions of progressives and witch-hunting of a most destructive nature.

Alone of the important movements, the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor, largely concentrated in Quebec province, is a distinctly Canadian movement. With recent changes in leadership, that movement has taken on a much more honest trade union form—is now a real labour movement—and has conducted some of the most important industrial struggles in Quebec in the past few years. It represents some 90,000 workers.

This background is important to understand that, with the development of world politics and the role of world domination sought by American Big Business, the traditional fraternal relationship between Canadian and American labour has been transformed into outright domination and dictation by United States labour bureaucrats to their Canadian "branches." Canadian members must not only follow the organizational policies decided at American conventions, but must now in almost all cases adopt the foreign policy of the United States government as their own, or face reprisals, expulsions, etc. Many have been the "clean-ups" conducted by United States' union bosses in the ranks of Canadian labour, similar to that attempted in the instance of the striking textile workers of Quebec.

It should also be understood in connection with this fight that the issue of "speed-up" is of paramount importance to all labour. In the United States, the leaders of both A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions in

Members of the electrical workers' union in front of their union premises displaying food and money collected for the Dominion Textile Company strikers.

the textile industry long ago sold out the fight against intensified exploitation. Mouthing meaningless phrases, they handed over the workers to the bosses on a platter. It is clear, therefore, that they could not tolerate in their ranks even a small segment of organized textile workers who continued the battle against company profits and "speed-up." They decided that our union had to be destroyed if it could not be taken over.

Our union has not, contrary to employer propaganda, in any way opposed technological improvement in industrial methods. We have opposed simple increases in work loads without any technological improvement in methods or machinery. Or, in cases where it was acceptable, we agreed with the proviso that our members be compensated additionally for increased production. The employer program, that the American union bosses cynically agree to under the name of "Southernization," is simply one of increasing the work load with the same method of operation and the same machinery.

These two issues, Canadian independence in Canadian affairs in the labour movement, and a democratic fighting economic policy for the membership—are of great significance to all Canadian labour at this time. Our members have learned a lesson the bitter way. We have learned that the American labour bosses are the most treacherous enemies of the working class. We have learned that they seek to dominate world labour as colonials in the interests of their own pockets and the foreign policy of their reactionary government.

We shall emerge cleaner and stronger as a Canadian union honestly defending the interests of the workers.

☆ ☆ ☆

SINCE this article was written one of the most shameful betrayals of the workers in the history of Canada has taken place. On July 4, the strikers at the Dominion Textile Company were sold down the line by a combination of the Quebec government, the employers and the corrupt A.F.L. United Textile Workers.

In a statement issued to the press by Kent Rowley and Madeleine Parent, the Canadian Textile Council says:

"The so-called 'labour leaders' of the Textile Union (A.F.L.) have gone through betrayal, illegal procedures, police interference, phony negotiations, fraudulent vote and intimidation, in connivance with the Dominion Textile Company, to send the 6,000 textile strikers of Montreal and Valleyfield back to work.

"In spite of all this, Sam Baron and Roger Provost did not succeed in persuading the majority of Dominion Textile employees to go back to industrial slavery.

"After 96 days of solid strike, only about 25 per cent. of the strikers entered the mill in Valleyfield and 40 per cent. in Montreal. Many of them are thoroughly confused by a barrage of propaganda put on by the press and radio."

The statement goes on to reveal that only a few hundred of the strikers took part in the vote organised to decide on whether work should be resumed. Despite this, the announcement was made that a huge majority had decided to call off the strike and an "agreement" was immediately signed between the A.F.L. officials and the company.

In this agreement, the A.F.L. officials agreed to accept an 11 cents rise and to accept the very speed-up clauses rejected by the workers when they went on strike in April. This gives the company the right to: "... change the wages, the work loads, to fire, transfer, classify, lay-off or suspend any worker."

On July 7, the author of this article, together with 10 other trade unionists, was arrested at Valleyfield when seeking to persuade workers not to return to the mill.

Canada has not heard the last of this long and bitter struggle for wage increases, against speed-up and for the national independence of the textile workers' union against the attacks of the corrupt A.F.L. organisation. Solidarity and assistance for the Canadian Textile Council is required. The magnificent struggle of the Canadian textile workers must not go unrecognised. Messages and material expressions of solidarity should be sent to:—

Madeleine Parent,
Secretary,
Canadian Textile Council,
4030 Notre-Dame St., West,
Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

In The Light Of Experience

● *An interview with Berthus Brandsen, General Secretary of the Dutch unity trade union centre E.V.C., Vice-President of the W.F.T.U*

WE asked Berthus Brandsen to give us a picture of the present situation of the Dutch workers, and the General Secretary of the E.V.C. explained the position to us as follows:

QUESTION—What are the consequences of the war policy of the Dutch government on the workers' living standards and the economy of your country?

ANSWER—It is clear that this policy has the same consequences for Holland as for the other countries of Western Europe—a lowering of the workers' living standards and a considerable increase in unemployment and poverty. The government's own statistics recognise that the standard of living has fallen by 15 per cent as compared with 1948, and that the number of unemployed is now 150,000.

Another serious consequence of this policy is the intensification of exploitation of the workers. One can note, especially in the factories working for war, a tendency on the one hand to lengthen the working day, and on the other hand, to reduce wages to a marked degree, while a crisis continues to develop in all sectors of peace production.

Naturally, social insurance also suffers in order to pay for the policy of poverty and war preparation. Without wishing to enter into details, I would recall that the Dutch government is preparing several important changes in the functioning of sickness insurance, changes which would have a disastrous effect on the budgets of workers' families. Even more serious, however, is the attack made by the government on unemployment allowances, which have been reduced, after various parliamentary manoeuvres, to a sinister and tragic farce. The contributions paid by the workers have been considerably increased, above all in branches of peace production such as agriculture and building, which are suffering most sharply from the burden of unemployment. In certain cases, the contribution is as high as 15 per cent of wages. Even worse still, the law on unemployment which came into force on July 1 does not apply to workers who were employed at that date. This means in practice that the government grants no allowance whatever to the 150,000 workers at present unemployed.

Parallel with this there is a growing impoverishment of the middle class, hit by the decline in the purchasing power of the wage-earners and by the anti-national, commercial and industrial policy of the government, tied to the interests of Washington. It is enough to point out that the present rate of bankruptcies is seven per day.

The economic situation is continually worsening, and ever wider sections of the population are becoming aware of it.

The Dutch government—or rather, the Atlantic government—is, of course, doing everything possible to prevent trade with the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. However, the Moscow International Economic Conference made a considerable contribution to clarifying the situation. The reports presented by the Dutch delegates on their return from the conference are enabling the representatives of small and medium industry to understand better the imperative need for trade with the East.

QUESTION—In the situation created by this policy, what are the most serious problems to be solved by the workers, and what slogans and forms of struggle are advanced by the progressive trade unions?

ANSWER—As we have said, the essential problems at present are unemployment and the fall in the standard of living. The E.V.C., which is the smallest of the four Dutch trade union centres, is striving to mobilise the workers, to unite them and to get them to enter the struggle under the slogan "Work, Homes and Prosperity."

To this end, the E.V.C. has drawn up a plan which, after explaining the underlying reasons for the present situation, proposes a new policy for the country which is capable of bringing into being an economic policy in the service of the nation, and suggests the concrete forms of struggle. This plan, which has been published in pamphlet form, has had a wide mass circulation, and a vast programme of conferences and meetings is planned in order to discuss it. Many conferences have already been held, with the broad participation of workers affiliated to other trade union organisations, and they have been very successful. It is a matter now of studying, workshop by workshop and factory by factory, the concrete problems of production within the framework

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Following an old tradition, the fishing fleet is dressed with flags for the opening of the herring fishing. The tradition was also observed this year, with the difference that the ships did not go to sea, the fishermen being on srtike.

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Amsterdam building workers on strike.

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A view of the impressive unemployed workers' congress which took place this year at The Hague.

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of the plan and of making it an effective weapon in the hands of the workers, adapting concrete actions to the given situations.

For example, six months ago, inspired by the magnificent experience of the Italian workers, we waged a successful "reverse strike" for the remaking of a country road. This form of struggle has provided us with valuable lessons, and has shown itself to be an excellent means of mobilising the unemployed. Adopting another method, the E.V.C. recently organised a group of Amsterdam unemployed to get a petition signed by the inhabitants of a district demanding the repair of a road that was in a bad condition. The blueprints covering the work to be carried out, together with an estimate of the costs, were prepared by civil engineers, who were won over to our project. This action was also successful. The mayor was forced by the pressure of public opinion to allocate the necessary money for the carrying out of the work. This little experience has a great importance in our eyes, for it enables us to show that with the solidarity of the masses we can win satisfaction for just demands.

I have already said that there are around 150,000 unemployed in Holland. Aware of the need to organise the fight for work on the basis of very broad unity, the E.V.C. has taken the initiative of creating committees for the fight against unemployment throughout the country, in which Catholic, Protestant, Communist, Social-Democratic and non-party workers are taking part. At the recent congress of these committees, the general report was presented by a worker-member of the reformist trade union centre. The unity standpoint of the E.V.C. is continually increasing its influence, and the organisation of the unemployed, which is one of the first steps in this direction, is making rapid progress.

But it goes without saying that all these problems of an economic character cannot be separated from all the more general national and international problems. That is why the E.V.C. is trying to draw the workers' attention to the need to defend democracy, national independence and peace, and is organising the fight against war production, and for peace production. It is the mobilising force in demonstrations against the American occupiers and against "Americanism," which is undermining Dutch life, and it is giving keen support to the peace movement.

On the basis of the fight for the defence of democracy, its influence has grown considerably, particularly among civil servants, who are threatened with dismissal for the least activity in favour of peace or for workers' demands.

QUESTION—What is the attitude of the reactionary trade union leaders to the unity policy of the E.V.C.?

ANSWER—In Holland, as in all other countries, the great monopolies give the reactionary trade union leaders very precise tasks to perform. On the one hand, to break the unity of the working class and to mislead it ideologically in order to rob it of its militancy, and on the other hand, to defend to the utmost the employers' interests by betrayal and blackmail.

Examples? Here are two of the most recent and most significant. First, the strike of 2,500 wage-earning fishermen for an improvement in their living standard, which ended, thanks to the "good offices" of the reactionary trade union leaders, in a patched-up compromise favourable to the employers.

Second, the recent strike of the workers of a tyre factory in defence of their wages. In this factory, despite the intention of the management to reduce wages by from 7 to 8 florins a week, the reactionary trade union leaders refused to conform to the will of the workers. When, in spite of their attitude, the workers stopped work in a spirit of militant unity, the reactionary trade union leaders acted within the strike committee elected on the initiative of the E.V.C. in such a way as to mislead the workers, to make them give up the struggle and to accept defeat as inevitable. Naturally, the E.V.C. took the opportunity of exposing this policy of betrayal of the interests of the working class.

As a result of our precise and documented exposure during the course of these two strikes, many workers affiliated to other trade union organisations have begun to open their eyes and to understand who are the real defenders of their interests and on what side are the defenders of the employers' interests. The workers are becoming aware of the fact that rank and file unity is the best weapon of the working class, the surest token of their success, and that the united will to struggle is not enough in itself, but that it is necessary to organise this will in order to make it active. The fishermen's strike in particular showed in a dramatic way the absolute necessity of not abandoning the leadership of a struggle to disloyal trade union leaders, but of entrusting it to a strike committee formed of their own workmates democratically chosen from among the most active workers, those who are most worthy of confidence and who have already proved their militancy and their capacity to lead the workers to victory without weakness and hesitation. In the same way, the tyre factory strike showed that it is not enough to elect a strike committee in order to win a trade union battle, but that a constant and organised check on the work of this committee by the workers themselves is indispensable.

In conclusion, I would like to say that these two strikes also provide lessons for the E.V.C. They have revealed certain inadequacies on the part of our young organisation, both as regards our role as active leaders of the workers and in relation to our duty to expose continuously and implacably the policy of the reactionary trade union leaders. During the coming months we intend to carry out widespread trade union education, especially directed to our young cadres, by means of special pamphlets and the organisation of hundreds of meetings, during which we shall study seriously the experience of our struggle and of the trade union movement of other countries.

It is clear that the strengthening of our trade union machinery is one of our constant and essential preoccupations, and the surest guarantee of success in the struggles which lie ahead.

Interview with G. Colombo.

Despite Fascism in Paraguay

INDEXED

Workers Take Offensive

by JUAN ACOSTA

Secretary of the Workers' Council of Paraguay

FOR five years Paraguay has been in the grip of a savage regime of fascist dictatorship. This regime has wiped out all trade union liberties and individual guarantees; it has shed the blood of democratic and progressive forces within the working class movement, and has forced upon the workers a government trade union organisation whose purpose is to smash the workers' movements for their demands and to discourage any hope of better living conditions.

Since 1947, the great trade union centre of the Paraguayan workers, the Confederation of Workers of Paraguay (C.T.P.), which is now the Workers' Council of Paraguay, has been working under the strictest conditions of illegality. This trade union centre was one of the most active in setting up the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.). At present, the only legal trade union centre, the Paraguayan Workers' Confederation (C.P.T.), is led by well-known government and police agents who are systematically betraying the workers' interests.

The clandestine Workers' Council of Paraguay is trying to show the workers a correct policy. It consistently exposes the C.P.T. leaders and points out that the way of unity and action at the place of work is the sole means of improving the workers' situation.

The Council came up against great difficulties during the first years of illegality. First there were the inevitable difficulties arising from the clandestine character of its work which tended to cut it off from the mass of the workers, and then there were the specific characteristics of the workers with whom it had to deal. The fascist government, in fact, proceeded to carry out a mass influx into industry of agricultural workers from the most backward regions of the country, who had previously been indoctrinated by the propaganda services of the government party. They thus constituted a new working class, as yet without any class feelings, who not only opposed any action, but who also made it practically impossible at the beginning to achieve workers' unity.

Despite all these difficulties, and after rooting out some remnants of sectarianism which hampered its mass action, the Council, during the past year, succeeded in making the workers aware of their united strength and of the possibility of forcing the employers and the government to retreat. By constant application of its policy of rank and file united action, workshop by workshop and factory by factory, helping the workers to formulate their most urgent demands—wage increases, payment of the legal end-of-year bonus, application of the laws of a 6-hour day for unhealthy work, etc.—the Workers' Council of Paraguay appeared before the workers as *the* real organisation defending their interests against the rapacity of the employers, while the complicity of the C.P.T. trade union leaders and the employers became daily more apparent as the level of the workers' struggles was raised by the application of this correct united action policy.

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MANY successful struggles took place during the past year, most of them being centred on the defence of the bonuses won in 1946 during the period of

the democratic government which preceded the fascist *coup d'etat*, and on demands for wage increases and an end to the law on dismissals. Some of these struggles are worthy of special attention.

First of all, we should draw attention to the successful movement of September, 1951, which gained a general 50 per cent wage increase.

This movement began among the bakery workers, the great majority of whom belonged to the new working class brought in from the country areas. In fact, almost all of them were members of the government party. Workers of many other trades joined in the struggle, railwaymen, dockers, building workers, etc., also presenting wage claims. More than 250 broadly based delegations were mandated by the workers to present their demands to the public authorities. The culminating point of this movement was the bakers' strike, which lasted a month, and which was outstanding for its high degree of militancy. The forces of repression, the police and the C.P.T. leaders went round to the workers' homes to force them to go to work. Many who refused were arrested and taken to prison. As they were taken away in trucks they shouted their slogans and demands. Their wives and children came to the trade union meetings to demand their release.

Faced with an extension of the movement, the government was forced to decree a general 50 per cent wage increase. Though the subsequent rise in the prices of consumer's goods practically wiped out the wage increase, this victory by the workers has nevertheless had tremendous repercussions in the minds of the workers, and it is of very great importance for the rebuilding of the workers' movement in Paraguay.

A few months later, the lumberjacks employed by the important American Puerto Sastre tannin enterprise took part in a fight for wages. These workers, who work in the depths of the jungle, nearly two hundred miles from the port of embarkation, are among the most exploited and poverty-stricken in the country. After a meeting held in the depths of the forest, a delegation of lumberjacks visited the offices of the government trade union's secretariat for the enterprise to demand the calling of a full meeting of lumberjacks to discuss the problem of wages with a trade union representative in attendance. This meeting took place a few days later, and in spite of all the diversions attempted by the trade union secretary, the workers adopted a resolution demanding that the secretary should hold talks with the management of the enterprise with a view to obtaining a wage increase of 1 "guarani" per cubic metre of wood. This meeting also decided to meet again a fortnight later to hear a report on the development of the matter. A fortnight passed, and the trade union gave no sign of life, so the meeting was held without any trade union representative present. It decided to delegate a commission of five members to visit the port in order to inform themselves on the situation and to take the appropriate measures. Arriving at Puerto Sastre, the commission discovered that the trade union secretary had not even raised the matter with the management. They went themselves to the central offices of the enterprise and made strong demands for an immediate wage increase and the improvement of working conditions, especially for the regular supply of drinking water in the forest cuttings. The firmness and the militant tone of the commission forced the management to give way and to meet the workers' demands.

Encouraged by the lumberjacks' victory, the gauchos employed by the same enterprise also decided to demand a wage increase. They began by approaching the official trade union, as the lumberjacks had done. The trade union promised to deal with the matter, but days went by without any satisfactory reply. They also then decided to go to Puerto Sastre en masse to take up their demands themselves. One morning, the population of Puerto Sastre saw about a hundred mounted gauchos riding into town in a cloud of dust, come from the various grazing lands to demand an increase in their miserable wages. The management was forced to give in to this deployment of the united strength of the workers. A further victory was thus won by the workers of the Puerto Sastre tannin enterprise, one of the most important in the country.

Another struggle which we think it important to mention is that of the railwaymen. These workers have to deal with British imperialism, the railways of Paraguay belonging to a British company.

After having succeeded in winning wage increases at the beginning of the year, ranging from twenty to thirty per cent according to categories, the 1,500 railwaymen are at present fighting for a one hundred per cent wage increase, for the signing and immediate application of the collective agreement which has been under consideration at the Ministry of Labour for a year, and for the election of a new leading committee of the government trade union.

The present leaders of the trade union have systematically betrayed the workers, opposing all demands for wage increases and openly siding with the employers. They approved, and even applauded, the employers' decision to ban the meetings of the employees which continue to take place in all the stations, workshops and depots. It is precisely in the course of these meetings, which are still being held despite the employers' threats, that the workers are unanimously demanding the replacement of the traitor leaders by a committee democratically elected by the whole of the railwaymen.

The Paraguayan railwaymen's fight is still proceeding at the time of writing this article. It is gaining in scope every day, and extending to the most distant sections of the railway system. Following the correct line given by the Council, the railwaymen are strengthening their united action, knowing that their final victory depends upon this unity.

Other movements are at present in progress. We mention particularly those of the seamen and dockers, who are also demanding a one hundred per cent wage increase, the peasants, who are fighting against the extremely low price for cotton imposed by the government, and the building workers, who are continually sending delegations to the Ministry of Labour to demand wage increases.

It is unnecessary to emphasise that all these struggles are being waged in line with the policy laid down by the Workers' Council of Paraguay and, as we have seen, in spite of and against the leaders of the official trade union, the C.P.T.

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THE C.P.T. leaders have been completely exposed during these struggles. It is now quite a normal thing in the general assemblies of the trade unions for the leaders of the official unions affiliated to the C.P.T. and the C.P.T. leaders themselves to be called employers' agents and traitors to the working class. In trade union meetings, as was the case recently in the meeting of a trade union branch attached to a textile enterprise, the workers refused to hold discussions in the presence of these so-called leaders. On the other hand, the meetings called at the places of work very often ask for advice and direction from the leaders of the Workers' Council. During recent months several militants of the Council have been appointed by general assemblies held at the places of work to be members of leading trade union commissions, naturally against furious opposition from the C.P.T. leaders.

More and more, the workers are contributing financially to the development of the Workers' Council's propaganda, thus enabling the distribution in the enterprises of many leaflets published by the Council in which the workers' demands are stated.

There is every reason to believe that this upsurge of workers' struggles, which is developing on the basis of broad unity of action and under the direction of the Workers' Council of Paraguay, will make it possible to defend effectively the interests of the mass of the workers and of the Paraguayan nation, stimulating the regrouping of all the progressive forces in the fight for the improvement of the workers' living conditions, for independence and freedom.

For the Release of Obdulio Barthe

EXTREMELY alarming news reaches us from Paraguay about the situation of the great leader of the Paraguayan workers. Obdulio Barthe, held for the last two years in the jails of the dictator Chavez.

We learn, that in spite of the order for his release given on July 14 by the judge of the Civil Court, an order which had given rise to tremendous demonstrations of joy throughout the country, Obdulio Barthe, whose health is in grave danger, is still under arrest. The only result of the court order was Barthe's transfer from the Asuncion Prison to the cells of the judiciary police, so that the government was able to announce cynically in the official gazette that, in conformity with the court sentence, Barthe had been released from prison. Thus, the blood-stained dictator Chavez defies the most elementary principles of the rights of man and violates his own legal system.

Thousands of protest telegrams arrive every day at the dictator's palace. For its part, the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which has already expressed its solidarity on several occasions with the Paraguayan workers in their struggle against the Chavez fascist dictatorship, has sent them the following telegram of protest dated August 9:

"The World Federation of Trade Unions in the name of 80 million affiliated workers demands that the order of Judge Bareiro Velasquez concerning the immediate release of the working class and people's leader Obdulio Barthe be carried out."

The Trade Union Movement and the Problem of National Languages

by JIM HOLLYMAN

ONE of the important aspects of imperialist oppression and the fight for national and colonial liberation is the problem of national languages. Unfortunately, it is a problem about which there are many misunderstandings in the trade union movement of the metropolitan countries and often many misconceptions and under-estimations in the trade union movement of the colonial countries. The worker in an imperialist country has not normally experienced the suppression of his right to use his own language, and where he has it has rarely been as extensive as in a colonial country. In the colonial countries, on the other hand, there has often been a tendency to concentrate on the language of the major nationality (or nationalities) and to neglect those of the minor national groups; this naturally weakens the overall trade union movement.

Yet the language question is coming more and more to the fore as an essential feature in the fight to unite the colonial trade union movement. Readers of *Teachers of the World* (journal of the World Federation of Teachers Unions, Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), will have read the series of articles on the language question in North Africa, and will know what a burning issue the fight for education in the mother tongue has become.

The problem of the national language concerns, of course, much more than education. It also comes up in legislation and in the law courts (can the native worker understand the law, argue his case or testify in his own language?); in the press (are there any vernacular newspapers?), radio and cinema, and cultural activities generally. If the official language—the language of law and government—is other than the national language, how does this affect the worker's job, particularly if he is a civil servant?

The vital importance of this question can thus be clearly understood. If the national language is suppressed or restricted, the colonial worker's prospects are restricted in relation to his work, education, legal defence, sources of information, and cultural activities. And if there are several national groups, with no equality of national rights recognised among themselves, then the resultant disunity can only further serve the common exploiter.

In such circumstances neither the metropolitan trade union movement nor the trade union movement in the colonies can afford to have any misconceptions on this question, and their policy must be clearly explained to the mass of workers. Only on such a basis can there be effective co-operation and unity among them.

It is important to stress that all aspects of the language problem must be considered. The following will serve as an illustration of this. The Somalis of North-eastern Africa are a Moslem people to whom the British imperialists have consistently tried to introduce the 'benefits' of imperialist education. The Somali language is unwritten—it has no alphabet. The British proposed to use a Roman script, like that used for English, to write it down. This was in complete contradiction with the Somalis' Moslem tradition, because the Koran is written in Arabic characters. The Somali people resisted this plan, along with other anti-popular aspects of the 'education' scheme, by what the British termed "riots." The only way the British rulers have been able to "solve" the problem created by their rejection of national traditions has been to sidestep the question of written Somali by making Arabic the medium of instruction for elementary education.[1] Somali and Arabic are different languages, but the British are counting on the religious tradition to help them impose Arabic as a language, so opening the way to the use of Pan-Islamism as a diversionary manoeuvre.

Thus the imperialist attack on the national character of the Somalis extends to questions like the type of script to be used for an unwritten language, and in resisting it, the Somalis were counter-attacking against the whole imperialist "education" plan.[2]

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1 **See Somaliland Protectorate,** Education Department: **Annual Report 1950.**

2 Readers in the U.S.A. will recall that under the old slave code conditions, Negro slaves on Southern plantations were forbidden to learn to write or read.

Belittling the National Language

IMPERIALIST policy on the question of national languages is very varied, but whatever the variations it has one basic aim: to belittle the national language and thereby strike at the economic, political, cultural and historical unity of the people under its rule. Where economic and political life are carried on in the language of the imperialist oppressor, the native workers are at an immediate disadvantage, and those among them who are favoured and helped to learn the imperialists' language are expected to share the aims of the imperialists. Similarly with cultural activities. The aim here is to cut off the mass from the mainstream of life, and to allow a privileged few to enjoy participation in it jointly with the exploiters of their own people.

Where a colony has several nationalities, and therefore several national languages, imperialist policy is to favour the languages of certain (usually major) groups in order to help the overall "divide and rule" policy. Or again, the imperialists will use the existence of many languages as an excuse to impose a "neutral" language, or their own language, as the official means of social communication; examples of these "neutral" languages are Swahili in East Africa and Hausa in West Africa. The picture will become clearer if we quote some examples.

Of Greenland the United Nations Report on Non-Self-Governing Territories says: "Eskimo is the native tongue, but Danish is taught in all Greenland schools . . . Educational problems arise from . . . the expansion of education in the Danish language." In Cyprus,[3] although in the majority of schools the children get their education in Greek or Turkish, the *official* language of the colony (for legislation and so on) is English. In the United States colony of Hawaii, says the U.N. Report mentioned above, "language is the major problem in education. English is the sole medium of instruction." Similarly, in the U.S.-dominated Philippines where the majority of the people speak Tagalog (there are also smaller national groups with their own languages), the official language of primary (elementary) education is English.[4] In 1898, when the United States took over the island of Guam a completely segregated life was established in the schools where only English was permitted. The language of the 50,000 inhabitants of the island, Chamorro, was forbidden in the government service and the Navy gathered together and burned all the dictionaries of the Chamorro language.[5] Even under what passes for a relatively liberal rule, in the Cook Islands (under New Zealand control) where instruction is in Maori, the vernacular language, and legislation is published in both Maori and English, the Cook Islands Act of 1915 (para. 90) states clearly that whenever the interpretation of the law is in question then English is the predominant language.

While the multiplicity of national languages in a colony is often used as an excuse to impose the imperialists' language as the medium of communication and particularly of education, effective knowledge of this language is a jealously-guarded privilege which is granted only to those who, it is expected, will faithfully serve the imperialist master. Two examples show the extent to which the imperialists stoop. In the British colony of Sarawak[6] (in Borneo), where English teaching is far from widespread and Malay with a Roman alphabet is the enforced common language, the difficulties arising from this policy affect among other sections the police force; but here the difficulty is being resolved by giving the police concentrated English courses, thus distinguishing them further from the rest of the population and giving them a common bond with their rulers. Similarly, in the British Uganda "Protectorate,"[7] where less than 2s. per head per annum is spent on African education (mainly in local languages) as against 240s. per head for European education, successful candidates in Army literacy tests are paid a bonus: the only language bonuses quoted are for Swahili (the British-sponsored common language) and English.

Language Policy and Bourgeois Nationalism

ENOUGH examples have been given to show the character of this language repression and to make clear the pattern of imperialist policy. It is evident that the trade union movement in the colonial countries should regard language as one of the many problems on which policy must be clear and unequivocal if the workers are to be fully mobilised irrespective of their national grouping and unity achieved. It must be a primary essential of their policy that the right of all minorities to use freely their own language be fully recognised. Where a minority national group has no written language or lacks cultural or educational facilities through imperialist oppression, major national groups must give assistance from the beginning and so build up co-operation on a sound, friendly basis. This has not always been recognised, as the following examples will show.

In Indonesia,[8] the concentration of the national movement on Bahasa Indonesia as the overall

3 **Colonial Reports: Cyprus 1949** (Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1950).

4 **Philippine Journal of Education,** quoted in **International Union of Students' News Service,** 21.11.51.

5 See **Guam and Its People,** by Laura Thompson (Princeton University Press, 1947).

6 **Colonial Reports: Sarawak 1950** (H.M.S.O. 1951).

7 **Colonial Reports: Uganda 1950** (1951).

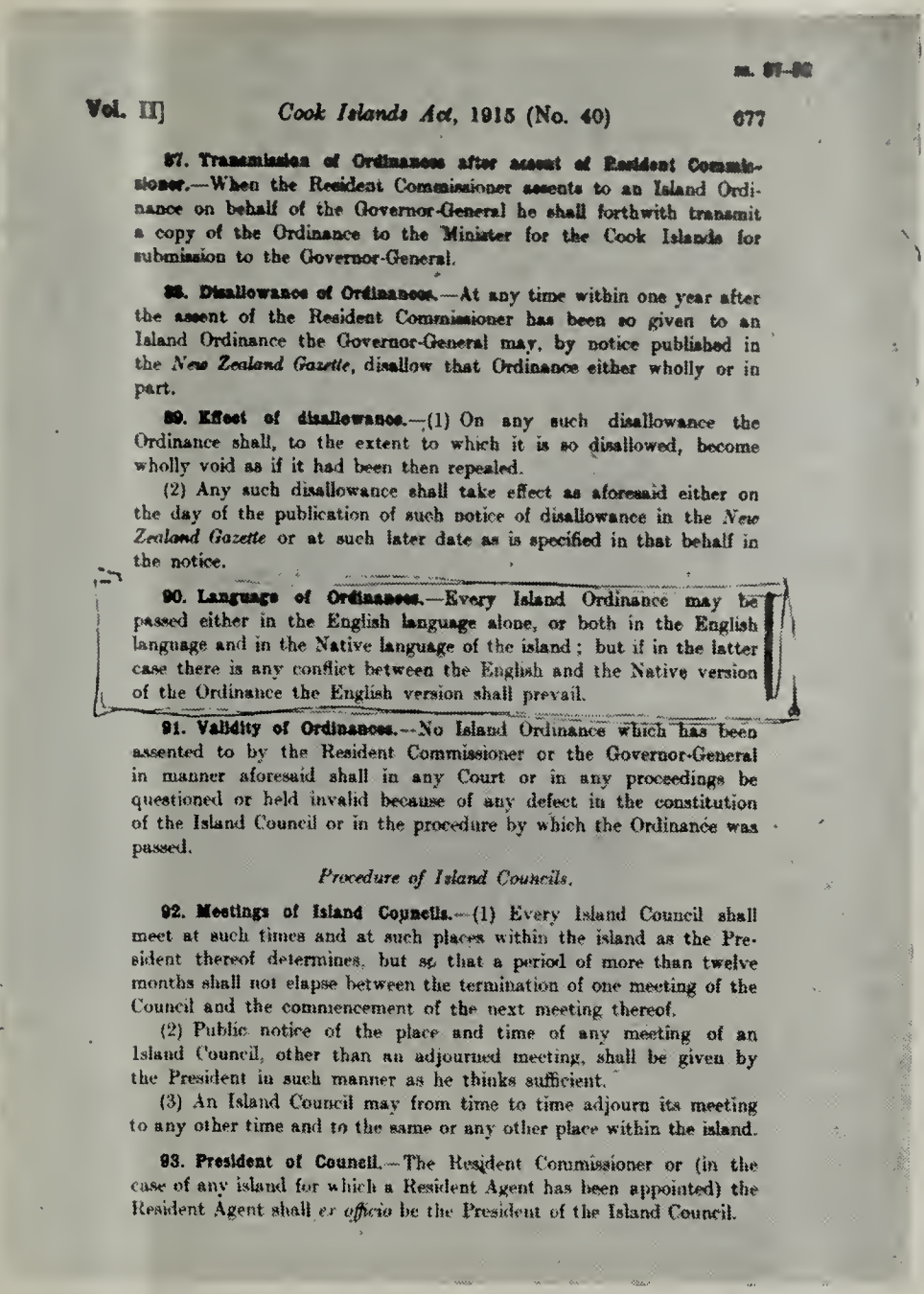
8 See the U.N. Report on Non-Self-Governing Territories 1948 (U.N.O. 1949); G. I. Begley, **Indonesia in the Making,** in **Eastern World** June 1950; **Indonesia Fights** (pamphlet issued by the Indonesian delegation to the 2nd World Youth Festival, 1949); **Impetus** (published by Unesco), Nov.-Dec. 1950; and Indonesian Government publications such as **Indonesian Information.**

national language has led to a neglect of the problem of Indonesia's other languages. There are 17 groups of languages in Indonesia and over 200 dialects. One language, Javanese, is spoken by 24 million people of Indonesia's total 72 million. There is little doubt that dissatisfaction arising from the drive for compulsory education in Bahasa Indonesia has helped Dutch intrigues since the winning of independence. It is clear that if the trade union movement is to gain a really all-Indonesian character it must take up the question of national language (as part of the national problem in general) and carry out a straightforward policy.

In the Indian subcontinent, there are some hundreds of distinct nationalities each with their own language. The Nehru government is following the old British imperialist policy of favouring one major nationality as a means of splitting the united movement. The Constituent Assembly decided that "Hindi in the Devenagri script . . . should be the State language" of India, but that for "a transitional period of 15 years English should continue to be used."[9] The continued use of English confirmed in their places those civil servants and other state officials who have served British imperialism well, and placed a barrier in the way of non-English speaking government workers. Nehru, in fact, went so far as to say that English must inevitably "continue to be a most important language in India, which a large number of people will learn and perhaps learn compulsorily." (*Times of India,* 14.9.49). One typical result of this policy has been the replacement of Urdu by English in all examinations in the Osmania University in Hyderabad, and this particular anti-national act has been roundly condemned by the peasant leaders in the area (*Pakistan Times,* 27.8.50) who have thus shown their appreciation of the language question.

In Pakistan, the imposition of Urdu as the state language, while not yet made official, has been carried out slowly but steadily, despite representations from national groups speaking Bengali, Pushtu and other languages. In February this year, this policy brought strong reaction from the people of East Pakistan, most of whom speak Bengali. Police charged and fired on demonstrations in Dacca, killing or injuring many people. Yet the leaders of the Bengali national movement, in conducting their own campaign, call for *two* state languages —Bengali and Urdu (*London...Times,* 28.2.52), neglecting completely the claims of other nationalities.

It is, therefore, clear that the bourgeois nationalist leaders continue in the main the same old imperialist - founded policy on the language question. Unfortunately, the example is rare of the trade union movement in these countries taking up the question and building the wide unity that the official disruptive policy makes not only urgently necessary but also immediately possible.



Vol. II] *Cook Islands Act*, 1915 (No. 40) 677

87. Transmission of Ordinances after assent of Resident Commissioner.—When the Resident Commissioner assents to an Island Ordinance on behalf of the Governor-General he shall forthwith transmit a copy of the Ordinance to the Minister for the Cook Islands for submission to the Governor-General.

88. Disallowance of Ordinances.—At any time within one year after the assent of the Resident Commissioner has been so given to an Island Ordinance the Governor-General may, by notice published in the *New Zealand Gazette*, disallow that Ordinance either wholly or in part.

89. Effect of disallowance.—(1) On any such disallowance the Ordinance shall, to the extent to which it is so disallowed, become wholly void as if it had been then repealed.

(2) Any such disallowance shall take effect as aforesaid either on the day of the publication of such notice of disallowance in the *New Zealand Gazette* or at such later date as is specified in that behalf in the notice.

90. Language of Ordinances.—Every Island Ordinance may be passed either in the English language alone, or both in the English language and in the Native language of the island; but if in the latter case there is any conflict between the English and the Native version of the Ordinance the English version shall prevail.

91. Validity of Ordinances.—No Island Ordinance which has been assented to by the Resident Commissioner or the Governor-General in manner aforesaid shall in any Court or in any proceedings be questioned or held invalid because of any defect in the constitution of the Island Council or in the procedure by which the Ordinance was passed.

Procedure of Island Councils.

92. Meetings of Island Councils.—(1) Every Island Council shall meet at such times and at such places within the island as the President thereof determines, but so that a period of more than twelve months shall not elapse between the termination of one meeting of the Council and the commencement of the next meeting thereof.

(2) Public notice of the place and time of any meeting of an Island Council, other than an adjourned meeting, shall be given by the President in such manner as he thinks sufficient.

(3) An Island Council may from time to time adjourn its meeting to any other time and to the same or any other place within the island.

93. President of Council.—The Resident Commissioner or (in the case of any island for which a Resident Agent has been appointed) the Resident Agent shall *ex officio* be the President of the Island Council.

A page from the Cook Islands' Act. A characteristic example of discrimination with regard to the native language is shown by Article 90.

Languages Under Socialism

THE policy to be adopted by the trade unions is indicated not only by the practical needs of their every day activities but also by the situation in the U.S.S.R. There all nationalities are on an equal footing, and enjoy full national rights including the use of their own language for all purposes (see in particular articles 21, 35, 37, 40, 110, 121, 123 of the Soviet Constitution.[10] Nationalities which had no writ-

[9] Times of India, 15.9.49.

[10] The Constitutions of the Peoples' Democracies should also be consulted.

ten language have been provided with alphabets chosen on a scientific basis in accordance with their national traditions. Education, legal proceedings, etc., are all in the national tongue. The same path is being followed by the Peoples' Democracies.

The example of Rumania can be stated briefly, and will serve to typify them all. Before the people took power the non-Rumanian nationalities were not allowed to use their mother tongue in dealings with the state apparatus. On the pretext that they lacked knowledge of the Rumanian language, many thousands of employees of various institutions were dismissed from their jobs, swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Under the entertainment tax law of 1926, shows performed in non-Rumanian languages were subjected to a tax three times as high as the tax on plays performed in the Rumanian language. Now, in the Peoples' Republic, the various nationalities have full rights to use their own languages in all dealings with the government; they have freedom of the press and of expression in their own languages; and the extent to which they have the same right in education is shown by the figures for schools: 2,559 Hungarian, 548 German, 37 Russian, 139 Ukrainian, 13 Bulgarian, 69 Serbian, 32 Slovakian, 8 Polish, 8 Czech, 9 Croatian, 10 Jewish, 23 Turkish, 64 Tartar, 7 Greek.

Probably the most striking example of how seriously this question is treated by peoples' governments is provided by the Chinese People's Republic, where there are more than one hundred autonomous national regions. The Chunchun nationality, *which numbers about* 1,000 *people,* has its own regional autonomous rule, which includes naturally the right to use its own language.[11] Compare this with the imposition of compulsory education in a common language as is the case in Indonesia, or the action of British imperialism in attempting to enforce Arabic on the Somali people.

* * *

THE trade union movement in the colonies cannot stand aside from this problem, because it is an essential one in the building of unity. The right to use the national language must be freely recognised, and practised within the trade union movement. The right to learn a major language of international communication must also be won, to ensure full contact with the international trade union movement.

The metropolitan trade union movements must also be ready to provide solidarity and assistance in this as in all other campaigns of the colonial trade unions. The international movement, and in particular the W.F.T.U., must make possible an exchange of experience on this problem along with others already dealt with. In the fight for unity no factor can be left aside.

[11] New China News Agency Daily Bulletin, 19.12.51.

For the Unity of Mineworkers

By H. Turrel,
General Secretary, Miners' Trade Unions International.

THE meeting of the Administrative Committee, which was held in Bucharest (Rumania) from July 15 to 18, 1952, coincided with the third anniversary of the formation of the Miners' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.).

The Administrative Committee was therefore in a position to ascertain the important results obtained during those three years of activity. The Miners' Trade Unions International succeeded in establishing close contact with a great many trade union organisations, even in those countries where the National Centres are not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. It has aroused active international solidarity and has developed a wide exchange of correspondence and delegations. More and more, the miners' struggles in the capitalist and colonial countries are taking place on the basis of the slogans and programme of the Trade Unions International, which is proof of the miners' growing confidence in the Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.

The growing influence of the Trade Unions International imposes new and heavier responsibilities upon it to strengthen and render more effective and more permanent the help given to the workers; to make a still closer analysis of the miners' struggles; to study more deeply the particular demands of the mining profession and to make its rich experience of struggle more widely known.

GREATER MOURNING, INCREASED POVERTY

THE Administrative Committee dealt particularly with the growing number of work accidents, of death and injury in the mines of the capitalist countries.

In a special resolution, it calls on all trade union organisations to oppose energetically the intensified exploitation, increased speed-up, the lengthening of the working day, "economy measures" and other means which the capitalist exploiters are trying to introduce in order to increase their profits at the expense of the safety, health and lives of the miners.

Let us take some striking examples of the effects of this criminal policy of the mining employers.

In South Africa, on March 17, in a gold mine, eight miners were killed by the collapse of the roof, the supports being inadequate. Three other mine disasters occurred recently in South Africa.

As a result of the violation of safety regulations, on March 3 at Welkon, a gas explosion killed 17 workers.

In the Nerriespruit mine, at the beginning of March, the floor of the cage gave way and 15 workers were thrown to the bottom of the pit, 7 being killed.

On February 8, in the Nortfields mine, the cable of the cage broke: 15 killed. The underground banksman had pointed out to the engineer only that morning that there were strange noises as the cage went up, but no inspection was made. No measure had been taken to replace the worn-out cable, for this replacement, besides the expense of the new cable, would have meant a temporary hold-up in the extraction.

In Belgium there were 15 killed in a single week during the month of June: 4 by a fall of earth, 10 by a gas explosion, and 1 by an inrush of water.

The fall was the result of the system advised by the Americans in order to reduce the cost of production.

The firm of the American Robinson, author of a plan for coal extraction in Belgium, decreed that the

Exhausting and dangerous work in an Australian mine.

diameter of the wood used for propping be reduced; that the props be placed further apart and that in certain cases the props could be split lengthwise, etc. The result of this "advice" and "these economies" was the death of four miners. That accounts for the fall of earth.

As for the gas explosion, it was due:

1) to the bad state of a locomotive which, being in service 24 hours out of 24, could never be overhauled;

2) to the reduction in the maintenance staff;

3) to the concentration of exploitation resulting from the closure some time before the disaster of one of the two pits from which coal was extracted. This measure, resulting in an increase in the amount of gas, was taken exclusively in order to economise on labour at the surface and thus to reduce general expenses.

And here are some facts on the United States, recently revealed by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, in August 1952.

After recalling the death of 119 miners in the West Frankfort, Illinois, mine disaster, on December 21, 1951, Lewis declared:

> "Since December 23, 1951, and through July 31, 1952, 334 miners have been killed and approximately 20,040 mine workers have been maimed." Bureau of Mines records show that during the period, mine management committed 52,256 violations of national safety code provisions, Lewis said. Of these, 29,007 were repeat violations. On July 31, 1952, 37,387 of these cases had not been dealt with. "This," he said, "is an appalling record emphasising negligence and disregard of human life by mining companies and in many instances approximates criminal intent."

UNITED ACTION FOR RESPECT OF THE RIGHT TO LIVE

AN analysis of mining disasters proves that they are not inevitable. The workers are well aware that it is possible to reduce the number of accidents and disasters if proper health and safety measures were instituted, applied and improved in the mines.

Thus they are not resigning themselves to the fate to which they are being subjected in the capitalist and colonial countries, but are fighting back courageously, and heroically, occupying pits, remaining down the mines for weeks on end, and successfully resisting the reactionary attacks of the employers, thanks to their united action.

In spite of the attitude of certain disruptive national leaders who refuse united action, there have been many movements recently in which workers belonging to trade unions of every viewpoint have taken an active part. Outstanding examples of this are the strikes in Italy (Sardinia and Sicily), the successes of which were largely due to the workers' unity.

Another fact which has shown itself with greater force than ever during the recent miners' strikes, particularly in Italy, is the great solidarity of the whole population, factory workers, members of the liberal professions, shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors and peasants, supporting the miners in the struggles for their demands, as well as in defence of national industry, that is, in the national interest.

The study of these movements has enabled the Administrative Committee to call upon the mineworkers to unite and to move forward resolutely, confidently and without sectarianism, towards even broader unity of action in order to achieve their economic and social demands.

It is important, however, while strengthening the united action of miners of all trade union viewpoints, to get the miners to judge for themselves the attitude adopted before the workers and before world public opinion by the leaders of the Miners' International Trade Secretariat of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and also by the leaders of the Christian International, who have not even replied to the proposal of our Trade Unions International to examine jointly means of action to be employed to put an end to the all-too-many mining disasters.

This silence will be judged severely by the mineworkers, who know that these disasters and accidents are due in the first place to the speeding up of work, of which the leaders of the International Trade Secretariat, William Lawther, Delattre and other apologists for American-style "productivity," are most decided advocates.

The president of the Belgian miners' trade union, Achille Delattre, member of the Belgian Parliament and president of the International Trade Secretariat, should be aware that in his country more than 1,400 miners have been killed since 1945, victims of the employers' greed, while those responsible for these disasters have neither been condemned nor punished.

Terrible disasters have recently taken place in Bel-

gium, in particular at Monceau Fontaine, Bois de Luc and Junet. Yet, Delattre has not only done nothing to accuse the exploiters, but he has sought to avoid their punishment, spreading confusion in order that the responsibilities of the guilty should not be brought to light. He is thus deceiving the workers upon whom he wishes to impose the Schumann Plan and American methods of productivity.

DIVISION DOES NOT PAY

THE leaders of the International Trade Secretariat give financial backing to the splitters in order to carry on their dirty work of dividing the working class.

Thus the *Force Ouvrière* miners' federation in France, a breakaway organisation set up by order of the Americans whose sole purpose is to break the united front of the workers, receives large sums from abroad to carry on its policy of class collaboration and working class division. In this way, the I.C.F.T.U. leaders pass over to the *Force Ouvrière* money which belongs to the miners, which the miners have entrusted to them in the form of contributions for the defence of their interests.

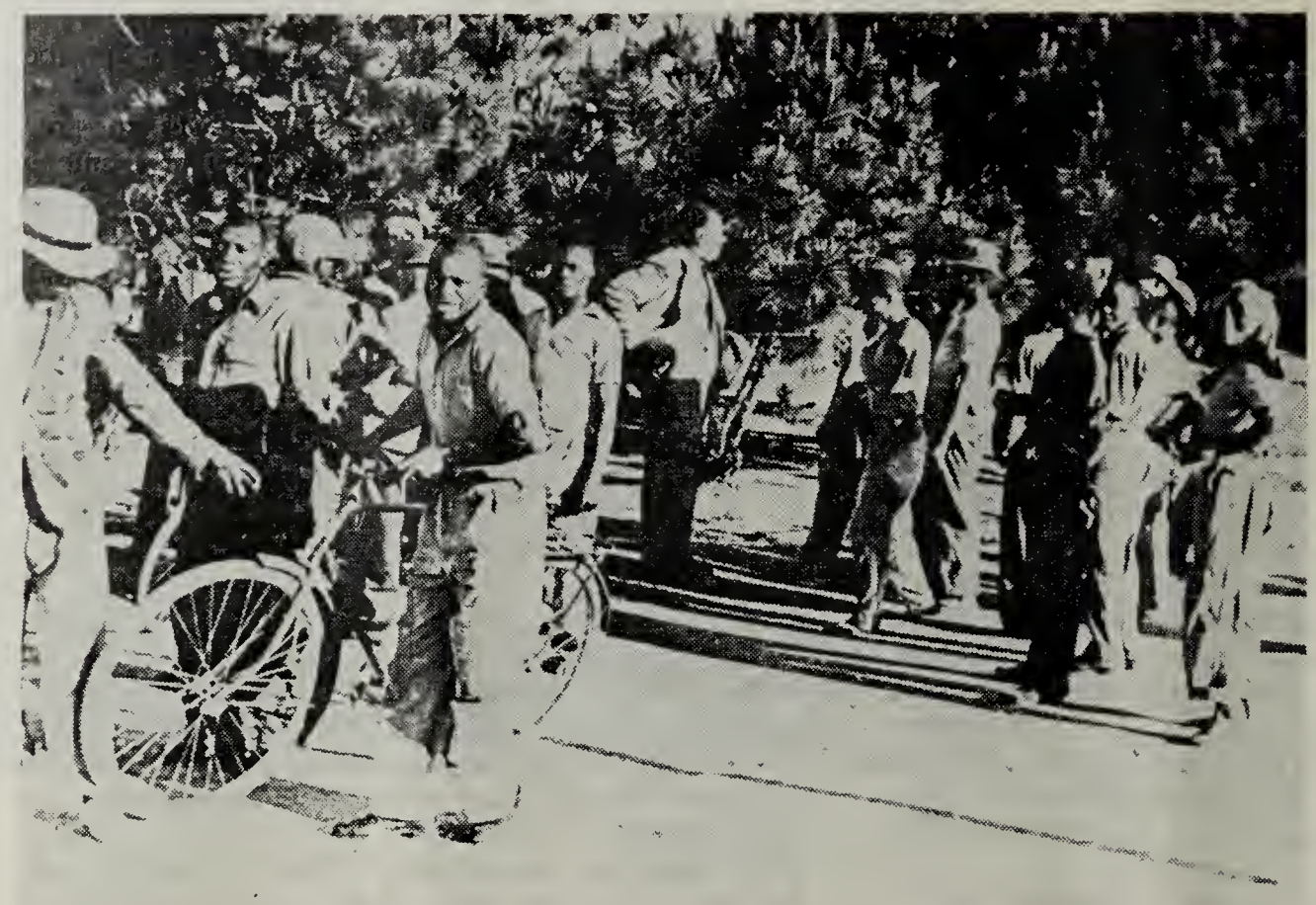
For example, Sir William Lawther, president of the National Union of Mineworkers in Great Britain and general secretary of the Miners' International Trade Secretariat, persuaded his union executive to pay to *Force Ouvrière* a first amount of £5,000, which will be be followed by even larger sums—£18,000 is being considered for this year. The British miners have already expressed and shown their indignation at such a practice. They will not allow their trade union dues to be converted into funds for the division of the workers.

It is not surprising, in these circumstances, to note the rapid fall in William Lawther's popularity among the British miners. In 1950 he obtained over 700,000 votes in his union elections for nomination for the T.U.C. General Council, while in 1952 he received only 494,000. It is, in fact, impossible to serve both the interests of the miners and those of the Churchill government, which is pursuing a policy of rearmament and war preparations.

The British miners have less and less confidence in a leader whose deeds are constantly out of step with his words. For example, speaking at the National Conference of the British miners in 1947, Lawther expressed in eloquent terms his conviction that no British miner or any other class-conscious worker would produce material for a war against the Soviet Union. However, at this year's National Conference, in July, it was he personally, abusing his prerogatives as president, who brought about the rejection of a draft resolution submitted by the Scottish miners condemning the Churchill government's policy of rearmament and war. That resolution nevertheless faithfully reflected the feelings of the great mass of British miners, who are determined not to allow their demands to be sacrificed for the needs of war, as the rightwing leaders of the T.U.C. and I.C.F.T.U. would wish.

The British miners, like all the miners and workers of the world, want peace. They will not allow themselves to be harnessed to the chariot of imperialism and war.

Cruel Lands, a picture by André Fougeron.



In the South African gold mines, a law forbids any gathering of more than 20 workers. The trade union struggle is nonetheless intense. Our photo shows the president of a miners' trade union addressing a small group of workers.

ATTACKS ON SOCIAL SECURITY

THE Administrative Committee also examined the situation facing the mineworkers with regard to social security. It congratulated the W.F.T.U. on its initiative in organising an International Conference on this subject, which is of extreme importance to miners.

At the Administrative Committee meeting held in Budapest in 1950, a certain number of measures destined to prevent accidents and to ensure miners' health had already been envisaged by our Trade Unions International. These measures are now an integral part of our programme of demands:

A trade union meeting more than six hundred feet below ground. Workers of the Ribolla sulphur mine in Sicily meet in one of the underground galleries to listen to their delegate summing up the course of their fight against super-exploitation and the killing speed-up.

— That all the most modern measures of prevention and treatment of accidents and industrial illnesses should be enforced, and should be paid for by the owners ;

— that the miners should undergo periodic medical examinations, the results of which should be noted on an individual medical record ;

— that a special and permanent fight should be carried on against silicosis and pneumoconiosis ;

— that working clothes and footwear and special equipment against dust, smoke and damp should be supplied free of charge to miners ;

— that an effective service of rescue apparatus and teams, doctors, nurses, first-aid posts, ambulances, rest homes, sanatoria and prophylactic centres should be organised and made available free of charge to miners.

Our Administrative Committee also dealt particularly with the problem of industrial diseases. It notes that in the capitalist countries, where the health of the miners is the least concern of the rulers and employers, methods of super-exploitation are the essential causes not only, as we have seen above, of the increasing risk of accidents, but also of the increase in the number of industrial diseases, and especially of pneumoconiosis, a disease which is now causing terrible ravages in the mining centres.

Preventitive measures must be taken to fight against these terrible scourges, the application of a better system of ventilation of the working galleries, the extraction and removal of dust, using all means to reduce dust by sprinkling and by the use of water at the coalface and in boring.

Further, there must be a much wider scope of care for miners stricken by industrial diseases. Examinations, radiography, rest and curative homes and treatment centres must be established and developed.

All that, and still more, became a reality years ago in the Soviet Union and has become so, too, in the Peoples' Democracies, where the miners are the object of the greatest solicitude. Their social security system is being continually improved. In case of illness, miners receive allowances up to the full amount of their wages. Medical assistance and pharmaceutical charges are entirely free, and miners' families receive the same benefits.

The president of the British National Union of Mineworkers, William Lawther, as seen by our cartoonist, Yakka.

Social insurance is entirely supported or financed by the enterprises, and the miners have the most comfortable and the best rest-homes and sanatoria.

Besides the preventive measures taken against industrial diseases, the miner affected by pneumoconiosis or any other illness is immediately placed in the care of doctors, who treat him until he is completely cured. He is withdrawn from unhealthy and heavy work in order to prevent the illness from becoming worse.

Thus man is considered in these countries to be the most precious capital, and the first concern of the governments is to protect him by all means.

The concern of governments and mineowners in the

capitalist countries is quite different. It is to increase the already fabulous profits by increased exploitation and reduction of working costs at the expense of the workers. That is why, side by side with the introduction of methods of super-exploitation and speed-up, they are launching a violent offensive against social security. In many countries, and particularly in France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy, the miners are forced to fight, to go on strike and to use various forms of action to defend the social security gains which the workers have won during the course of their glorious struggles in the past.

The International Conference on social security will thus be held at this period of governmental and employers' offensive, which invests it with even greater importance.

Our Administrative Committee has called on all trade union organisations, all militants and all miners, to get together on a mine or pit basis to discuss a programme in line with the interests of the mining profession in preparation for the Conference.

It has recommended as a basis for the organisation of discussions and the holding of local, regional and national conferences, the W.F.T.U.'s preliminary programme.

The preparation and holding of the International Conference will also help the mineworkers of the colonial countries to obtain a social security system. Social security systems do exist in certain of these countries, but the colonial workers scarcely benefit from them because of the discrimination which is practised between white and coloured workers.

Mining apprentices in the rest room of the Palace of Culture in Enakievo (Ukraine).

UNITE THE YOUTH FOR THEIR DEMANDS AND FOR PEACE

ANOTHER question which was the subject of a thorough discussion by our Administration was that of the young miner.

Brother Delfosse of France declared in his speech:

"The question of the youth is a really urgent and burning issue.

"In 1945, after the liberation of our country, we raised the question of the youth, and we developed something that had never been done before, apprenticeship centres ,which provided opportunities for training good miners by a method of schools on the surface together with 'school seams' or apprenticeship galleries underground.

"Today, with the mines under the control of the French reactionary government, the apprenticeship centres have been done away with, and the 'school seams' are no longer used for their original purpose, but have become production seams at which the French mining youth are exploited under the worst conditions for the purpose of finding money for war.

"The intensified exploitation of young miners can be presented as a veritable organised massacre. In the Nord and Pas-de-Calais districts alone, in a single month, three young miners were killed because they were put on mechanised work without any previous knowledge of this kind of work; two weeks ago, a young miner of 16, injured by the machine on which he had been working, was found dead, three hours later, from loss of blood.

"In Lievin (Pas-de-Calais), a young miner loading coal was injured on the inside of his mouth by a piece of coal. The injury was not apparent and when the young miner went to see the doctor—the colliery doctor

--he declared that he could not give certificates of injury to young miners who refuse to work. The young man's injury became infected and he was dead within eight days after terrible suffering.

"The works' committees which used to run the social clubs and sports societies having been banned, the young miners who wish to take part in sport activities are the object of all kinds of pressure and have to submit to the paternalism of the colliery owners. The employers are thus trying to use sport to corrupt the youth in the mining areas. The state of the young miner's health is really alarming. It is a frequent occurrence to find young men under 25 attacked by silicosis.

"However, faced with conditions like that, scarcely a day passes by in the pits or in the mining areas without a strike led by a young miner taking place. . . ."

This account relates tragic reality.

The Administrative Committee, in launching an appeal to the mining youth, is certain that they will understand and will unite and act to obtain better conditions. The great International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth, which will be held at the beginning of next year, will without any doubt help to strengthen the unity of working class youth in the fight for a future of peace and progress.

* * *

THE Administrative Committee also proceeded to an examination of the situation and the struggles of the German miners.

It decided to address an appeal to them to increase still further the struggle for the specific demands of the mineworkers, for the strengthening and democratisation of the trade union organisation, the sole means of defeating the harmful policy of compromise and collaboration which is carried on by some right-wing trade union leaders, who are thus serving only the interests of the employers and the government to the detriment of the miners' interests.

* * *

OUR Trade Unions International policy is:

—To develop the T.U.I.'s programme of economic and social demands still more widely, to give more effective support to the struggles and demonstrations of the mineworkers, to increase international solidarity.

—To accomplish that, it is necessary, starting from the mining enterprises, to intensify activity for the defence of peace on an international scale and to expose the miners' enemies and the splitters who are doing everything they can to maintain division in the ranks of the mineworkers. It is necessary to carry on a vigorous fight for all demands, including the small day-to-day issues. Successes won in the fight on small demands prepare the way for victories on the more important issues.

—To develop united action on a still broader scale among the rank and file, to win the fight against the reactionary and anti-social policy of the employers and of reactionary governments.

Mineworkers, in face of the employers' plot to create division in their ranks, will strengthen their unity still further.

A Victory for Unity in Belgium

AN irresistible spirit of unity like a vast tidal wave of resistance, has just dealt a blow against the so-called Atlantic policy. In spite of attempts to hold them back, working class actions have taken place in support of the many demonstrations of soldiers who were being kept on in barracks after they were due for release.

Demonstrations, which immediately took on the character of mass protest actions, began on July 25 at first in Namur and Brussels and then spreading to other military quarters in Belgium and Western Germany. These actions took on so many forms that it was impossible to keep them in check by threats or penalties —there was refusal to answer calls, refusal to carry out fatigues, refusal to attend drill, meetings in barracks and billets, demonstrations in the streets, and the forcible release of those who had been imprisoned.

The movement began when, at the last moment, as the soldiers were preparing to go home, after 18 months of military service, they learned that, contrary to the government statements, they were going to be kept "under the colours" for a further six months, just because their rulers wished, in this way, to furnish their Atlantic backers with a servile demonstration of loyalty in the carrying out of war preparations.

These demonstrations immediately had a profound effect right throughout the country. On July 28, as soon as the news of these movements and the brutality with which they were being repressed, began to spread, the soldiers' demonstrations were joined by working class protest actions of solidarity.

The wave of solidarity strikes, starting in the Liège basin, rapidly spread to other regions. The reactionaries spoke of mutiny; government circles raised the spectre of "communist agitation"; the socialist and right-wing trade union leaders kept on sending out appeals to discipline and warnings against "being led astray." On their part, the Christian trade union leaders (whose movement is very strong in the Flemish part of the country) gave their members instructions to hold themselves aloof from the "political strike" and "socialist-communist collusion."

But the movement uniting the working class, regardless of political, trade union or religious viewpoints, with the whole working population and the soldiers, had roots which went too deep and was imbued with a spirit which was too broad to be stopped, and the Belgian General Confederation of Labour announced a general strike on August 9. This was a great day of working class and popular struggle. Heavy industry on war work came to a stop; the port of Antwerp was completely paralysed; hundreds of thousands of socialist, communist, christian and other workers, both in Flanders and in the Walloon districts, and in the capital, deserted the factories, workshops and building sites. Everywhere, workers united with soldiers, supported by the sympathy of the middle classes and university professors, by the pacifists', women's and youth movements all showed their determination to wage the fight to the end. The same day, tremendous and imposing processions took place in the streets of most towns stressing the significance of this national day of protest against war and poverty. In fact, slogans against two years' conscription, and against excessive military expenditure appeared side by side with those against poverty and in defence of social gains.

The general strike of August 9 and the action which preceded it have already resulted in a first victory; the Belgian government has been forced to reduce military service from 24 to 21 months, and the representatives of the six countries of the "European Army," meeting in Fontainbleau, were not able to arrive at an agreement for the lengthening of military service, in spite of formal instructions from Ridgway. The demands of the American warmongers thus suffered a setback first and foremost as a result of the Belgian people's action and also as a result of protests against two years' service in other Atlantic Pact countries. It is therefore a great victory for the forces of peace. The fight goes on; its significance and repercussions go far beyond national boundaries and stimulate the opposition of the people in other countries to a policy of war preparation, social regression and subordination to Washington.

The progressive world can already draw some lessons from the events in Belgium. These are that the working class of this country became clearly aware of the link between the war policy and national subordination and the lowering of the living standards of the workers, peasants and middle classes. The movement achieved united action from below. International solidarity was aroused by a struggle whose stake is of equal interest to all countries.

It is not enough for the working population of Belgium to have gained a partial victory. The spirit brought to the united action will not allow it to drift into inaction. This unity cannot fail to broaden out, for, more than ever before, workers of all viewpoints are linking their immediate demands to the fight against the war policy. They have understood perfectly that in fighting against the extension of military service, an aspect of the imperialist war preparation, they must at the same time fight against all forms of social regression and that both aspects of this fight form an indivisible whole.

M.B.

How the Soviet Union Cares for its Blind

IN the Soviet Union, the blind are largely independent and control their own destinies, and administer funds drawn partly from employment sources and partly from state funds.

The blind are not regarded as objects of charity; they are full citizens needing special care, training and encouragement to overcome the handicap of blindness, to go beyond manipulative skills into the realms of research and management, and into cultural fields such as music and sculpture.

The care of blind persons in the Soviet Union is in the hands of the societies for the blind. The largest of these societies is the All-Russian Society for the Blind, and the other societies in the Republics are formed on the same model.

These societies are democratic organisations, and control completely their own affairs. Branches are formed in any localities where small groups of blind persons exist. They elect their own officers and send delegates to the Regional Board of Administration. Congresses are held in each Republic at which a Central Board is elected. The Societies receive state grants and help from various state institutions.

Every blind person in the Soviet Union is registered and receives, if he is adult, a weekly braille newspaper of considerable dimensions free of charge. All blind children receive free of charge a monthly publication in braille specially designed for them. There is also, of course, a wide range of all kinds of books, including some of the most recent text books, published in braille.

I learned that there were about 5,000 blind persons in Moscow, but most of them and all the children were away in special holiday camps at the time of my visit. In Moscow, schools for blind children are of a combined elementary-secondary type. One of the Moscow schools caters for 250 boys and girls from 7 to 17 years of age, and there are a number of kindergartens for the younger children.

During their schooling, not only are they specially cared for in the health sense, but any talents or aptitudes are noted and so far as possible developed. Those likely to benefit from university education are encouraged to go there, and several students at the university at present are from the school I saw in Moscow. Musically talented children may go to the Conservatoire, and those interested in engineering—and many seem to develop an interest along these lines—will be taught not only to manipulate machines of one kind or another, but will be encouraged to study the mathematical and chemical processes of their branch of the industry. Some of the students become architects or draughtsmen, and can make much progress in these directions by using special electrical machines which enable them to draw and to read drawings.

I also learned that experiments are being made with a machine in which a beam of light scans the print of an ordinary book and converts the print into some form of electrical pulsations which the blind can be trained to read by tactual sense.

All education of the blind and all forms of training, professional and technical, are free in the Soviet Union. During their training period, blind persons receive salaries, and for students, readers are specially employed by the State to assist them in their studies. Needless to say, blind persons who enter employment receive equal pay with sighted persons, and enjoy the same rights. Beyond this, the blind have several facilities. They are supplied with radio sets by the societies, or where radiodiffusion is used, they do not have to pay for the use of the radio sets from the radiodiffusion authorities, nor do the blind pay taxes.

Various societies for the blind are in control of training centres which combine not only shops and factories but dwelling houses and clubs, and in these centres many trades are taught, for example, furniture making, the assembly of electrical equipment and other metal goods.

These centres are enabled to make contracts with state enterprises and profits derived therefrom help to swell the funds of the society, but in all these enterprises every effort is made to encourage the blind to progress beyond mechanical competency.

I found that blind persons in the Soviet Union have little wish to become telephonists. This is because the operation of small switchboards is regarded as an occupation with little opportunity of leading to more responsible work. Some blind students become stenographers, and the supply of braille typewriters and braille shorthand machines is being increased to meet this demand.

When I discussed these matters with the Deputy Minister responsible for Special Education in Moscow, she stated at the outset of our talk that the first important thing was to prevent blindness. This is, of course, in keeping with the general attitude of the Soviet Union towards the welfare of its people, particularly in the field of public health, where we found evidence that in preventive medicine the Soviet Union is ahead of us.

There are four great institutes devoted to research into the causes of blindness and its cure, and I was told in connection with this something of the work of Professor Filatov, who is known throughout the world not only for his success in grafting the cornea but also for his war work in grafting skin and tissue. I was informed that his latest success is a cure for "deep zorosa" or "dry eye," a condition of blindness hitherto incurable, which arises when the tear duct is atrophied. Filatov has transplanted a canal from the salivary gland in front of the eye to take the place of the artophied tear gland, thus enabling the eye to be lubricated and sight to be restored.

In pursuit of the general policy of preventing blindness, the eyes of all babies are examined for defects and regular examination continues through infancy and throughout school life. In this welfare aspect which, of course, covers the whole question of health and development of the child, doctors, nurses, parents and teachers all co-operate in securing the well-being of these budding citizens.

I found the Deputy Minister and her colleagues full of enthusiasm for their work, and extremely interested in the care and treatment of the blind in Britain. They were very courteous, but appeared to be mildly surprised

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Thanks to the discoveries of Professor V. P. Filatov, the transplantation of the cornea has become a normal operation in the Soviet Union . . .

★

. . . this young girl, who was almost blind before the operation, can now see.

that charitable institutions continued, even when the Labour government was in office, to play so large a part in the care of the blind.

Every encouragement is given to the blind in the Soviet Union to overcome the handicap of sightlessness, and to take an active part in society. They are encouraged to play their part in the work of their trade unions, in cultural and sports organisations, and in the political field. They have secured election to village, district and republican soviets and are encouraged to live an independent life to the fullest extent possible. Those to whom I spoke, like all other citizens of the Soviet Union, stress that their future happiness and well-being depends on their being able to live in a peaceful world. Only in such a world can they continue to be given the fullest opportunity to use their gifts in their own interests and in the interest of their fellow citizens, and to lead a full and expanding life.

Everywhere we went, both the sighted and the blind asked us to speak the truth about the Soviet Union when we return to our country, both as to its shortcomings and its achievements, and above all to work with the Soviet people for the preservation of the peace of the world.

By a British Trade Unionist who recently visited the Soviet Union.

Wages and the Peace Issue face the British Electrical Trades Union

The following article consists of extracts from two speeches—one on Wages, Prices and Profits, one on Peace—made to the Annual Conference of the Electrical Trades Union (Great Britain), by its General Secretary, W. C. Stevens.

. . . I want now to draw the attention of the delegates to that tendency, about which I have often spoken before, where the upward trend of profits completely outstrips that of wages, whilst wages increases in fact are being effectively neutralised by the increase in prices.

To show this more clearly, let us examine the percentage increase of these inter-related factors between the year 1946 (that is the first year after the second world war) and the latest figures which I have at my disposal, those for 1951.

During that period of time production increased by forty-three per cent: wages increased by twenty-nine per cent, and was completely offset by a thirty-four per cent increase in prices: over the same period there was a tremendous increase in profits which rose by one hundred per cent.

It remains for me to indicate that—taking the increase in production to which I have already referred—whilst only twenty-three per cent of that increased output went to the workers in wages, seventy-seven per cent was taken by the employers.

In other words, for every five pounds' worth of the additional productive effort on the part of the workers of this country their share was one pound three shillings, whilst the parasites received three pounds seventeen shillings . . .

We should also remember, because the moment is appropriate, the Tory threat that has been repeated on more than one occasion, that as the economy of the country has been suffering from over full employment it would not be a bad thing in the interests of production if there were created an army of one and a half million unemployed.

The textile workers in Lancashire, the pottery workers in the Midlands, and the clothing workers in London, are unfortunately the first casualties in the creation of this army.

There is, in fact, a government-inspired economic softening-up process under way, and alongside it we find that the resistance of the employers is stiffening every day.

Many severe struggles lie ahead of our trade union movement if we are to maintain, let alone improve, our standards of living . . .

ON PEACE

. . . In 1875 Britain spent only twenty-four million pounds on armaments, or one pound per head of the population! In 1897, the figure had risen to forty million pounds and the imperialist war in South Africa quickly followed. In 1913, the figure had doubled and was now eighty-six million pounds—the first world war commenced in 1914. In 1938, two hundred and sixty-three million pounds were spent on armaments and the second world war started one year later. In 1951, it was proposed that four thousand seven hundred million pounds should be expended on rearmament in the following three years. This represents approximately one hundred pounds per head of the population—or thirty-three times the burden of seventy-five years ago, and few will deny that we are living today in the shadow of the most terrible war in history.

Roosevelt's Fourth Freedom was Freedom from Fear which, when translated into international terms, can only mean a world-wide reduction of armaments.

When we met in conference this time last year we condemned the rearmament of Japan and Germany, opposed military alliances such as the Atlantic Pact, registered our opposition to atomic and bacteriological weapons. We urged the government to ban war propaganda, to send the American armed forces away from Britain and to take the initiative in calling a conference of the five major powers to draw up a peace pact, to end the war in Korea and to take the first steps in world disarmament.

Shortly after we left our conference we learned the cease-fire discussions were about to commence in Korea, and one can imagine the feeling of immense relief that

this news brought to the workers in all countries of the world. Not so, however, the traditional representatives of capitalism.

The United States General Bradley, anxiously commented that peace in Korea could be a disaster; whilst the *New York Times* echoed "Sudden peace would work havoc with business," and our own representative of Toryism—Cyril Osborne, Member of Parliament for Louth—has more recently written: "Peace in Korea could bring absolute chaos to the economy of the western world." A tragic commentary on the value of working class lives, but indisputable proof of *who is for war* . . .

Today there are two extreme danger spots, Germany and Korea, and in either place the fuse could be ignited causing the explosion which would engulf the whole world.

In Korea, the Americans have been using the horrible weapon of napalm. The terrible effects of this have called forth protests from the Archbishop of York and a number of other religious leaders.

The Americans are also alleged to be using bacteriological warfare, and in this connection it is interesting to note that the well-known American newspaper, *The Washington Post,* on the 3rd April said that the American army was moving from the research to the manufacturing stage in bacteriological weapons, and that seventeen million dollars would be spent on expanding the American army's chemical centre.

What is perhaps even more sinister is that only two nations have not signed the protocol to the Geneva Convention banning bacteriological warfare, and those two nations are Japan and the United States of America!

In my opinion, napalm, germ warfare, the atom bomb and head hunting are signs of the depths of degradation to which modern warfare has brought our so-called civilisation. They are as much crimes against humanity as poison gas, which public opinion successfully outlawed . . .

I have said before that capitalism is the root cause of all wars. The dominant capitalist force in the world today is the United States of America whose leaders, together with representatives of capitalism in other parts of the world fully understand that the only method by which their system of exploitation can obtain an extended lease of life is by stopping the forward march to socialism, even if in doing so the world is catapulted into another holocaust.

There can be no doubt that even in the early post-war period an economic crisis was developing in capitalist America. In fact, in 1947 it was reported that unemployment figures had risen to 2,140,000, and that stocks of consumer goods were beginning to accumulate in the warehouses.

Having embarked on this tremendous programme of rearmament the United States of America would quite obviously bring economic and political pressure to bear on the remainder of the capitalist world, to involve them in her warlike aims. America claims she is rearming in the interests of freedom and democracy, but what she is in fact doing is preparing war in the interests of capitalism and against the interests of the working people of the world.

There are people in our movement who believe that war is inevitable. Precisely the opposite is the case.

The success of America's war aims depends upon the alliance with Britain, France and Western Germany, and I am certain that if our country pursued an independent policy of friendship with all nations of the world, together with unfettered trading relations with those countries, we could prevent the materialisation of America's plans for war.

As the Executive Council motion declares, the essential conditions at the moment for the preservation of peace are to:—

(a) bring about a meeting of the five great powers in order to negotiate a settlement of outstanding problems.

(b) ensure the outlawing of atomic and bacteriological warfare.

(c) ensure an immediate halt to the arms race and subsequent all-round disarmament.

(d) ensure the admittance of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations Organisation and to their rightful seat in the Security Council.

The struggle to obtain them will need to be tremendously intensified under the Tory government, because whilst they continue in power the danger of a third world war is even greater than ever.

W. C. Stevens, General Secretary,
Electrical Trades Union.

British Imperialism Attacks Trade Union Rights of Cyprus Youth

THE British "western democrats" have recently given another example of their "democracy" and of the policy of "encouraging" the trade union movement in their colonial empire.

On May 28, 1952, a bill, the object of which is to keep the youth out of the Cyprus trade union movement, was published in the *Cyprus Gazette*. Here is what the bill says:

> "Section 22 of the principal law is hereby repealed and the following section substituted therefor:
>
> (1) No person under the age of eighteen shall be a member of a trade union.
>
> (2) No member of a trade union under the age of twenty-one shall be a member of the committee of management of the trade union or the committee of any branch thereof."

Why did the Cyprus government publish the above bill? The former section 22 was ambiguous on this question of young persons joining the trade unions.

In fact, the Registrar of Trade Unions has taken the

The 1952 May Day demonstration in Nicosia.

view that the wording of this section implies a prohibition against the acceptance of persons under 18 into a trade union. The Pancyprian Federation of Labour considered this view of the registrar as wrong and arbitrary, and decided to fight against it. The federation made it clear that it intended to call on all young workers under 18 to join the trade unions. The publication of the anti-trade union bill is the government's reaction against this decision of the Pancyprian Federation of Labour. The reactionary colonial government wants to keep the youth away from the trade unions. While they show no interest in the development of the working conditions of children and young persons, while they take no actual measures against young persons attending cabarets and gambling houses or seeking gangster films, they prohibit the trade union organisation of the youth. Their aim is to strike at the influence of our movement among the young workers of the island.

This action of the Cyprus government is a flagrant violation of the principles of trade union freedom and the UNO Declaration on Human Rights, all ratified and endorsed by the British government. It is, indeed, worth noting that the anti-trade union bill was published without consulting the government Labour Advisory Board, which was set up for the purpose of "making proposals and suggestions to government on labour legislation."

The reactionary government which advertised the setting up of this Board as an indication of its "goodwill" and its desire to "encourage" the trade union movement, ignored the existence of the Board and did not dare to consult it. They knew that in a debate in the Board on the anti-trade union bill the workers' representatives would expose the real anti-labour purpose of the bill and its authors.

The Pancyprian Federation of Labour and the A.O.N. (Cyprus Progressive Youth Organisation) have protested against the bill and in a joint meeting of their secretaries decided to mobilise the youth and the workers against its enactment.

A. Ziartides,
General Secretary, Pancyprian Federation of Labour.

Lessons of the Victorious Strike of 120 Clothing Workers of the French Agostini Firm

IN Paris, 120 producers of military cloaks conducted a courageous 19-day strike during which they occupied the workshop and forced the employer to accede to their demands.

This strike, by the unity achieved during the struggle and by the strengthening of the trade union organisation which followed it, demonstrated the militant spirit of the women.

A brief picture of the origin of the conflict will permit us to place this strike within the framework of the general offensive of the Pinay government and the employers against the workers' living conditions. But at the Agostini firm, as elsewhere, they collided with workers determined, through struggle, to permit no attack on the gains they had made. And the employers retreated.

What is the story? In September 1951, our Trade Union Federation signed a national agreement with the Employers' Association for a 15 per cent wage increase. The Agostini firm respected this agreement for three months, then bluntly brought pressure on the workers by threatening to close the plant unless they accepted a 15 per cent wage cut. Believing the time to be unfavourable for a struggle since a large number of workers feared losing their livelihood (all current orders having been filled), the workers accepted the new

A group of women workers on strike at the Agostini factory in Suresnes, Seine, France.

terms. But they were determined to counter-attack. It must be noted that in order to earn a meagre living, the workers had to work as in a prison camp, even taking work home at night, coming early to work and working during the lunch hour.

A worker who attaches 75 pairs of sleeves a day, shifting a cloak weighing over seven pounds around in so doing, could show us muscles completely deformed by this difficult work—and all that for less than 1,000 francs a day.

Two years ago, the management fixed 11 hours as the time for producing one cloak. Today the time fixed is only 6 hours one minute.

After having brought about unity between trade unionists and non-trade unionists, the workers believed a favourable moment for struggle had come and they presented the following demands:

1. 15 per cent wage increase;
2. an infirmary in the workshop;
3. workers should no longer be dismissed for absences due to illness.

When the employers refused, a strike was unanimously and enthusiastically voted.

The employer sought to avert the workers' anger by saying that "he was but an intermediary" and that the Military Office responsible for procuring the manufacture of clothing, normally by calling for public bids, was responsible for their situation. This argument could have had a certain influence on the workers, so to leave no stone unturned the strikers sent large delegations to the Military Office, to the Under-Secretary of State, to the National Assembly and Ministry of Labour.

Through these various measures, the workers came to understand that, although the Military Office had a great responsibility as regards the present state of letting contracts, it is nevertheless true that the employer, because of the huge profits he was making from the increase in the manufacture of military clothing, could not only respect the agreements, but could even increase wages by 15 per cent.

Faced with the unanimous decision of the workers not to return to work without having won their demands, the employer was forced to sign an agreement in which all demands were met:

—15 per cent wage increase retroactive for three months;
—special premises to be fitted out as an infirmary;
—no reprisals for having gone on strike.

Although the principal demands were won and the agreement signed on May 27, the workers prolonged *their strike for one day to demand the release of Jacques Duclos and André Stil and respect for constitutional liberties.*

More than 120,000 francs for solidarity were collected in neighbouring factories which made it possible to help a large number of these women in need.

The trade union secured 34 new members. At present 95 per cent of the workers belong to the union. The only C.F.T.C. (Christian trade union) member has since joined the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), thus disavowing the leaders of this union who attempted, with the employer, to torpedo the strike without consulting the workers.

This was a highly successful strike, not only for the Agostini workers, but for all the clothing workers who everywhere are subject to the same attacks.

The Agostini workers were victorious because they were able:

1) to achieve unity around their ordinary demands which were understood by all;
2) to prepare their struggle long in advance;
3) to choose the favourable moment for this struggle.

The Agostini workers have given us an admirable lesson in tactics from which we will be able to draw inspiration in forthcoming battles.

Daniel Anker,
General Secretary,
Clothing and Hat Makers Federation.

A Few Principles Guiding the Work of the French C.G.T.

For United Action

THE achievement, maintenance and consolidation of unity calls for sustained attention and vigilance on our part to foil the manoeuvres of the enemies of unity.

Let me remind you of some of the principles which are the basis of the C.G.T.'s continuous work for united action:

1. United action is possible and necessary on the basis of a minimum programme common to the various organisations and the members of those organisations.

This programme must correspond to the needs and aspirations of all workers for whose defence these organisations are responsible.

2. A united action agreement must have a well-defined objective—it must draw up the necessary conditions for winning the demands contained in the common programme. That is to say, it must contain the forms of action accepted by common agreement of the contracting organisations.

3. The contracting organisations are in duty bound to act with the greatest loyalty in the application of the joint decisions.

* * *

WE have always considered it a matter of honour for the C.G.T. organisations and militants to keep to the letter and spirit of agreements entered into.

Thus we reject, as an insult and a manoeuvre by the enemies of the working class, any accusation which consists of presenting our persevering effort for united action as a means of fraudulently introducing the whole of our programme and slogans in joint meetings and activities.

Not that we have the slightest doubt as to the value and correctness of our programme and slogans. They are worked out and conceived, not for a fraction of the working class, but on the principle that the C.G.T. is, and always will be, the organisation of all workers, whatever their political or religious opinions.

But we also know that it is not enough to have a correct programme and correct slogans for these to be immediately acceptable as such by wage earners as a whole.

We know that the more our programme and slogans correspond to the needs of the masses and are likely to bring them together, the more the powerful propaganda and corrupting apparatus of the bourgeoisie and its government will intervene to misrepresent the meaning of this programme and these slogans.

It would be childish to think that this propaganda and corruption do not influence a part of the working class. It is only by our determined, persevering and patient work to expose these manœuvres, and by paying constant attention to helping every worker understand them in the light of his own experience, that we can succeed in convincing those who are in doubt.

To wish to impose the whole of our programme and slogans upon those who do not accept some parts of them, solely because we consider them correct, would be an unreasonable attitude which would bring us no success.

There are, above all in the present period, a sufficient number of demands, and of sufficient importance, on which the workers, including the members of the teaching profession, are unanimous, to open for us wide possibilities for action.

* * *

SO, brothers, in the practice of united action, we must take the greatest care to see that everything takes place completely in the open. We must submit our actions to the judgment of the workers concerned so that unity may be firmly cemented among all those who are taking part in the action, reaching out to the most isolated groups, in the factories, towns and villages.

Neither here, nor in connection with any united action, is there any question whatsoever of underhand or disloyal manœuvres as some say, and may think; nor is there any question of substituting irresponsible committees for the regular and responsible organisations. It is a question solely of ensuring the maximum support and strength for the joint action decided upon, by the active and conscious participation of all who are interested in its success.

This action is incomparably more effective when every worker concerned is convinced that he is not merely someone putting slogans into effect, but that he has taken part in working them out.

There can be no real unity unless it is unity of all those concerned, nor can there be any real action unless it is consciously accepted and approved by all who have to carry it out.

That is also one of the elementary principles of workers' democracy.

I would add that those who agree to united action without any ambiguities, with the sole desire of achieving success, have nothing to fear from full participation by the broad masses.

These few basic principles which must guide us in united action are those laid down by the C.G.T. Congress, and we continually repeat them.

The militants and organisations of our trade union centre are in general inspired by them.

Are there exceptions to this rule? Yes, there are. We still have brothers who, out of misunderstanding or impatience, meet these principles half-way.

There were, for example, cases during the united action demonstrations of civil servants on June 4, where some militants wanted partly to change the original character of the meetings.

I understand quite well that the government's brutal aggression against democratic liberties, the arrest of Jacques Duclos and the invention of a "plot" may have influenced the attitude of these brothers.

They were wrong in not observing scrupulously their undertakings. They served neither the cause of liberty nor that of their demands.

No one must forget that it is on the basis of specific facts of this kind that the enemies of unity build their campaigns of lies and calumny about the motives for which we want unity.

Extracts from Benoît Frachon's speech at the Congress of the French Teachers' Trade Union, 23.7.1952.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

IRAN

The Kingdom of the Starving

THESE adolescents, who from early morning take up a position at the edge of the "djoub"[1] feeding on scavengers' scraps and quenching their thirst with the polluted water, hope to snatch at some alms which they will share out after violent quarrels. There are tens of thousands of starving youngsters like these in Teheran. Every week newcomers, driven from the countryside by the pitiless demands of the tax collectors and the big land-owners, driven from the factories through lack of employment, discharged from building jobs which are coming to a stop one after another, come along to swell the ranks of this army of the starving.

You cannot stop your car in any part of the towns or villages of Iran without having ten little rickety diseased children, half-naked in the middle of winter, come and press their little faces to the windows of the car doors, imploring tirelessly for charity. In the midst of this destitution, the luxury of American cars, with their sparkling chromium, quickly becomes unbearable. In no other country of the Middle East is the contrast so shocking as it is in Iran.

* * *

Our host's dwelling was not more than 4 metres square. One entered it by bending over double. The interior was dark. There was neither window nor fireplace, nor furniture of any sort. I remember what one of my friends in Teheran had told me:

"You will not find either samovar or carpet in the peasants' homes." They slept on the ground on sacks, the animals near the door.

"Befarmaid, be seated."

We sat ourselves on the actual ground around the "tanour," a hole hollowed out in the ground in the middle of the room, which served as a grate. Wood being scarce and the little there was belonging to the landowner, the wife threw a cake of buffalo dung on the embers, which the peasants are accustomed to lay out to dry in the sun along the front of their houses. This curious fuel gives off a pungent odour and a stinging smoke which escapes very badly through the entrance opening.

Our host, insisting on sharing his meal with us, served us with 'ashay' in earthenware bowls, which is a kind of vegetable soup thinned out with curdled milk, excusing himself all the while for the discomfort of his dwelling and the simplicity of his menu. I asked him some questions.

"Nothing except the walls of this house belong to us," he replied. And as I appeared surprised. he continued:

"Tradition has it that life in the countryside is composed of five elements. There is the earth and water, there are the seeds and the animals, and finally there is work. The landowner, whom we have never seen, but who owns our village and the twenty-two neighbouring villages, owns the first four elements. We only own our work. So we only have the right to a fifth of the crop, on which we still have to pay taxes to the governor of the province. It has always been like that. But the times today are even harder than they used to be, the crop smaller, the taxes heavier. Our children often have to leave the village and go away to look for work in town."

It was, alas, the truth! In Iran, the landowners who hardly represent 0.2 per cent of the rural population, hold 70 per cent of the land. The immense majority of the peasants, therefore, possess absolutely nothing. These poor people dress in sacks, for they never have enough money to buy a shirt, and live completely like animals . . . . Communism cannot frighten them. They have heard it said that everything belongs to everybody and that people eat their fill. Why not try? After all, it is humanly impossible to be worse off.

In a country where nine-tenths of the population is under-fed, is it not unbelievable that out of 164 million hectares of cultivable land, only 2.75 per cent is cultivated?

Even that is badly done. The methods of cultivation are so primitive that the yield is insignificant and land wastage increases every year. Is it not significant of the incompetence, the egoism, and narrow outlook of the present regime when, out of a budget of 11,500 million rials, a third of the income is spent on the maintenance of public order and for the repression of disturbances, and the twenty-first part only on agriculture, irrigation and public health?

JEAN-MARIE DE MOREUIL, in *Le Monde*, July 25, 1952.

SPAIN

The Guilty

THE people of Cardona, and the mining area of Sallen-Figels, in fact, the whole Spanish people, have not forgotten the mining disaster of February 2, when, as a result of the criminal negligence of the government and the enterprise, a gallery collapsed in a potassium mine killing 5 miners.[1] The Cardona tragedy caused profound indignation. A total stoppage of 24 hours paralysed the whole mining area. Even the tradesmen closed their shops as a sign of mourning and protest. The burial of the victims took place to the accompaniment of a powerful demonstration by thousands of the workers.

Franco's visit to the Cardona Potassium Mines today reminds us of the regime's heavy responsibility for the death of these 5 miners. Franco went to Cardona to congratulate the shareholders on their high dividends they are making at the cost of the miners' blood and sweat. "I am pleased," said the wretch, "that the representatives of this enterprise have been able by methods of their own to expand the workings and increase the profits to such an extent."

Can one conceive of a greater insult to the privations and sufferings of the Cardona working population?

Franco also declared in Cardona

1 Gutters running along the streets of Teheran and serving both as a draining and sewage system.

1 See Spotlight "Exploitation, Poverty and Death in the Mines of Spain," **WTUM**, No. 11.

that he was "linked by ties of family and friendship" to the big capitalists of the Union De Explosivos.[2] This confession was quite superfluous. It is, in fact, notorious that one of the principal directors of this enterprise is Luis de Bereterra y Polo, a cousin of Franco's wife. Through the intermediary of this individual, Franco's whole family, starting with the Caudillo himself, traitor of his country, are soiled with the affairs of the Union De Explosivos and stained with the blood of the Cardona miners. The bloodstained clown of the Pardo said that the Union de Explosivos is an "essentially Spanish company." If it is Spanish, how can Franco explain the presence on the Board of Directors with the Spanish names of Thiepor, Frederic Ledoux and Robert Gibilan?

Franco did not say that these directors of Union de Explosivos are the representatives of the International Trust of Chemical Products controlled by the gigantic American trust, Dupont de Nemours. Neither did he say that the American monopolists have ordered the company to double its output of potassium in two years for the war industry, and that, with this aim, the Americans have granted a credit of 600,000 dollars to this firm for the increase of potassium extraction in the Cardona mines. The Union de Explosivos is Spanish in name only. It is a branch of the American Trust Dupont de Nemours, and that is ample proof that Franco is not only the representative of the Spanish capitalist oligarchy, but also of the American financial oligarchy which battens, like a hungry vulture, on Spanish economy.

In the light of these facts, it is evident that for the working class, as well as for the whole Spanish people, the only way to salvation lies in the fight against this oligarchic and anti-national power personified in Franco and his clique. These are the people responsible for the Cardona disaster and the tragedy of Spain as a whole. They are the ones who are plunging Spain into poverty and leading it into the abyss of war. To put an end to their abominable power is a matter of national salvation, a matter of life and death for Spain.

Bulletin of *Radio Espana Independiente,* June 13, 1952.

ARGENTINA

Real Trade Union Democracy is expressed in the Holding of General Meetings by the Trade Unions

IT can be said that the holding of meetings, together with the democratic election of leaders, constitutes the backbone of the life of workers' trade unions. Since the setting up of trade union organisations in the country, the most honest and conscientious militants have fought for the existence and the constant development of trade union democracy. This stimulates unity of the workers and thus strengthens the trade union, creating the indispensable conditions for a more effective struggle for our social and economic demands.

As the employers and government intensify their offensive to place the burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers, the leaders of the Peronist Centre, by trying to do away with the social and economic demands already won, are doing everything in their power to prevent the workers from holding general meetings in order to organise resistance and draw up lists of demands. The most striking example is provided by the discussions between the leaders and the employers on the questions of prices and wages. These discussions take place, without the workers being consulted, at preliminary meetings on the demands to be put to the employers, and in addition, without submitting the agreements adopted in principle for ratification by the workers concerned.

Thus, for example, in the Textile Workers' Association, no meetings had taken place since the beginning of 1948; in the Metal Workers' Union, none since 1949; in the Tramway Workers' Union, since 1945; in the Building Workers' Union since 1948; in the Food Workers' Union, only two meetings had been called since its formation, one in 1945 and the other in 1948; the Federation of Workers and Employees in the Telephone Services has not had a meeting since 1947; the Association of Bank Employees, since 1946; the Woodworkers' Union since 1947; the Argentine Maritime Association since 1950, etc.

The Peronist leaders deprive the workers of the possibility of calling meetings—but we have never stopped fighting to win this just right. On the contrary, we are doing everything we can to stimulate still further rank and file democratic consultation, at the places of work, by using every possible form. That will lead us to the strengthening of our trade union unity, the guarantee of a better fight for our demands.

Unidad Sindical, February-March, 1952 Argentina.

FRENCH GUINEA

The Workers will Consolidate their Unity and Strengthen their Action Against Low Wages

AFRICAN workers' wages are very low. They are inadequate to feed, house and clothe our wives and children.

Whether you talk to state employee or auxiliary, worker or domestic, docker or railway worker, agricultural worker or shop assistant, you will learn of the thousand and one miseries which the African worker has to put up with: undernourishment, unhealthy housing conditions, threats from the borough authorities or action taken against them by the Public Treasury if they are late with the payment of their taxes, the cries of their children: "Papa, rice!", to which are added the demands of the children's mothers for a loin cloth, a shirt or a Madagascan stove to cook the meals, the meagre, meatless meals.

The secret of our life, of this hard existence, can be summed up as being a legitimate and deep anger against those who are unjustly depriving us of the minimum required for our well-being by subjecting us to an inhuman exploitation.

The commercial companies, the industrial firms and the banks have realised scandalously high super-profits, their capital mounting by leaps and bounds every year. The prosperity of the capitalists is increasingly strengthened at the expense of the interests of the working people who, in Guinea, experience a terrible impoverishment with the attendant anxieties and insecurity. If you are an honest Frenchman, after a conversation with an African worker, you will want to lower your head in shame for the racial discrimination, arbitrary treatment and exploitation he will tell you about will arouse your profound indignation.

Indignation at the unhealthy hovels in Kassa (Iles de Loos) where more than a thousand bauxite workers from the south are packed together like planks of wood.

Indignation that the railwaymen's statute on pay, indemnities and classification is not being applied, which means a setback and that the victory won by the 5½ month strike has been taken away again.

Indignation at the situation of the state employees and railway old-age pensioners, whose pensions are 8,000 francs a quarter, but even worse off are book-keepers and managers in private firms who, after 40 years of hard work, reach old age without any pensions or means of support.

The situation of the S.I.P. agents and workers in the country's interior to whom grading and contracts are denied, is also one meriting your indignation.

And should this worker, injured during the course of his work, lose an arm, a leg, or an eye, disabling him from work of any kind, he is obliged to stand in front of the Mosque and ask for alms from the faithful.

Then there is Mrs. H.C., assistant instructress in domestic science on C.E.P.E. level, in service at Boké since 1928, who only receives 806 francs per month.

The old caretaker, Camara Mamadou, in Conakry, to whom Mr. Gabriss permits himself to pay the grand sum of 650 francs a month instead of the 4,150 francs he ought to get.

2 The Cardona Potassium Mines are owned by the "Union Espanola de Explosivos."

And the kitchen boys, those workers whom the savage, insolent employers brutalise and grossly insult, frequently addressing them as "dirty nigger," and so on.

The fight we are waging, and will continue to wage, is against the low wages, the oppression and arbitrary treatment meted out to us and not against France, for it is clear that while the injustice and oppression continue, there can be no happy future for the Africans. Therefore, you will realise how perfidious, inhuman and brutal are those who pretend to teach us civilisation by flouting honesty and justice in their own lives, by denying fraternity and by insulting equality.

They are the ones who, to hide their dirty work, tell you before you know the real situation in Guinea, that the trade union militants are anti-French.

Honest Frenchmen, at the end of the conversation, you will have come to the conclusion that the only road leading to happiness and to fraternal understanding in our country is the road of united action between the Africans and Europeans of goodwill to demand the honest application of the Constitution of the French Union.

And this struggle for the abolition of discriminatory measures must be waged with greater energy than ever and on the broadest possible basis for on its success will depend the development of the popular forces for the achievement of their well-being and the creation of better living conditions in our French Union.

Touré Sékou,
L'Ouvrier (Conakry), 19.5.52.

CHINA

A Worker's Life Today

. . . I met Wang Fu-yin, lathe operator, in the workshop . . . .

Wang told me how his improved situation had made his long postponed marriage possible.

"My wife had a baby just two weeks ago. Hospital fees cost me only 10 per cent of a month's wage."

I had already seen the bright clinic attached to the plant. Like all other factories, treatment at the clinic is free both to workers and their families. Serious cases are transferred to the city hospitals. Their health bills are paid by the management, which also meets half the medical expenses incurred by members of workers' families.

I noticed an ugly scar on Wang's right arm. In answer to my questioning glance, he explained with bitterness the cause of the wound. While working in the weapon repair shop one day, his arm had been caught between the conveyor belt and the wheel. He could not afford to go to hospital and had to be content to rub it with some cheap spirits. "We were even envious of the mules that brought fuel in for the factory. If accidents happened to them, they had a vet to look after them," Wang smiled wryly.

Wang and his mates, with the help of their union and the administration, have made secure precautions against accidents like that. In the shops I saw safety devices which have rendered work in the factory as safe as taking a walk down the street. "But," Wang explained, "if any accident happens today, the worker continues to get his wages while in hospital, and medical expenses are paid by the management up to the sixth month. After that the labour insurance fund run by the trade union comes into operation and supports him till he is able to return to work, or, if he's totally disabled, till the end of his days. If he should die, his family will be paid relief out of the fund."

The Labour Insurance Regulations also provides for rest vacations at workers' sanatoria, and I met Wu Ying-mo, who had spent a well-earned rest at a sanatorium after his self-sacrificing work creating the pride of the factory—the herring bone planning machine.

Wu had enjoyed a fortnight's holiday at a sanatorium run by the Peking Trade Union atop the Hill of Longevity in the former imperial Palace outside Peking . . .

It was half past five, and the factory closed for the day. Wang asked me to come the next day to visit his family . . .

We went to his home by cycle. He was riding a new bicycle.

"It's my own," he said with pride. "Sometime ago 250 of us workers asked the management for cycles as the new dormitories are a bit of a distance and we found it more convenient to cycle to work. The management bought 250 bikes for us at a fourth less than the current price. I'm paying for mine in six monthly instalments. So you can see it's not too much of a strain on the pocket what with the good pay and the bonuses I am getting."

This bicycle it might seem, was a little thing, but it was a symbol of something really great—the appreciation of the new society for a worker's labour.

Dormitories were not made for modern living but they are a far cry from the hovels in which the workers lived before. Although they are only temporary accommodation, the management has done much to improve and adapt them, building new washrooms and re-decorating them, and the inhabitants, too, have organised their life on a more co-operative and mutually beneficial basis.

Wang's dormitory is quiet and tidy. Nineteen families, all from the same factory, live here. When we entered Wang's three-roomed apartment, we found his wife listening to opera songs from a radio set which they bought last autumn.

Wang excused himself for a moment and returned bringing with him a middle-aged woman whom he introduced as Hsu Pei-lan, the women's representative for the residents of the lane. Hsu is the wife of a motor-car driver at the factory and is an active worker among her women friends. She holds frequent meeting with the neighbouring families. At some of them, literate ones read the newspapers to those who are unable to read. Like many wives of workers, Hsu Pei-lan, too, is attracted to the idea of factory work.

"Last year," she said, "when the factory advertised for women apprentices, I applied but found that I could not be accepted because one had to have at least a primary school education for that post. I was disappointed that time, but it made me more determined than ever to raise my cultural level.

"Last month we housewives sent in an application to the management for a cultural class. They said alright, and now we have a teacher coming here to teach us at the factory's expense". . .

People's China, July 1952.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

August 1

BELGIUM.—The strike against two years' military service is almost complete in the Liège region, where over 60,000 workers are involved. It extends to many other regions, including Charleroi, Huy, Mons and Antwerp. Soldiers' demonstrations take place in the barracks.

FRANCE.—The C.G.T.'s Confederal Social Security Commission publishes a communiqué protesting against the government decisions attacking sickness insurance, old age insurance and family allowances, and calls upon the workers to unite in defence of social security.

ITALY.—Thousands of agricultural workers in the province of Emilia have occupied 35,000 hectares of land, the distribution of which was decided upon several months ago.

ALGERIA.—The Algiers' dockers refuse to unload machine-guns and other war material from America arriving on s.s. Marigo.

TUNISIA.—The civil aviation and meteriological employees hold an 8-day strike to obtain parity of salaries with those paid in France.

CHILE.—Railwaymen go on strike for a wage increase.

AUSTRALIA.—Three thousand shipbuilding workers of Garden Island, Sydney, decide to strike until August 8 in protest against the new rule on time allowed to them for washing and changing after work.

August 2

BELGIUM.—With the extension of the popular movement and the unity achieved in the strikes against two years' military service, the Belgian General Federation of Labour calls for a general strike on August 9.

August 3

TUNISIA.—The dockers refuse to work overtime as a protest against the new ultimatum of the French government. Public service workers decide to strike.

AUSTRALIA. — The five metalworkers' trade unions take their demand for a wage increase of 19 shillings a week to the Federal Arbitration Court. The employers are at the same time asking for a reduction of up to 49 shillings (Australian), the return to the 44-hour week (from 40 hours) and the ending of the three-monthly review of living costs.

August 5

AUSTRALIA.—Following demonstrations and work stoppages, the Arbitration Court postpones until August 19 its study of the employers' demand seeking to reduce the weekly basic wage by 49 shillings (Australian), to reduce women's wages from 75 to 60 per cent of men's wages and to end three-monthly review of wages. This demand affects 25 trade unions covering the majority of Australian workers.

GREAT BRITAIN. — Twenty thousand electricity workers decide to strike within 7 days unless 27 of them who were dismissed for their part in January's strike of meter readers are reinstated.

MOROCCO.—The police expels by force of arms the strikers who were occupying the premises of the Société Chérifienne de Matériel Industriel et Ferroviaire.

August 6

TUNISIA.—The phosphate miners of Moularès go on strike to obtain the release of four imprisoned miners.

KOREA.—Thirty thousand workers of the port of Pusan in South Korea strike and demonstrate to protest against Syngman Rhee's "elections."

BELGIUM.—The August 9 strike against two years' military service is being prepared by many demonstrations and unity meetings in the factories, localities and barracks.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The federation of shipbuilding employers turns down the demand for a wage increase put forward by 200,000 workers. The struggle continues.

— The representatives of 600,000 distributive workers again put forward demands for wage increases despite the rejection of their demands by the Minister of Labour.

SOUTH AFRICA. — Eleven Port Elizabeth workers are sentenced to be whipped for having broken the racial discrimination laws, but these dastardly measures are powerless to stem the growing movement.

August 7

ITALY.—The 24-hour railway strike takes place in unity and with great success, in spite of the attempts at division made by the U.I.L. and the C.I.S.L. (Social-Democratic and Christian centres). In spite of the recruiting of strikebreakers and the use of the army, only 300 out of 6,600 trains run.

FRANCE.—The government turns down the civil servants' demand for a wage increase. The civil servants are uniting in the movement for their claim.

JAPAN.—Thirty-five thousand seamen on 243 ships strike for a separation allowance.

BRAZIL. — Important strikes on economic issues develop in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, where more than 200 factories are paralysed by strikes. No trains are running, and railway communication between Brazil and the Argentine is interrupted.

CYPRUS.—One hundred thousand signatures have been collected for a protest against the construction of British air bases.

WESTERN GERMANY. — Fifteen thousand Bremen metalworkers decide to organise a strike for wage increases.

August 8

FRANCE. — After having refused to work on the construction of American military camps, 310 glass workers of Follembray go back to the factory, closed by the management, in order to save the glass works, which constitute the essential wealth of the region.

— Bordeaux dockers refuse to unload military clothing intended for American troops.

IRAN.—Following the closing of a textile factory, 1,000 workers decide to go on hunger strike.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Executive Committee of the Electrical Trades Union decides to support any strike launched in support of the demand for a £2 per week wage increase put forward by the shipbuilding and engineering trades' workers.

— One hundred and eighty-seven thousand hospital workers obtain a wage increase.

— Two hundred representatives of 100,000 South Wales miners protest against the rejection of their demand for a wage increase of 30 shillings a week.

August 9

BELGIUM. — Great success of the general strike against two years' military service. There is a united work stoppage by between 800,000 and a million workers—Socialists, Communists and Christians. Great demonstrations are held in Brussels, Antwerp, Namur, Ghent, Bruges and in many localities. The strike is complete in the coalmining, metal and stone industries.

August 10

WESTERN GERMANY. — Over 1,305,000 workers in the Rhine and Westphalia, 1,255,000 in Bavaria and 840,000 in Essen have declared themselves against Adenauer's policy.

— Bremen metalworkers elect a strike committee to prepare for the struggle for wage increases and against the factory law.

ITALY. — A great demonstration takes place in Spezia in honour of the 60th birthday of Giuseppe di Vittorio. Louis Saillant, general secretary of the W.F.T.U., is among the speakers.

FRANCE. — The C.G.T. metalworkers' union makes a proposal to the Force Ouvrière, Christian and technicians' trade unions for a joint meeting to seek means for reducing unemployment in the metal industry.

CHINA.—The first Soviet "Donbas" combine machine is used in the Shuangyashan coalmine in North-East China. This machine automatically cuts, extracts and loads the coal.

August 12

FINLAND. — The building workers' conference ends in Inviaskiul. The conference has passed a resolution which categorically condemns the splitting policy carried on by the right-wing leaders of the Central Union of Finnish Trade Unions. The resolution stresses the urgent need to reconstitute the unity of the trade union movement. The delegates attending the conference demanded that the leadership of the Central Council of Finnish Trade Unions should admit the trade union organisations which have been illegally expelled, and that it should take concrete measures to fight the growth of unemployment.

DENMARK.—Strike of Copenhagen taxi drivers.

August 13

INDONESIA.—The Central Committee of S.O.B.S.I., the Indonesian trade union centre, announces the holding of a National Congress in September. The W.F.T.U. is invited to attend, as also the trade union organisations of India, China, Australia, Japan and Holland.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Seven of the principal leaders of the civil disobedience movement against racial discrimination measures are arrested, including Mr. Sisulu, secretary of the African National Congress and Mr. Cacchalia, secretary of the South African Indian Congress.

GREAT BRITAIN. — The Executive Council of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions passes a resolution agreeing to a further discussion with the employers on the subject of the demand for a £2 per week wage increase.

FRANCE. — The Administrative Committee of the C.G.T. decides to launch a general campaign for increases in wages, salaries and pensions under slogans of trade union democracy, unity and action.

EGYPT. — The young worker, Mustapha Khamis, arrested recently in the course of the struggle of the Alexandria textile workers, is sentenced to death by court martial.

August 14

NORWAY.—The paperworkers' trade union demands an hourly increase of 30 öre and a 42-hour week for all shift workers.

BELGIUM. — Following the united 24-hour strike of August 9, the government decides to release conscripts after 21 months of military service.

August 15

GREAT BRITAIN. — One thousand five hundred workers of the Fa rey Aviation factory in Hayes decide to associate themselves with the eight-weeks' old strike of the workers of the same firm in Stockport and Manchester for the reinstatement of the chairman and convenor of shop stewards.

— The management of Austin Motors, Birmingham, decides to sack 800 workers. The shop stewards committee proposes to the 20,000 workers of the factory a ban on overtime.

NIGERIA.—After 8 days of go-slow in the Enugu coalmines and on the railways, the Nigerian Coal Corporation decides to grant a 30% increase in the miners' special allowances.

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No. 4, AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1952

Information Bulletin

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

for the

Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security

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SUPPLEMENT TO "WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT" No. 18, 1952

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Preparing for the International Conference

Why the International Conference is Necessary

(Extract from the report made by HENRI RAYNAUD, Secretary of the French C.G.T., to the meeting of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee, June 18-19, 1952.)

I WOULD like to stress again the fact that the more the living standards of the workers are lowered, the more the purchasing power of wages is reduced and the greater the incidence of poverty, the more social security problems become a matter of life or death.

Poverty and low wages mean lack of care in the case of sickness, the total loss of the means of livelihood in the case of unemployment, and disabled persons without care, children sacrificed and old people exposed to starvation.

The defence of social security is a problem closely connected with all other activities of the working class for the improvement of wages and living conditions.

May I also be permitted to dwell for a moment on the particular importance which must be attached to the question of social security and social insurance for the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries.

To some extent this follows from my preceding observations. As is well known, the exploitation of the native population is carried on in these countries with unbelievable savagery. Unlimited super-exploitation of the most inhuman and barbarous kind exists in some of them. Even where these countries have some social legislation or social insurance, the laws are not only insufficient but their usefulness is further reduced by racial discrimination tending to exclude the native population. In many colonial and semi-colonial countries where social legislation is supposed to exist, the workers in reality are still vainly awaiting its implementation.

Where such projects are currently being studied, their realisation is being indefinitely delayed. The situation is even more lamentable in those colonial countries in which there is no social legislation whatsoever, leaving the workers exposed to the worst evils of colonialism.

The workers of all other countries must take this situation into account. They must not forget that those of the colonial and semi-colonial countries are entitled to their aid and support in the struggle for a real system of social insurance and social security.

I think that one can very simply state a general policy for these countries—to put an end to racial discrimination, and to bring their social security systems up to the level of the metropolitan country. Since there are great diversities in the situation in these countries, it is necessary to stress those particular demands which have a special significance in each specific case, and which offer possibilities for the mass mobilisation of those concerned.

Let there be no mistake about it: it is a matter of millions and millions of workers who are waiting for an end to be put at long last to this terrible injustice of poverty and suffering.

The mobilisation of the mass of the workers in the greatest possible unity, for the defence, improvement and extension of social insurance and social security is one of the necessary conditions for the success of the International Conference.

The participation of the mass of the workers in the preparation of the International Conference cannot be achieved practically and effectively unless it begins at the factory level. It is the task of the trade union organisations to endeavour to create the conditions for the achievement of this united action in the factories—on the job itself. How? By knowing how to make use to the best advantage, in each specific case, of the most immediate and important demands of the workers in the sphere of social security and social insurance, and which for this reason form a basis for mobilising the workers, and awakening a common will to action. When this movement of unity has been created, it must be organised and made concrete by setting up an action committee for social insurance and social security.

In order to extend this unity, especially to the self-employed workers, to the agricultural community and to other social sections, to experts and technicians, the establishment of local committees is recommended. Also recommended is the creation of a national committee which would obviously have as a basic objective the co-ordination and organisation on a national level of all the preparatory work for the International Conference.

Immense possibilities are offered to us in this struggle, which is part and parcel of working class action throughout the world against poverty and war, for peace, freedom and social progress.

Formation of a Preparatory Committee in Chile

Extract from the Chilean Delegate's Report

A PREPARATORY committee for the establishment of a Sponsoring Committee for the International Conference has been set up in Chile, with the participation of a number of trade union organisations, some of which are affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and some not.

The International Conference is being prepared at a time when the question of social insurance is assuming major importance in Chile. At the same time that the reactionaries in our country are carrying out a strong attack on the living standards of our people, the unity and the strength of the working class are daily increasing.

We have succeeded, as a result of great strikes in many enterprises, in winning the inclusion of social security provisions in collective agreements.

We have also succeeded in bringing before Parliament proposals for considerable reforms in social legislation.

The problem being so topical in Chile, the International Conference has aroused very keen interest among the working class, especially in connection with the proposed social legislation which is now under discussion.

In conclusion, I should like to make an observation on a problem which I believe is not dealt with in the draft programme and which, in my opinion, is very important in our propaganda for the Conference.

In the texts of the Chilean laws on social security many of the demands put forward in the Conference programme are included, but the concrete application of these laws matters more than the text, and the main problem for us is the **quality** of all these social security services.

Therefore, we in Chile propose to raise this problem in the preparatory meetings for the Conference. The Medical Association of Chile is in agreement with us as to the poor quality of medical care for the insured in the present circumstances. That is why I think that it is very important that this problem of the quality of the social security services should be discussed during the preparation of the International Conference.

A second point which I should like to mention concerns the effects of inflation, devaluation and rising prices on the social security system. This is a serious problem, which should be discussed at the Conference.

In my opinion, these two points have a special significance for the pre-Conference discussion in our country, in addition to all the other problems already included in the programme.

Preparation of the International Conference Strengthens the Fight Against the Threats to Social Security in Austria

Extract from the Austrian Delegate's Report

WE in Austria are linking the preparation of the International Conference with our fight against the deterioration in our existing social security system.

We have already succeeded in drawing the attention of the workers and trade union militants to the International Conference. The situation of social security in Austria is a very serious one. In fact, about 40 per cent. of insured workers previously entitled to old age pensions will be deprived of their rights by the new laws passed in May. This involves the workers in a loss of 300 million Austrian schillings.

At the same time, a new treasury law has been passed which makes a present of 300 million schillings to the capitalists.

We shall make use of these facts in the preparation of the Conference to demonstrate to the workers the urgent need for this International Conference.

We have already prepared pamphlets and leaflets on this matter, but we must link this question still more closely with the workers' struggle for the maintenance of their living standards. The bureaucratic leadership has succeeded to some extent in drawing the interest of the Austrian workers away from social security. It is our task to interest them in it.

There are 5 thousand million schillings at stake, which are paid annually in contributions by the Austrian workers. It is extremely important for the workers to know what is happening to this money.

Preparatory Activities and Progress of Social Security in the German Democratic Republic

Extract from the German Delegate's Report

AT the time of our departure from Berlin, a delegation of twenty social security specialists from Western Germany had just arrived there to visit the social security institutions of the German Democratic Republic. This visit arose from a recommendation made at the meeting of the Working Committee in February.

In the coming period we plan to hold local conferences of workers employed in social security institutions. We are also planning a National Social Security Conference. The aim of this Conference will be to set up a broad committee consisting of specialists, doctors and representatives of various associations concerned with social security.

Discussions are now going on in our German Democratic Republic on collective agreements for the various enterprises, and social questions and questions of protection at work have an important place in these discussions.

In this connection we have taken into account the recommendations of the Working Committee, and we have applied part of the proposals contained in the draft social security programme, presenting a number of demands to our government. These demands have been accepted, and the following provisions have been made: from June 1st sickness allowance will be paid at the rate of 90 per cent. of wages until either cure or declaration of invalidity; the number of places in sanatoria for preventive treatment to be increased from 165,000 to 200,000 (in addition to normal medical treatment); benefits to miners have been increased by an average of 36 per cent., and pensions will be paid to them as from the age of 50.

The question of the administration of social security by the trade unions has also been raised. The F.D.G.B. is responsible for the administration and control of social security. Three industrial trade unions—miners, metalworkers and railwaymen—have already drawn up their social security budgets. The postal and telephone workers' trade union will also have its own social security budget as from August 1st.

FINLAND

Miners' Conference on Social Security

IN connection with the Finnish National Preparatory Committee for the International Conference, a conference of Finnish miners on social security and social questions was held in Tampere on June 15th. The resolution adopted by the conference contains a detailed programme of demands relating to working time, paid holidays, pensions, medical care, industrial education, safety at work and leisure facilities.

Here, for example, is paragraph 4 of the resolution, concerning medical care:

"Compulsory medical inspection should be introduced for all miners, at least four times a year for underground workers, and twice a year for surface workers. In cases in which the inspection reveals symptoms of pathological change showing that the miner is suffering from silicosis, tuberculosis of the lungs, disorders or affections of the nervous system, rheumatism of the back, or other miners' industrial diseases, the miner must have the right to free medical and hospital care. If the illness allows of the patient undertaking other work, appropriate work must be found for him, with his agreement. Full wages must be paid throughout the duration of the illness. In the event of invalidity before pensionable age, the miner should have the right to a pension equal to 60 per cent. of his wages and to free medical care."

The resolution has been sent to the main trade union organisations of the country.

Publication of a Pamphlet on the Draft Programme Proposed to the Conference

The Bureau for the preparation of the International Conference has received a pamphlet published by the Finnish National Preparatory Committee. It is quite a short pamphlet (15 pages), printed very simply in newspaper type, in which, after a brief introduction, the various points of the programme proposed by the Working Committee in February are compared with the present situation in Finland. Thus the interest which the programme has in relation to the concrete situation in the country is clearly brought out, together with the main points on which activity is required in order to bring about an advance in social legislation.

This is an example which deserves to be taken up in other countries.

GUATEMALA

National Conference

A NATIONAL Conference on Social Security will be held in Guatemala in October in connection with the preparation of the International Conference.

Struggles for Social Security

FRANCE

C.G.T. Communique on the Defence of Social Security

The C.G.T. issued the following communique on August 2nd :

"THE Confederal Social Security Commission of the C.G.T., meeting on Thursday, July 31st, took note of information which it has received on the plans of the Minister of Labour in relation to measures for the reorganisation of the social security system.

"It protests against the fact that though these texts have already been communicated both to the Press and to certain organisations and individuals, nothing has yet been sent to the organisations most directly concerned, in particular to the National Federation of Social Security Organisations, to the National Union of Family Allowance Administrations and to the trade union organisations.

"Nevertheless, it appears from the information received:

"1) That all the proposed legislative texts have as their objective the balancing of the finances of the social security system, not by providing it with the resources needed in order to cover the present expenditure, deemed by us to be irreducible, but, on the contrary, by meeting the annual global deficit of 37,000 million francs, by an equivalent reduction in expenditure, that is, in benefits.

"No matter what declarations may be made on the maintenance of the benefit rates, the Minister of Labour's plans will nevertheless result in a reduction of not less than **37,000 millions in the total of benefits annually provided for the social insured and recipients of allowances.**

"2) That these restrictive measures affect **sickness insurance, old age insurance and family allowances."**

The Commission draws attention to the measures envisaged by the plan, which will particularly lead to a reduction in the use of costly medicaments, an increase in the number of hours of work required in order to earn the right to benefit, the limitation of reimbursement for pharmaceutical supplies to one single brand, the least costly in the event of their being several similar medicaments, the abolition of milk coupons and of allowances for nursing mothers, and the raising of the pensionable age.

The Commission further declares:

"No provision is made for the much-needed increase in the allowance for old workers. Nothing is envisaged for the complete use every year of the funds accumulating in the old age insurance fund. The intention appears therefore to continue to use the thousands of millions of francs of surplus in the old-age insurance fund to meet deficits elsewhere which nothing is done to overcome.

"The Confederal Commission recalls that the old people of France have in this way, to their misfortune, been robbed of 164,000 million francs since 1947.

"The Government plans also to put forward the principle of the harmonising of special systems with the general system, which means the desire to equalise them at the lower levels, that is, by ending the advantages which these special systems have over the general system.

"This is a very serious measure, being an attack upon the advantages enjoyed by the civil servants, miners, railwaymen, seamen, etc., to which these workers are resolutely attached."

After examining the attacks made on independent administration of social security, the declaration continues:

"The Confederal Social Security Commission calls upon the workers to realise immediately the importance of the dangers which threaten the whole system of social security.

"It therefore calls upon them to **organise unity in the enterprises around defence committees, and to continue their efforts in the local and departmental social security defence committees** in the way in which they acted in 1951 to 1952 against the Pleven and Faure Governments for the defence of their established gains.

"The Confederal Commission asks the C.G.T. representatives in the National Committee for the Defence and Improvement of Social Security to bring these problems to the attention of the Committee with a view to **the organisation of a great national campaign."**

It recalls the C.G.T. demands, which were widely approved by insured persons in the course of the 1950 elections to the social security bodies, and confirmed since then by many by-elections or elections to the administrative organs of special systems, in which the C.G.T. received an average of more than 60 per cent. of the votes.

"It associates itself fully with the appeal for unity issued by the French National Association of Old Workers to all the old people's organisations of France with a view to the organisation of a National Old People's Day, and calls upon all C.G.T. trade union organisations to do everything possible to ensure its success."

BELGIUM

Move to Defend Social Security

IN May, the Belgian Government used the pretext of a deficit of some 300 million francs in the system of sickness and invalidity insurance to launch a major offensive against social security.

After having "eliminated" 89,000 unemployed workers last year from the rolls of those receiving unemployment benefit, the Belgian Government proceeded to drastic cuts in medical insurance. As of May 1st this year it decreed:

—a decrease of 10-14 per cent. in the amount payable by the insurance institutions for doctors' bills;

—a decrease of 10-20 per cent. in the amount payable by the insurance institution for confinement expenses, and the elimination of reimbursement for confinement in some cases;

—a general price increase for prescriptions;

—a lengthening of the waiting period, and a general stiffening of eligibility requirements for medical benefits;

—the abolition of all reimbursement in the case of thousands of pharmaceutical specialities, including some of vital importance.

Actually, there is no justification whatsoever for these measures in the financial situation of Belgian Sickness-Invalidity Insurance. The employers owe at the present moment 1.8 billion francs to the insurance institute. The pharmaceutical trusts have been making huge profits.

Furthermore, the government could cover the entire deficit by **sacrificing only ten 'planes out of its huge armaments programme of 40 billion for 1952 alone.**

The acts of the government, combined with announcements of more reductions to come, have aroused considerable feeling among the Belgian working class. Although the top leadership of the Belgian Workers' Federation has given its blessing to these measures in the agreement of May 6, in which they also agreed to the wiping out of a 50 centimes per hour wage bonus, the vast majority of the workers, including many local trade unions and even trade union federations, have refused to accept the situation.

Instead, they have not only violently protested against

the cuts recently introduced but have put forward new demands for the improvement of social security. The main points of their programme are the introduction of free medical care and an increase of pensions to the level of 75 per cent. of real wages.

This programme figured prominently in the demands of the strikers of 16 great enterprises in the Antwerp region, in the strike vote taken by the miners of the pits of Many, Boverie and Vieille Montagne, in the strike of 7,000 ship repair workers, in the factory meetings held at the great plants of the F.N. enterprises in Herstal and A.C.E.C. enterprises in Charleroi.

Moreover, the dockers have formed a Solidarity Committee for the ship repair workers, at the same time drawing up their own demands for free medical care, increased safety at work, and a supplementary pension of 7,000 francs per year. The miners have also raised the question of a lower retirement age and special pension increases.

These struggles were given new impetus by the inauguration of a "Week of Struggle against the Plundering of Social Security," which was successfully observed from May 26-31. In hundreds of meetings, the issues were explained to the workers. Special meetings were arranged in the factories, and in many cases resolutions were carried by the workers and ship stewards protesting against the medical cuts and endorsing the programme outlined above.

A special initiative was taken by the women of the General Independent Confederation of Pensioners who realised that social secruity was a vital issue for all women. They sent a delegation to the Women's Rally for Peace and Well-being, and together with that organisation they worked out a plan of action. They decided that they would visit factories and collect signatures to a petition incorporating their demands. Already, the shop stewards of Westinghouse at Forest, of Chaurobel, A.C.E.C. Ruysbrook and many other large plants have registered their support for the women's petition.

Action by the Belgian workers in defence of social security is continuing.

ITALY

Italian Workers Win Increased Family Allowances

THE joint action of the General Confederation of Italian Labour (C.G.I.L., affiliate of the W.F.T.U.), the Christian Trade Unions, the C.I.S.L., and the Italian Labour Union (U.I.L.), has resulted in the conclusion of an agreement with the Confederation of Italian Employers, whereby, among other things, family allowances for manual and office workers in industry have been increased.

This benefit, which is financed by the employers, is payable to each industrial and office worker at the rate of—

153 lire per day for the first and each additional child ($1.75 or 12 shillings per week)
100 lire per day for a wife
55 lire per day for a dependent parent.

This is an increase on the previous family allowances of 38, 32 and 6 lire per day respectively, for the dependents of an industrial worker, and 33, 30 and 4.50 lire for the dependents of an office worker in industry, thus equalising the new allowances to manual and office workers.

The increase involves a total yearly expenditure of 48,000 million lire for the Italian employers.

The agreement is an important success for the Italian workers whose demand was for an all round increase for all categories and has won for the Italian workers an improvement in their standard of living.

RESOLUTION

of the Regional Conference on Accidents and Social Protection in the Sicilian Mines, Caltanissetta,

14th—15th June, 1952*

THE Regional Conference on accidents and social protection in the Sicilian mines which took place in Caltanissetta on June 14th and 15th, 1952, with the participation of delegations of mineworkers, representatives of social assistance institutes, trade union organisations, social insurance organisations, governmental authorities, technicians, experts and doctors, has examined the serious and extremely disturbing situation of the 9,000 miners employed in the mines of the region.

The detailed and documented report of the director of the National Confederal Assistance Institute of Caltanissetta has brought out the serious inadequacies existing in all the mines with regard to the most elementary measures of protection, health and safety, together with the backward organisation of work and the inadequacy of the equipment.

The speeches of those taking part in the conference and of many miners' delegations strongly denounced the tragic consequences of the intensive exploitation forced upon the mineworkers by the employers through piece-work, overtime and double shifts.

In particular, the conference has revealed:

1) The growing number of accidents, which have increased by 242 per cent since 1948, rising from 854 to 2,922, and caused in the majority of cases by the inadequacy of available means of protection, the shortage of safety lamps, the state of the roofing of the tunnels and the non-application of safety measures, without taking into account the super-exploitation of the workers to which we have already referred above.

2) The worsening of the situation with regard to industrial illnesses, the recrudescence of forms of ankhylostoniasis among the workers of certain mines due to the deterioration of the health and sanitary conditions and the increase in the cases of bronchitis caused by inhaling sulphur trioxide, owing to the backward methods of melting.

3) The impossibility of giving speedy and effective assistance in cases of accidents and illness, due to the inadequate character and in many cases to the absence of sanitary arrangements in the mines or in the immediate vicinity, the lack of first-aid posts, medicines, ambulances, telephone, surgical dressing cases, while the health personnel is often inadequate in number and in training.

4) The serious situation caused by the complete inadequacy of housing, means of communication and accessible roads to the mines are all factors causing serious disadvantages to the workers.

5) The delays and excessive bureaucratic methods applied in paying allowances due to the workers, especially by the National Institute for Social Insurance

* See also Bulletin No. 3.

and the National Institute for Sickness Insurance.

Recognising that the accusations brought out in the report were well founded and confirmed in the discussion, the Conference took up the demands of the Sicilian miners and pledged itself to intervene with a view to obtaining their acceptance by the competent authorities as well as by the institutions and other bodies concerned as soon as possible.

It called on the employers and the Italian Sulphur Association to satisfy, in conformity with the legislation in force, the most important demands of the mine workers which are, in the first place, those directed against accidents and industrial disease, that is:

a) Modernisation of the seams and the equipment in the mines.

b) Application of health and safety measures, appropriate reinforcement of the galleries or arches, in order to avoid falls and slides. Tapping and gathering of water in the galleries, the installation of a system of draining away and holding the water in check, and lateral galleries to enable better ventilation of the mines.

c) Provision of necessary means of protection for the workers, such as protective masks, safety lamps, special footwear and clothing to protect the workers against humidity and against frequent injuries to the feet, the installation of sensitive and reliable apparatus to indicate the presence of poisonous gas and to prevent the danger of explosions.

d) Provision of housing for the workers so that they will not have to sleep under the open sky, the installation of showers, refectories and changing rooms.

In order to ensure the carrying out of all these necessary measures, the Conference demanded that the Labour Inspectorate and the Department of Mines carry out a most active and effective inspection and apply more energetic and decisive action to force the employers and the Italian Sulphur Association to put these measures into operation. For, in the majority of cases, these are already provided for by law.

The Conference asked the national and regional authorities to take a great and more active interest in bringing protective legislation up to date, and especially in the application of the standards in force, by the strengthening of inspection in the mines and by providing inspectors with the necessary means to intensify their activity.

It asked the National Institute of Accident Insurance to launch a campaign for accident prevention and to secure the putting into force of the law of January 1952, to have the administration of the sulphur workers insurance included in the framework of the general law, to charge the mine employers and the Italian Sulphur Association to pay contributions and to force them to adopt the most elementary measures of safety and health at work.

It also demanded that the National Institute of Accident Insurance install in all mining districts medical centres and first-aid posts with the necessary supplies and instruments and a permanent medical staff.

The Conference demanded that the National Institute of Sickness Insurance should set up medical centres in agreement with the National Institute of Accident Insurance, and ensure regular attendance of doctors for examinations and treatment of workers who are ill.

The workers demanded of all social insurance institutes that they abandon their bureaucratic attitude and speed up the procedure in granting cash benefits, indemnities for sickness, accident and disability, and that they should carry out this task in a spirit of fraternal understanding.

Finally, the Conference asked:

1) The Government and all regional authorities to undertake without delay an examination of the situation and to take some immediate urgent measures, and other long term measures, based on the idea of a change in the existing legislation by strengthening government powers in the sphere of prevention.

2) The Regional Bureau of Industry and Commerce, to intervene with the Department of Mines so that it rigorously applies the law on the policing of mines and ensure the application of rational working methods; ensure that the application of the law on the financing of the sulphur industry be accompanied by a decisive improvement of the equipment, through modern installations for the protection of the workers' lives.

3) The Director of the Regional Labour Insurance to intervene with the Institute of Accident Insurance on the basis of Article 20 of the Statute, in order to bring about a more effective and improved first-aid service.

4) In addition, that the General Assembly change the law on the financing of social works in the mines by making them obligatory.

5) That trade union organisations, Assistance Boards and the regional and national Members of Parliament who have encouraged and supported the Conference, to carry on determined and continuous activity to persuade all the organisations, organs and bodies concerned to accept and apply in the sectors of their specific competence the urgent demands of the Sicilian miners, and thus to contribute to remedying the present infamous situation, which is a permanent danger to the health, the physical well-being and the lives of the workers in the great majority of Sicilian mines.

The Algerian Experience

An Example for the Colonial Workers in their Struggle for Social Security

By A.H.

IN the preparation of the International Conference on Social Insurance and Social Security, we think it opportune with regard to the Colonial, dependent and under-developed countries to analyse briefly the experiences of one of these countries, Algeria, and the struggle carried on by the Algerian workers to bring a social security system to their country.

Immediately following the Second World War, the Algerian trade union movement, which had been banned under the Vichy regime, underwent considerable development and made a determined effort to organise the workers.

The carrying out of a thorough reform of social security held an important place in its objectives, as a complement to a general increase in wages.

With the participation of our trade union movement a draft law was drawn up by Pierre Fayet, Deputy for Algiers and Secretary of the Departmental Trades Council. This draft adapted French laws to Algerian conditions. As social insurance did not exist in Algeria, the social security system had to be based on family allowances. In order to be practical, it had to cover not only the 400,000 wage-earners of the public and private sectors, but also the agricultural workers and the 800,000 *khamés*—share-croppers who receive one-fifth of the harvest.

The draft law on social security was completed and put before the Bureau of the French National Assembly, and the essential problem then was to take action to have it adopted.

First of all it was necessary to bring about an understanding among the mass of the people of the idea of social security, of the advantages which it could bring to the workers, and of the need to fight in order to win this demand.

Many meetings of trade union cadres were organised. Our draft was developed, explained, discussed, and the conditions for success were laid down. Our programme was published in trade union and democratic papers, and widely distributed. The general idea of social security permeated among the mass of the people, awakened the enthusiasm of the workers and won public opinion to our cause. The housewives and the families of the wage-earners were our best propagandists. Trade union meetings and general meetings were organised. Every strike movement, every action by the workers, included the demand for a social security system.

Once the movement was under way, it was necessary to co-ordinate action on a national scale, and the trade union movement made every effort to this end. Social security weeks were organised on a departmental scale. The most outlying parts of the country were visited, the slogans explained, resolutions passed, petitions signed and delegations organised to call on the elected representatives and the public authorities. Emulation campaigns between different trade unions and industries took on the most varied forms. Then a social security fortnight was organised on the national scale. The workers throughout the whole country demanded a social security system. Great banners spread the slogans of the trade unions and gave a graphic interpretation of the advantages of social security. Leaflets carried illustrations showing what the workers could expect from social security. The one on old age insurance, for example, showed the state of our old people without pensions by a picture of an old man in rags holding out his hand at the street corner. Opposite was an illustration of the advantages of our plan, shown by an old man freed from care, holding his little grandson by the hand. The same was done for the other points, and the whole of our propaganda was published in both the French and Arab languages.

Our efforts had their repercussions among all sections of the population. Official declarations were made, recognising the need for social security in Algeria. The draft handed in by our Brother Fayet was examined by the Home Affairs Commission of the National Assembly and adopted in its general lines.

Reaction, which was incredulous at first, quickly became aware of the scope of the movement which had been aroused. It made desperate and vain efforts to deflect the workers from their demand, using its favourite weapon of racial division; and it also made out that the draft was of a political and separatist character.

In order to avoid the danger, the reactionaries got their Members of Parliament to present a retrograde social security plan. Then, having no confidence in the decision which would be taken by the French National Assembly, they preferred to submit the problem to the Algerian Assembly, a body over which they had control. Meanwhile, the Statute of Algeria was passed, which created the Algerian Assembly and endowed it with limited legislative powers. In the summer of 1949, this Assembly adopted a set of laws providing for the organisation of a general social security system in Algeria, a social security system for civil servants, and the organisation of an agricultural insurance system.

But the Algerian workers are not satisfied with the social security system which has been granted to them. They consider it to be a colonial and racially discriminating caricature of social security.

Nevertheless, even this caricature of a social security system in Algeria has the advantage of creating a starting point for a fighting campaign for its improvement, having always in view the aim of the trade union movement to institute a real social security system covering all risks for all workers, administered by them, and mainly financed by their exploiters.

The International Conference on Social Insurance and Social Security will be of extreme importance to us. It will enable us to compare our experiences with those of other countries with a view to improving our work and carrying out united action of the whole working class to advance towards the winning of a real social security system.

The constitution of an Algerian Committee for a real social security system is a decisive element in this action, for as Brother Ruiz, General Secretary of the Algerian Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee, so rightly said at the last meeting of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee last June, social security is the affair of the whole Algerian people, of all sections of the population, regardless of their race or opinion, who are animated by a sincere desire for social progress, freedom and peace.

Information, Discussion and Correspondence

From the Tribal Organisation of the African Population to the Struggle of the Colonial Workers for Social Security

ANTHROPOLOGY is doubtless a serious science, and anthropologists respectable men, but the use which is made of their knowledge by the colonialist governments is nothing less than a complete distortion of the facts.

Evidence of this is the study of the tribal organisation of the African populations and the conclusions which certain reactionaries draw from this in order to try to prevent the adoption of any social measures for these peoples. Just think of it, these populations would not understand and would have difficulty in admitting the institution of a system of social security for their members. The tribal organisation is there to make up for it.

". . . . The traditional social system, particularly the extended family system, provides for the assistance of the old, unemployed and infirm, and lays obligations on the whole family to look after the interests and welfare of each member." (Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories, Volume III, 1951.)

There is a striking example of the cynicism of the colonialists, for it is difficult to imagine what help could be given to one of its members by a family or tribe which is itself suffering from hunger, illness, undernourishment and famine.

It is clear that family and tribal solidarity exist among the African populations to a very high degree. However, colonial exploitation has considerably weakened this solidarity where it has not completely destroyed it by the transplantation of African workers for use as shamefully exploited labour-power. (Northern Rhodesian —European miners £58 to £68 a month, African miners £2 11s. to £3 3s. a month—1950.)

It is thus indispensable that a modern institution in line with actual needs should take the place of the family and the tribe, which are no longer able to play their traditional role and assure the African worker the solidarity to which he is entitled.

This institution can only be a system of social security

adapted to the conditions of these territories, capable of protecting the worker whatever his race, colour or religion against all risks and assuring him and his family the minimum of resources for subsistence.

It is precisely this great reform which the colonial workers are demanding, with full knowledge of the issue, having become firmly convinced that the source of all the evils which afflict them is colonial exploitation, which gives fabulous profits to their exploiters and reduced the immense majority of the population to poverty, illness, unemployment and death.

They clearly confirmed this during the Bamako Conference, held on October 27, 1951, which brought together representatives of the trade union organisations of French West and Equatorial Africa and of the Cameroons. At this conference they demánded:

1) A wide system of social security covering all risks, illness, maternity, accidents, incapacity, old age, death, etc.

2) The establishment of an effective system of registration of unemployed, the granting of allowances, the undertaking of productive public works useful to the population and enabling the reabsorption of the unemployed.

3) Annual paid holidays and travelling expenses paid for by the employer.

The action undertaken by the African and Madagascan workers to obtain the adoption of the Labour Code, supported by the C.G.T. and already given its first reading by the French National Assembly, is progressing and growing in order to obtain the elimination of the retrograde clauses introduced by the Council of the Republic. The lists of petitions are being covered with an increasing number of signatures, and the vast movement of opinion created around this question will not fail to have favourable repercussions and bring about the rapid and definite adoption of the Labour Code. This provides for social advantages such as dispensaries and a qualified doctor in all large enterprises, free care for the worker and his family, fourteen weeks on half-pay and free care for the working woman in the event of maternity, family allowances, and a range of measures which favour the institution of a vast system of social security.

In Somaliland, New Guinea, Tanganyika, Togoland, everywhere, the colonial peoples are fighting under the leadership of the working class for a decent life, against colonial oppression, the generator of poverty and oppression, against racial discrimination, and are demanding improvements in the social sphere. Their demands have found their echo in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

The reports of its commissions of inquiry are quite striking on this point.

". . . The Visiting Mission had remarked upon the unsatisfactory health conditions and it was a fact that the difficult conditions of life in New Guinea, the hunger and poverty that were rampant and the lack of adequate medical services meant that, unless basic changes were made in the policy of the Administering Authority, the indigenous inhabitants were doomed to extinction. There was constant increase in the already high mortality rates, especially in the infant mortality rate, which showed that some 40 per cent of the children born never reached maturity. Press reports presented an even gloomier picture. . . ." (Trusteeship Council, 18th March, 1952.)

"During the years 1950 and 1951 epidemics of cholera and malaria affected the country, the former causing 10 per cent of deaths in 1950, and the latter causing 20 per cent of deaths in 1951, without this state of affairs changing in any way the apathy and indifference of the Administrative Authorities." (Somaliland, Petition to the Trusteeship Council, 4th March, 1952.)

We are a long way from anthropology and its theoretical speculations on the tribal organisation of the African populations.

These populations are becoming aware of their destinies and are going forward resolutely to a future freed from colonialist exploitation and its evils. The working class of the colonial countries is in the front rank of this struggle, helped powerfully by the W.F.T.U. and its 80 million members.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the preparation of the International Conference on Social Insurance and Social Security will mark an important stage in the struggle of the African workers for the institution of a real system of social security.

Through the work of the International Conference, and in the light of the results obtained in other countries, they will clarify their demands, they will decide upon the best means by which to achieve them, and by the development of united action for social insurance and social security they will force the granting of these great social reforms, which are at present completely lacking in their countries.

THE VOICE OF GREECE:

Juggling with Insurance Funds

Dear Brothers,

The duly elected Executive Committee of the Greek Géneral Confederation of Labour has studied the subject of the International Conference on Social Insurance and has arrived at the following conclusions:

The International Conference is of particular interest for the workers of Greece, where the Social Insurance Fund has been repeatedly confiscated. This operation has been carried out both by means of inflation and simply by the Government "borrowing" (without ever making repayment) from the Social Insurance Fund, in order to pay for armaments. It should be noted that these funds are made up of monies deducted from the workers' starvation wages.

At present, the problem of social insurance rises to a new and acute pitch, the Americans demanding once again through the intermediary of the puppet government the pocketing of the social insurance fund in order to divert these funds for the preparation of war.

The great majority of workers express concern and sharp protest against this new brigandage, prepared by the American occupants, to the detriment of the Social Insurance Funds. The discontent and the upsurge of feeling among the workers has won the support of a great number of social workers and of political leaders who are showing a lively interest in the problems of social insurance.

For all these reasons, we think that the International Conference on the problems of Social Insurance will have the support of the workers, social workers and progressive citizens of Greece. . . ."

For the Elected Executive Committee of the Greek General Confederation of Labour.

Costas Theos,
Secretary.

Western Germany

Recent regulations on the so-called reform of the unemployment insurance scheme has resulted in a weekly unemployment allowance of between 19 and 27 per cent of last earned wages. This is not only the lowest present rate of any in the West German Insurance Scheme but also the lowest unemployment benefit since the introduction of unemployment insurance. In spite of the reduction of benefits workers' unemployment contributions have been considerably increased.

We may recall that in May 1952, according to official figures, there were 1,311,000 unemployed receiving allowances in Western Germany. The number of unregistered unemployed (not included in this figure) runs into hundreds of thousands.

Social Security and National Income

A comparative table of the cost of social security recently published by the International Labour Office, (I.L.O. News, June 1952), shows the percentage of the national income redistributed by social security in various capitalist countries. The figures quoted range from 1.43 per cent in Turkey to 21.77 per cent in the Saar. Great Britain, France, Austria, Belgium and Sweden fall in the middle range of 10-15 per cent. The Union of South Africa spends 3.68 per cent and the United States 4.83 per cent.

New Progress in Social Insurance in the Soviet Union

The draft directives for the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and for the fifth five-year plan for development in the U.S.S.R. from 1951 to 1955 envisage an even greater amount of credits to be granted for Soviet workers and employees. During the course of these five years, credits will be increased by about 30 per cent as compared with 1950. This means that in 1955 the social insurance budget will amount to more than 6,000 million dollars, as against 5,000 million dollars spent in 1950, and 2,600 million dollars spent on social insurance during the whole period of the first five-year plan.

The new five-year plan envisages also a great development in the protection of the health of the Soviet population. During the five-year period the number of hospital beds will increase by at least 20 per cent, the number of places in sanatoria by 15 per cent, the number of places in rest-homes by 30 per cent, and the places in creches and kindergartens by 20 per cent and 40 per cent respectively.

There will be an even more considerable increase in the number of hospital beds in certain republics. For example, there will be an increase of 40 per cent in the Lithuanian Republic, and of 30 per cent in the Republics of Latvia and Esthonia.

For the year 1952 alone, it is planned to spend 5,700 million dollars on public health and physical culture.

The network of governmental creches and kindergartens serve more than two million children, without counting the immense number of these establishments for village children.

The Soviet development plan makes no appropriation for unemployment allowances, given the fact that there has been full employment in the Soviet Union for decades and the number of workers and employees is increasing regularly. According to the plan, this number will be 15 per cent higher in 1955 than in 1950.

Discussion of the Preliminary Social Security Programme

The preliminary Draft Programme of the Working Committee for the preparation of the International Conference has never been regarded as anything else than a basis of discussion. As such it was originally adopted, and as such it has been since confirmed by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., and the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee which met on June 18-19 in Vienna.

With the following article, the Information Bulletin continues this discussion, without identifying itself with the views expressed by the author. It will continue to publish all signed contributions which express different points of view, as long as they are in agreement with the basic purposes of the International Conference.

(Note: The paragraph headings and numbers in Dr. Arreguin's letter refer to the corresponding divisions in the preliminary programme of social security, published in No. 1 of this Bulletin.)

Principles of Social Security

A Contribution by DR. ENRIQUE ARREGUIN, JR.

Mexico

1. To the list of social risks and contingencies, it would be good to add family allowances and paid holidays, in order that these should not have a secondary character which could be interpreted as though they were of secondary importance.

6. This point refers concretely to the sphere of application of social insurance among the various sectors of the population. For greater clarity and precision, it would be good to point out that social insurance must include the two great groups formed by the wage-earners and the independent workers. In the first section must be included both urban and rural workers, those who work at home and State employees. The second must include the members of the liberal professions, together with apprentices and students, with special provisions related to their economic conditions.

7. The worker's contribution must be reduced as much as possible, but it is good to leave always a small cash contribution as a means of guaranteeing a right to benefits and a right to take part in the administration of social insurance. Otherwise there would be the risk of the workers' section being eliminated from the direction and administration of social insurance, placing the workers in the position of being recipients of assistance who are receiving favours as is the case with those in economic need.

8. There is a contradiction between the second and third paragraphs of this point. In the second, the workers are denied participation in the technical services, and in the third, it is stated that this participation must be achieved at all levels of the administration of social insurance. The latter is the correct position since the insured workers in fact have all the technical capacities for work at the highest levels of the direction of social insurance.

Standards of Social Security

1. SICKNESS

a) It would be good to point out that the medical assistance must be *complete,* that is, including attention at home, attention by specialists, hospitalisation and the auxiliary services by diagnosis and pharmacy. In many social insurance systems only part of this medical attention is granted. For example, hospitalisation and pharmaceutical services are lacking, and the service provided is thus incomplete.

b) The ending of the waiting period has some drawbacks. It would be right to fight for the reduction of this period to a minimum of three days, as in many countries the period is much more. The ending of the waiting period would result in an enormous burden for social insurance and would necessitate an increase in the rate of contributions.

Fixing a limit for the allowances in respect of non-industrial illness is the basis for allowing the functioning of invalidity insurance to establish a longer period for certain illnesses of greater duration, such as tuberculosis, nervous and mental illnesses.

d) The money allowance to working mothers for the care of a sick child could be extended so that a grant could be made for the payment of a nurse or other person to care for the child when the mother continues at work.

2. INDUSTRIAL RISKS

a) The same recommendation for complete medical assistance is necessary for this risk.

b) It is necessary to add the granting of a special allowance in cases of major disability, sufficient to pay for the services of an attendant.

3. MATERNITY

a) It is also necessary to emphasise the need for complete medical assistance.

4. OLD AGE AND INVALIDITY

a) The fixing of an age of less than 60 years for a man and 55 for a woman has the disadvantage that it eliminates from work many workers who still have full capacity for work, and who as a result of their experience have attained a high degree of skill. To avoid this, it may be considered correct to fix the age limits for old age pensions at 60 for a man and 55 for a woman, with the possibility of a reduction in the age limit for unhealthy and arduous work.

c) Disablement pensions must be permanent in cases which merit it, and temporary in the case of chronic illnesses which can be cured and in which it is possible to achieve rehabilitation through work.

6. FAMILY ALLOWANCES

The problem in Latin America is not to encourage births, the birth-rate being high, but the care of children in order to overcome the existing high infant mortality rate. The benefits provided should be especially medical supplies and food subsidies.

7. SURVIVORS AND DEATH BENEFITS

a) It is not considered right or just that the widow's pension should only be granted to widows with children. It should be extended to all widows without this limitation, and also without any restrictions as to age. It is also necessary that the widow's pension should not take into account matrimonial legality, but that it should be granted to a mistress under certain defined circumstances.

d) When there is neither a widow nor children, the pension should be granted to the parents if they were economically dependent on the deceased.

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The I.C.F.T.U. and the Struggle of the Colonial Peoples

THE Constituent Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, held in Paris in September-October 1945, reiterated the right of the peoples to self-determination and to national independence, and put forward the principles of help to the under-developed countries both in the industrial and agricultural spheres " in order to free them from their present position of dependence and to improve the standard of living of their population." The Congress stated that in no case should this assistance allow the more developed countries " to interfere in the internal affairs of the needy countries or to subject them to the influence of international trusts and cartels," and it recommended that care should be taken that this programme should not be used to benefit " monopolistic profiteering interests, native or foreign, which would harm the legitimate national and social interests of these countries."

From the decisions taken, as from the rules adopted during that Congress, derive the line of action of the W.F.T.U. with regard to the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and dependent territories :

—sustained help for the establishment and development of trade union organisations aimed at bringing together all of the workers;

—support for their fight for improved working and living conditions and for the winning of their national independence;

—help in the development of their national economy.

The Congress was unanimous on all points.

That was seven years ago. What is the situation today?

We all feel a certain satisfaction in stating that the W.F.T.U. has always worked for the realisation of the tasks which were assigned to it in this sphere,

both by its Constituent Congress and by the Second World Trade Union Congress in Milan in 1949 and the meetings which have been held of the General Council and the Executive Committee. The Dakar and Bamako African Conferences, the Peking Pan-Asian Conference, the various regional conferences held by the Trade Unions Internationals, the activity of the W.F.T.U. in the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, the action of the Liaison Bureaux and the constant support given to the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.), and to the national organisations of the countries concerned, are further proofs.

I will not dwell on the point, for that is not my purpose.

However, though the W.F.T.U. has made every effort to honour its engagements in this sphere as in others, can the same be said of those who were present in 1945 and agreed on these points, and who, at the beginning of 1949, shattered working class unity in order, ten months later, to set up a dissident organisation? I say no, and I shall try to prove it.

No doubt, the leaders of the International Confederation of " Free " Trade Unions make demagogic statements, and pretend, in words, to be the defenders of the oppressed peoples. But how are their words translated into deeds? I shall take but a few examples.

The 1945 Congress of the W.F.T.U. thought it necessary to hold a trade union conference for the countries of Asia. Nevertheless, the members of the Executive Bureau belonging (before the split) to the British Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.), the American Congress of Industrial Organisations (C.I.O.), and the Dutch N.V.V. used all possible delaying tactics to postpone the calling of the conference; and it was not until after the split which they provoked, that the W.F.T.U. was able to hold this conference. Why? Because these leaders knew quite well that this Pan-Asian Conference would bring out the truth that the working peoples of the oppressed countries cannot obtain substantial and definite advantages unless they first shatter the yoke of imperialism and carry to a successful conclusion the struggle for national liberation. That would have hampered considerably the colonialist policy of the British and Dutch governments and provided a serious obstacle to the policy of the American State Department, directed to extending the sphere of influence of the United States to territories placed under the authority of colonial powers, without any regard for the emancipation and the improvement of the conditions of the peoples of these territories.

During the London Congress of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions in December 1949, it can be stated that the words colonialism, imperialism—and even socialism—were carefully banned from the speeches. Thus, the Cypriot delegate, Pissas, was able to say on Friday afternoon, December 9th :

" I cannot see the word imperialism anywhere. Not only is it not to be found anywhere in this report, but it is not even mentioned in any other docu-

ment of our organisation. . . . Doesn't this Congress know that there are more than 50 countries present which are slaves of imperialism? Don't we know that more than 78 territories of the world are occupied by countries which are foreign in race, religion and language? . . . . Don't we know that imperialism is a great danger to the prosperity of the working class of the world? Because of this fact, I propose that imperialism should be clearly and decisively included in this manifesto, and that we state bluntly to the world that we are also opposed to that form of oppression. . . ." (Retranslation).

He went on to add:

"Where is the resolution in this Congress on liberty for the colonials? Where is the resolution showing the solidarity which we owe to all peoples who are suffering under one yoke or another from this or that country? I have seen no resolution. Are we going to limit ourselves merely to writing fine reports? We have drawn them up here in perfect grammatical language. I am grieved to say again that deeds do not follow words in the declarations which we make." (Retranslation).

During the meeting of the International Labour Conference in Geneva last June, I asked the workers' group to adopt a motion of solidarity with the Tunisian workers, regardless of trade union affiliations. There were gathered together there the representatives of trade union organisations affiliated, in the great majority, to the I.C.F.T.U., with the addition of representatives of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions and the W.F.T.U. The trade union centres of 52 countries were represented, only four of them being affiliated to the W.F.T.U. To have adopted the proposed motion would have been to affirm, in a unity doubtless never before known, international working class solidarity with the Tunisian workers. It would have brought tremendous moral comfort to our Tunisian brothers. It would have created a considerable embarrassment to those who oppress them. This motion was deliberately presented in a very moderate form, in order to make it acceptable to all. It was rejected by all the members of the I.C.F.T.U. and the Christian Trade Unions without exception, including those representing the colonial peoples.

However, in order to pose before their members as defenders of the Tunisian people, the I.C.F.T.U. leaders had submitted a resolution to the International Labour Office against the violation of trade union rights in Tunisia. Nineteen complaints brought forward in similar circumstances by the W.F.T.U. were all rejected by the I.L.O. The I.C.F.T.U. leaders thus know very well that their's will remain a dead letter.

That does not matter to them. They accept the fact, thus thinking to save face with their members among the colonial peoples. But they refuse any action which may take on a mass character, and thus become effective.

Here is another example.

The Resolutions Committee of the International Labour Conference had

to examine a draft put forward by the Yugoslav government delegation, dealing with help to economically under-developed countries. The text presented was extremely dangerous, for it could cover up all imperialist activities, and that was, in fact, its aim. I proposed a number of amendments to this text, in order, especially :

a) to guarantee the right of the peoples to self-determination;

b) to ensure that the countries receiving help would have the free disposal of their natural resources;

c) to facilitate for these countries the acquisition of the machinery, tools and raw materials which they need;

d) to contribute to the winning of their economic independence and to eliminate all economic or political privileges for foreign States or monopolies.

All the I.C.F.T.U. delegates on the Committee rejected these amendments, lining up with the employer and government delegates of the capitalist countries. Their spokesman was, by supreme irony, Mr. Shastri, the Indian " worker's " delegate.

However, I repeat that the I.C.F.T.U. leaders had adopted the principles contained in these amendments, in Paris in October 1945.

The I.C.F.T.U. leaders are nevertheless trying hard to make headway in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. They are sending more and more delegations to Africa and Asia. They are setting up liaison offices and schools " for the training of trade union cadres." Why?

The permanent aims of colonialism can be summarized thus : to seize the sources of raw materials, to seek outlets for the industrial products of the home country, to seek cheap sources of labour power and to seek outlets for the profitable investment of capital.

The colonialists are disturbed at the development of the struggle of the colonial peoples for their national independence. They are making use of their agents in the working class movement. The aim of the activities of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders is to hold back and stem this movement and to help to strengthen the enslavement of these countries.

In expounding his programme on January 20th, 1949, President Truman stressed his desire to draw up a broad and bold plan directed towards bringing the benefits of science and technique to the under-developed areas of the world. Shortly afterwards, high officials of the American State Department announced that a plan was already being studied, based on co-operation between the United States government and the countries concerned on the one hand, and American private capital through the intermediary of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on the other. The government of the country " benefiting " from American aid would supply the natural resources of the country and the necessary labour power and services.

That is not what the peoples of the under-developed countries need. They require above all:

—to increase their agricultural production;

—to create and develop a national industry;

—to raise the national cultural level.

Under cover of helping in the development of international trade, the United States means in reality to drain off to itself the raw materials and to export its surplus production, without any regard to the real needs of the countries concerned. No doubt an industry will develop, especially an extraction industry, and no doubt ports will be set up, means of communication established and schools organised, though only in the degree to which they prove useful to the exploitation of the country's wealth by the American monopolies.

The same is certainly true of all colonial countries.

This is made even worse by the integration of Point Four within the system of "mutual security," which is in fact merely an appendage of the "military aid" programme—the seizure of strategic raw materials, the building of strategic roads and the installation of military bases. Truman was able to say in his message on the Mutual Security Programme to Congress on March 7th, 1952 that four-fifths or more of the manganese, tin or chrome for a destroyer or a jet-fighter comes from outside the Western Hemisphere, meaning, no doubt, that they come from under-developed countries.

The I.C.F.T.U. leaders have been responsible for helping in the development of this policy. So they are careful not to attack imperialism, or to give effective support to the working class struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries or to support national emancipation movements. The report presented by the General Secretary, Oldenbroek, at their Milan Congress was nothing more than an unreserved acceptance of American plans, the Atlantic Pact, the Marshall Plan, Point Four of the Truman doctrine, the Schuman Plan, etc. All the resolutions adopted—European economic union, the Japanese question, the German question, the Austrian question, etc.—are inspired by the same policy. The defence of the workers' interests was very far from their preoccupations. It is quite easy to understand that an African delegate said, when it was a question of the "defence of Western civilisation" by arms: "Give us bread and freedom, and we shall be able to defend them."

I consider it to be useful for the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries to know this.

ALAIN LE LEAP,
Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

Trade Union Democracy in Great Britain

By JOAN LOUDON

COMPARED with many American trade unions, British unions are democratic. In most cases the officials are elected—though once elected they are often there for life. The tradition handed down by the early unions that the members should control the officers is still strong, and in some unions is the practice. Most unions have policy conferences, which according to their constitutions are the supreme authority. Accounts are scrupulously kept and are published.

However there are some undemocratic features in the constitutions of many unions, and unfortunately this is most true of the body which co-ordinates the unions, the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

Further, a constant struggle is necessary to get democracy carried out in practice. If a union leadership is determined to pursue unpopular policies, its hold on the machine gives it a hundred opportunities to frustrate the wishes of the members, even if the rule book provides for a good deal of democracy. Much depends on whether the leadership wants the whole membership to take an active part in the work of the union. In some unions the leadership does want this, in others it certainly does not.

Conferences

MOST unions hold annual or biennial conferences where policy is formulated, and this policy is binding on Executive Committees and officials. There are a few unions however which have no regular policy conferences. The outstanding example here is the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, of which Lincoln Evans, one of the most reactionary members of the General Council of the TUC, is General Secretary.

There are some other features which may prevent a conference being fully effective. One is the length of conference. The Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Union of Railwaymen meet for a fortnight or (in the case of the NUR) until the business is finished. Many unions meet for about a week, but some only for two or three days, which often means that important resolutions are not discussed at all. The qualifications for being a delegate can affect the character of the conference. In some unions a big proportion of delegates may be full-time officials—in the Seamen's Union up to half. In the National Union of Mineworkers no known and trusted local leader can be sent two years running, because the branches which are to send delegates are selected on a rota system. This is a survival of the early belief that all should take a hand in the business in turn, which today helps to prevent an effective conference.

The Chairman and the Standing Orders Committee have much power for good or ill in any conference. They are seen at their worst at the TUC, but even at the Transport Salaried Staffs' conference this year they managed to cut discussion on two vital subjects affecting world peace to 15 minutes. True, the Standing Orders Committee is elected and the Chairman can be voted out of the chair, but that only happens if he has very seriously angered the conference.

When a resolution is passed, much still depends on how the leadership fights to carry it out. If a conference decides on a wage claim for a certain amount the union leaders are bound to present it, though even then they may sabotage it by saying in public that such a claim is ridiculous. Most unions have gone on record repeatedly for equal pay, but how many leaderships, apart from those in the Civil Service, have campaigned effectively for it?

Officials

IN most unions the full-time officials are elected by the membership, *but they are often elected for life*. In the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Electrical Trades Union, however, all officials have to stand for re-election every three to five years, if they wish to

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Asking for £1 a week wage increase, engineering apprentices demonstrate in front of the offices of the Engineering Employers' National Federation, while trade union leaders negotiate with the employers.

★

continue in the posts, In the Transport and General Workers Union, Arthur Deakin's union, on the other hand, officials other than the main national officers *are appointed by the Executive,* which helps to account for the fact that the dockers, for instance, have repeatedly had to conduct strikes which are in effect strikes against the union's leadership. In the General and Municipal Workers Union the officials are elected, but the Executive *can dismiss them and need not give a reason.* They did this a few years ago to an official who had helped to lead a splendid struggle of the London catering workers.

The Life of the Branches

AN active branch life is essential to the health of the union. Although it is probably true that the closest contact of the members is on the job, it is in the branch that the formation of policy begins.[1] In many of the cotton unions, however, the work of the union is carried on by committees, and the members may meet as seldom as twice a year. Nor is there a strong job organisation in these unions. The members' contributions are usually collected at their homes.

In some unions attendance at the branches is reasonably good, conditions and policy are thoroughly discussed, a lively correspondence is carried on with the Head Office and on occasions the members will demand and get the presence of an Executive member or official to explain and justify his conduct. It is also a common complaint, however, that attendances are too small and there are branches that never meet at all.

Because in some unions the branch is not necessarily based on the place of work, the members of one union in a big engineering factory, for example, may belong to a dozen different local branches, some meeting far from the place of work near the members' homes. This feature of the organisational structure makes it more difficult for the workers of a given factory to agree and enforce a common policy. The difficulty of getting any policy which the workers and their Shop Stewards favour adopted officially is added to by the fact that the workers may belong to half a dozen different unions, since in Britain they are not always organised into industrial unions but into various craft or semi-craft unions. This can have the effect of reducing workers' solidarity and effectiveness.

Another factor in some cases is the limitation on the powers of the branch. An extreme example is the General and Municipal Workers, in which the rules state that: "Branch committees or meetings of branch members shall not have authority to decide anything not expressed as being within their powers as stated in the various rules of the union." Even in the Amalgamated Engineering Union it was laid down before the last elections that no letter from any organisation opposing the A.E.U. might be read to the branch, which meant, since the A.E.U. is affiliated to the Labour Party, that no letter from a Communist candidate, for example, could be read.

Shop Organisation

THE rule books of many unions have provided for some representative on the job from an early date. But during the first world war the rank and file developed the institution of Shop Stewards in engineering into a movement which linked shop with shop and provided the main militant leadership in the industry. The Clyde Workers' Committee was a force that the government had to reckon with.

Today, the extent of workshop organisation varies greatly. In general, where there is much piecework, and therefore of necessity much negotiating to be done on the job, as in engineering and furniture manufacture, or where there is a shifting labour force and frequently bad labour conditions, as in building, the Shop Stewards'

1 British trade union branches are not necessarily based on the place of work. They may also be based on areas containing a number of different work establishments, or on areas where workers live but do not necessarily work.

The Sheffield Shop Stewards' Conference in March 1952. Standing: Les Smith, Secretary of the National Council of Shop Stewards. Extreme left: Herbert Howarth, representative from the English Steel Corporation who made the main report.

organisation is strong, and has a recognised place in the union machine. In printing also the shop organisation is extremely powerful, and though it seldom comes into the news, when it does act it acts decisively, as was seen recently when Lord Kemsley, one of the big Press lords, provoked a strike which was solid from journalists to labourers.

The part which the job organisation can play in strengthening the union was shown very vividly recently in a strike of building workers on an oil refinery project on the Isle of Grain, on the Thames.[2] Over 6,000 workers struck because one section was refused adequate negotiating rights. They not merely won their strike but in the course of it recruited 2,000 workers, many of them of other nationalities, into the unions.

It cannot be said that the Shop Stewards always get the backing that they should from the union leaderships. In engineering one of the commonest causes of dispute is victimisation of a Shop Steward by the employer, and when the workers strike against this the strike is not always endorsed by the union leadership.

There is also sometimes some official coolness towards any national organisation of Shop Stewards, on the ground that this is an unofficial body which tries to usurp the right to make policy. In fact, however, Shop Stewards are well aware that their conferences cannot make policy. Discussions are useful though, and delegates can go back to their branches to fight for a policy in the constitutional manner.

Control of Negotiations

ONE of the main tests of democracy in a union is the way negotiations are conducted—whether the demands presented are really those of the workers, whether the members are consulted before a claim is made, whether they are kept informed of the course of negotiations and are given a chance to express their views before an offer is accepted, whether action by the members is welcomed when the employers prove stubborn.

In many unions the policy conference instructs the Executive on the kind of claim to be made, but in the Transport and General Workers' Union it has normally been held that because the union covers so many industries, claims affecting one particular trade cannot be dealt with in the national conference and must be referred to the national trade group committees. These formerly had in practice a good deal of autonomy, but in recent years *the Executive has sometimes refused to make a claim which a trade group wanted made.*

The miners and the National Union of Railwaymen have a good tradition of holding special delegate conferences, and the miners sometimes conduct a national ballot to consult the members on whether an offer by the employer is satisfactory. But this is not always operated. On the recent pension scheme for mineworkers a ballot was refused, and when the scheme came into operation it proved so unpopular that large numbers of men were unwilling to contribute. In the docks also it has been customary to hold delegate conferences on pay claims, but in recent years delegates have not been informed what the employers' offer was before they got to the conference, so that they were unable to consult their members.

In the steel unions, local negotiators, who are elected, are expressly required to settle claims on their own responsibility, without consulting the members who elected them. Lincoln Evans has recently justified this undemocratic practice in his foreword to a history of the union:

"It is not a leadership which demands that the

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2 See **W.T.U.M.**, No. 13, July 1-15, 1952, Spotlight on World Labour, for article by Peter Fryer on the Isle of Grain strike.

responsibility for making decisions must be thrown on the mass of men who have had no opportunity of hearing the case argued; it is an abdication of it."

Character of the Unions

IT should also be noted that British unions vary widely in character. Some are industrial unions, some cater only for skilled men, some cover dozens of different industries. In a general union covering many industries, however much provision there may be for autonomy of trade groups, the members as a whole have less chance of making their voice heard, just because they are split among industries having little in common with few common demands, than in a union where the members all belong to one industry or one craft. All this affects trade union democracy.

Limitation of the Rights of Members

THERE are certain measures which, even if they are decided on by an apparently democratic method, are clearly undemocratic in their effects. A number of unions have bans on Communists as officials, sometimes even as branch officials, or as delegates from the union to other bodies. These bans were in most cases either imposed or endorsed by conference or ballot vote, but the effect on the life of the union is uniformly bad. The members are deprived of some of their best officers, it is often difficult to get alternative officers or delegates, and far from excluding political wrangles the measure introduces an irrelevant political factor into the work of the union and distracts the energies of the members.

The T.U.C.

WITH all their defects, the Constitutions of most unions do offer the members some chance of making their voice heard. The position is far less good when it comes to the T.U.C.

The Trades Union Congress is the annual conference of delegates from all affiliated unions (i.e. the vast majority of trade unions in Britain). The General Council of the T.U.C. is elected at Congress for a year. The T.U.C. has no compulsory powers over the unions, but it is the sole agency for international affiliation; and the General Council has enough powers of leadership (given to it in the years after the first world war when it was hoped the Council would become a "general staff of labour") to make it a powerful influence on union Executives and the body which governments consult as being representative of the whole trade union movement. The T.U.C. also has complete control over the local Trades Councils.

The T.U.C. is by no means a democratic body. This is partly a question of how Congress is conducted, and partly a question of the operation of the General Council. The disproportionate amount of time given to representatives of the General Council in debates at Congress has provoked a number of protests and revolts. The kind of pressure which is exerted on delegations by the Standing Orders Committee came out into the open at the 1948 Congress when Sir William Lawther, opposing the resolution supporting the W.F.T.U., said:

> "If there be an example of mischief making it is the action of the people who have been urged to withdraw this and have refused to do so."

One of the most important questions however is the block voting system. This means that the whole vote of each union is cast as one, according to majority decision in the delegation. This not merely excludes what may be very large minorities, so that the total vote gives a false impression of the balance of opinion even in the delegations, but the delegations themselves have a comparatively short time to decide their attitude. They will go through every item on the agenda, often before the debates have been heard, and on questions on which there is not a hard-and-fast decision of the union conference to bind the delegation, the General Secretary

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Workers in the E.N.V. plant in London voting to continue strike action.

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can exercise a big influence in deciding which way the vote is to be cast.

The General Council is so composed as to give all the important industries representation on it. Candidates are nominated by groups of unions with members in one, or a few connected industries, but they are voted on by the whole Congress. *A few big unions can therefore decide the composition of the whole Council,* and on many important issues discussed by the Council recently there have been only two or three progressive votes out of a Council of 33—a division which bears no relation to the division of opinion in the movement.

This method of election also means that members of the General Council can maintain that they are responsible only to Congress, not to the members of their own unions, and can therefore vote (and do) at Council meetings, *against the policy of their own union.*

The powers and influence of the General Council are considerable. It was the General Council which led the campaign, until it was defeated on this question at the 1950 Congress, for acceptance of the policy of "wage restraint." The Trades Councils, which are bodies of delegates from different union branches in one locality, which have played a big art in organising solidarity in many disputes, and were the local agents of the T.U.C. in the General Strike of 1926, have come under the direct control of the T.U.C. because they are not part of the machinery of any union. By withholding the annual registration of a Trades Council the General Council can break it up and disrupt local unity, and it has just done this with the biggest and one of the oldest Trades Councils in the country, London, without a shadow of democratic procedure. The Scottish T.U.C. also recently disbanded the Glasgow Trades Council. The decision can be reversed by the Trades Union Congress itself, but since the question only affects one locality at a time, a reversal is always hard to get.

The disaffiliation of the British trade unions from the W.F.T.U., after one has said all that must be said on the responsibility of the rank and file for allowing the position to arise, was only possible because the General Council had put down an iron curtain before the activities of the W.F.T.U. which was in marked contrast to the way in which it is now pouring out the U.S. State Department propaganda of the I.C.F.T.U.

The Labour Party

THE trade unions, as is well known, created the Labour Party in Britain, and the membership affiliated through trade unions is still four-fifths of the total Labour Party membership. And yet neither in its opposition nor its policy has the Parliamentary Labour Party fully reflected the trade union movement.

This is partly because procedure at Labour Party conferences is not satisfactory. As a former employee of the Labour Party head office, now a Labour M.P., said in a recent article in the *New Statesman* (June 7th, 1952):

> "The National Executive . . . . to some extent bulldozes the Conference by its post-war habit of presenting comprehensive policy statements on aspects of broad policy which had to be accepted or rejected as a whole."

The theory that M.P.s are not responsible either to the Party conference, or, if they are nominees of a trade union, to the union, but only to their constituency, has enabled Labour governments to flout conference policy on such questions as equal pay and tied houses for farm workers.[3]

Finally in the localities, although trade union branches may be affiliated to their local Labour Party, they do not always send delegates nor take their full share in formulating policy and helping to choose the parliamentary candidate.

Conclusion

AS we have seen there are many strains on trade union democracy in Britain. And it is clear that this is not by chance. Trade unions exist within a given society and in an imperialist society the ruling class tries by every means, including using the workers' organisations, to hold back, to limit and to stifle the aspirations and will of the workers.

But this is becoming increasingly difficult. In Great Britain as elsewhere the workers, enlightened by the facts, are gaining a clearer understanding of the reasons for their growing economic difficulties, of the increasing war dangers and their origins. They are increasingly making their voices heard, both in support of their economic claims and in the struggle for peace and for a Five-Power Peace Pact and disarmament.

This growing consciousness which has been shown in recent union conferences, and in the Labour Party, alarms the right-wing leaders who are redoubling their attacks against democracy. But certainly this rank and file unity will grow and the British trade unionists will impose a trade union policy which conforms to the desire for peace and well-being of the workers just as they have been able to do several times in the past on the wages question.

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3 In many cases agricultural workers are given housing accommodation which belong to the farmer who turns the workers out if he discharges them. The Labour Party had promised to abolish this right of farmers to force workers to leave their accommodation.

The Fifth Five Year Plan

***by* M. NIKOLAYEV**

ON August 20th the Soviet press published the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-1955, which is to be discussed at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party, which will meet on October 5th.

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan outstanding successes were achieved in the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., and in raising the well-being and the cultural level of the Soviet people. This Five-Year Plan, which was fulfilled in industry ahead of time—in four years and three months—aimed at raising the volume of production throughout industry to a level 48% higher than the pre-war level. In fact, in the last year of the plan, Soviet industrial production was 73% higher than in 1940, and the national income had risen by 64%.

The living standards of the Soviet people rose considerably during the period of this post-war Five-Year Plan, especially as a result of the monetary reform and the ending of the rationing system on all food and industrial products, together with the systematic reduction in the prices of consumer's goods carried out by the Soviet government.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. envisages a further great development of the national economy and a further rise in the material well-being and the cultural level of the Soviet people. It is planned to raise industrial production by approximately 70% during the five years, with an annual overall increase of industrial production of about 12%. The annual increase in the output of means of production is fixed at 13%, and that of consumer's goods at 11%.

It is proposed to develop during the period of the plan a rapid growth of vital types of industrial goods and foodstuffs. The production of pig iron will increase by about 76%, steel 62%, rolled metal 64%, coal 43%, oil 85%, cotton fabrics 61%, wollen fabrics 54%, meat 92% and butter 72%.

The production of the engineering industry will be almost doubled, providing the basis for tremendous technical development in all spheres of the national economy. The total power output of electric power stations is to be doubled, and that of hydro-electric stations trebled. It is planned to put into operation large hydro-electric stations including the Kuibyshev hydro-electric station with a capacity of 2,100,000 kilowatts, the Kamsk, Gorki, Mingochaur, Ust-Kamenogorsk and others, with an aggregate capacity of 1,916,000 kilowatts. At the same time, there will be the development of the construction of the Stalingrad and Kakhovka hydro-electric stations, and work will be begun on a number of others, including Cheboksary hydro-electric station on the Volga, Votkinsk on the Kama and Buchtarminsk on the Irtysh. Work will also begin for the utilisation of energy resources of the Angara River.

State capital investments in industry for the development of industrial production will be almost doubled as compared with the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

ABOVE: **In a factory in Taganrog, workers discuss the improvement of the welding process for the boilers for electric power plants.**

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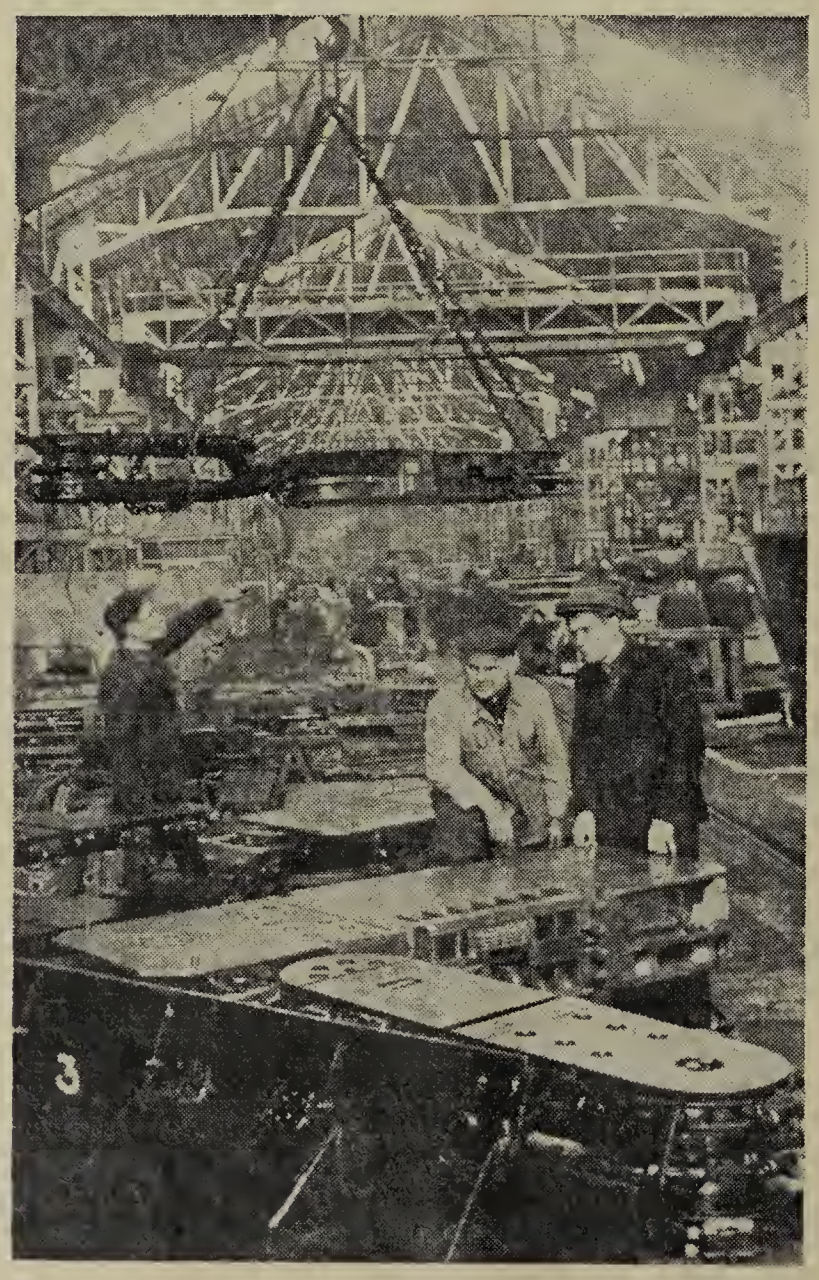
BELOW: **Inspecting the combines for the Donbas mines before shipment.**



Together with commissioning new enterprises and aggregates, the production capacity of operating establishments will be increased by means of reconstruction, the installation of new equipment, the mechanisation and intensification of production by technological improvements.

The plan envisages at least a doubling of the production of basic construction materials in order to meet the growing demands of the national economy.

The main task of the plan in the sphere of agriculture is, as in the past, to increase the yields of all crops, to increase still further the publicly-owned livestocks, while at the same time making a considerable increase in its productivity, to increase the gross output and sale of crops and livestock by a further strengthening and development of the collective farms, by improvements in the work of the State farms and the machine and tractor stations through advanced agrotechnical methods.

It is also planned to increase the overall grain yield by 40-50 per cent, raw cotton 55-65 per cent, tobacco from 65-70 per cent, to increase the number of large-horned cattle from 18-20 per cent, the production of meat and lard by 80-90 per cent, milk 45-50 per cent, and to produce two to two-and-a-half times as much wool.

The mechanisation of agriculture will be still further developed. There will be an increase of around 50 per cent in the capacity of the tractor park of the machine and tractor stations, and there will be a widespread development of the use of electrically-driven tractors and other agricultural machines.

The volume of State investments in agriculture is fixed at about 2.1 times as high as that of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The Fifth Five Year Plan also makes provision for a development in all forms of transport and communications. To this end, state capital investments in transport and communications are planned to increase by about 63 per cent during the period 1951-1955 above 1946-1950.

The new plan bears the stamp of the Stalinist concern for the continual raising of the material well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people. Based on the increased industrial and agricultural production, State and co-operative retail trade will increase by about 70 per cent. The national income of the U.S.S.R. will rise by no less than 60 per cent, and the number of workers and office employees in the national economy will be about 15 per cent higher in 1955 than in 1950.

The overall income of the workers, office employees and peasants will continue to increase. State appropriations for workers' and office employees' social insurance will be around 30 per cent higher as compared with 1950. *The real wages of workers and office employees will increase by not less than* 35 *per cent, taking into account the planned reduction in retail prices.*

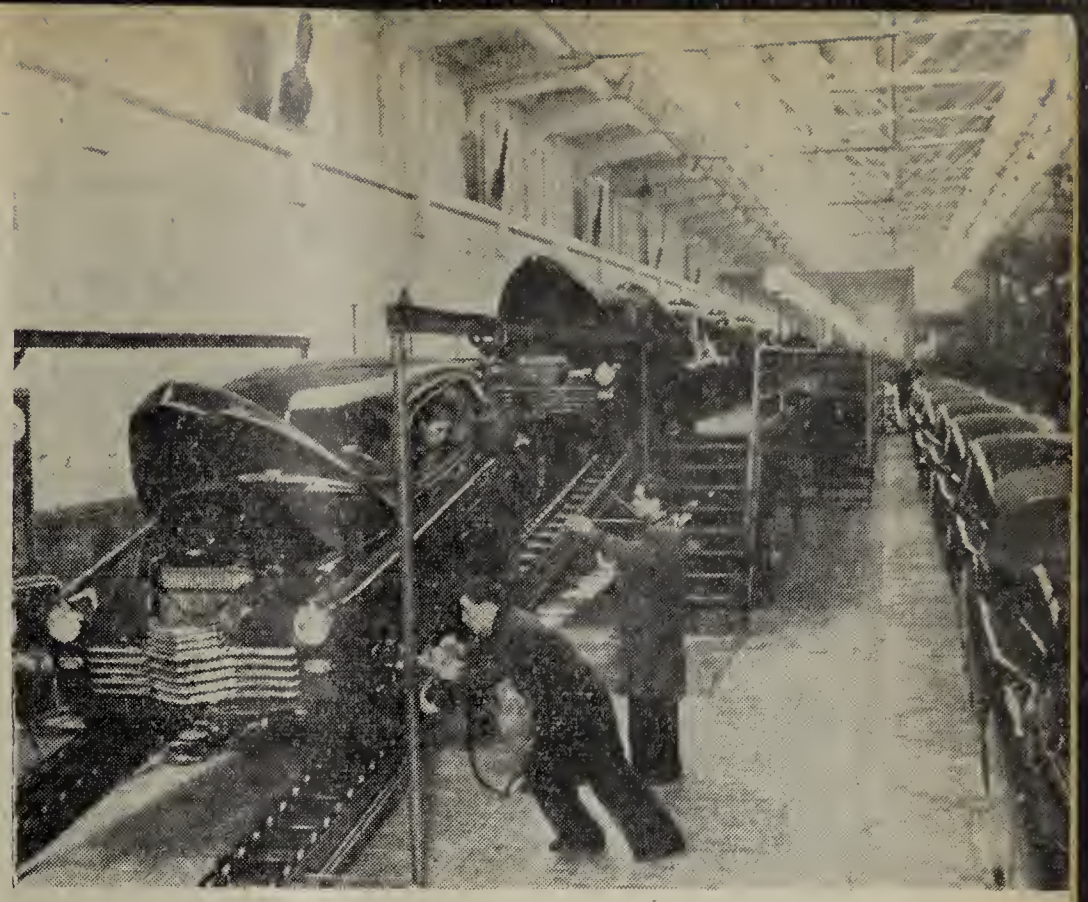
It is also planned during the five years to practically double the amount of money devoted to the building of houses. State building organisations are to make ready for occupancy new dwelling houses

with an area totalling about 105 million square metres in towns and workers' settlements.

There will be a considerable increase in the network of health, educational, scientific and cultural establishments.

The number of beds in hospitals will be increased by at least 20 per cent, the number of accommodations in sanatoria by about 15 per cent, in rest-homes 30 per cent, and the number of children in creches and kindergartens will increase 20 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. There will also be an increase of at least 25 per cent in the number of doctors during the five years.

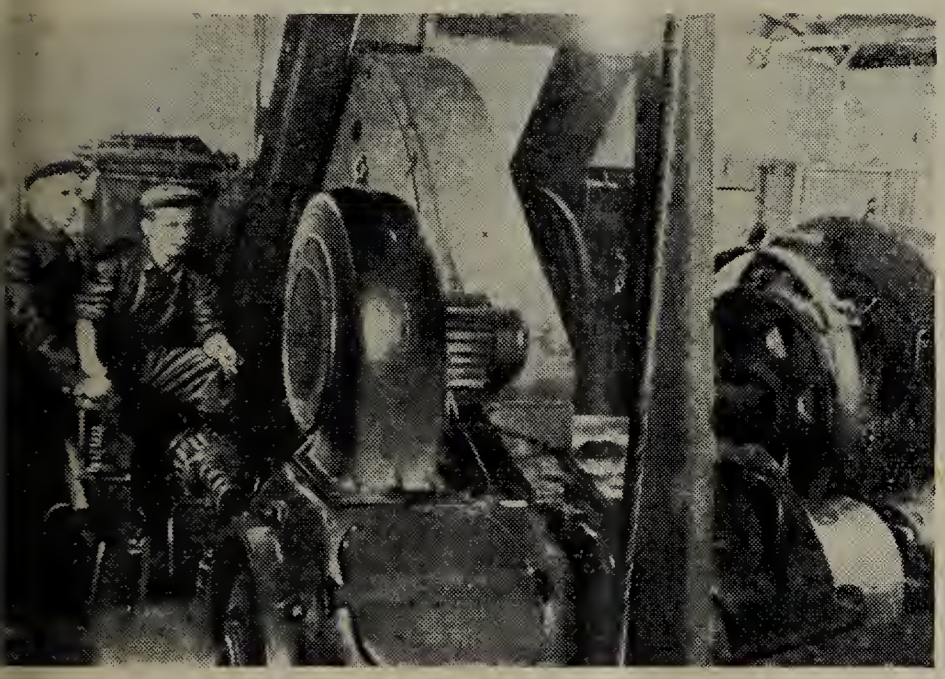
By the end of the period, the seven-year system of education will be completely replaced by the ten-year system of universal secondary schooling in the capitals of the Republics, in the main centres of regions and territories and in the large industrial centres. Preparations will be made to introduce this ten-year system into the remaining towns and rural areas during the succeeding Five Year Plan period.



Building of schools in the towns and villages will be increased by about 70 per cent as compared with the preceding five year plan period.

The number of trained specialists of all kinds leaving the higher and secondary special educational establishments will increase by 30 to 35 per cent, and the number of specialists for the most important branches of industry, construction and agriculture will be doubled.

It is also planned to develop new scientific and research establishments.



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ABOVE RIGHT: **The Molotov automobile plant in Gorki. The assembly line for the light Pobeda motor cars.**

MIDDLE: **The great works of communism require the large-scale mechanisation of work-sites. Here is the control post for an excavator.**

BELOW: **On the site of the Kuibyshev hydro-electric power plant which will generate 2.1 million kilowatts.**

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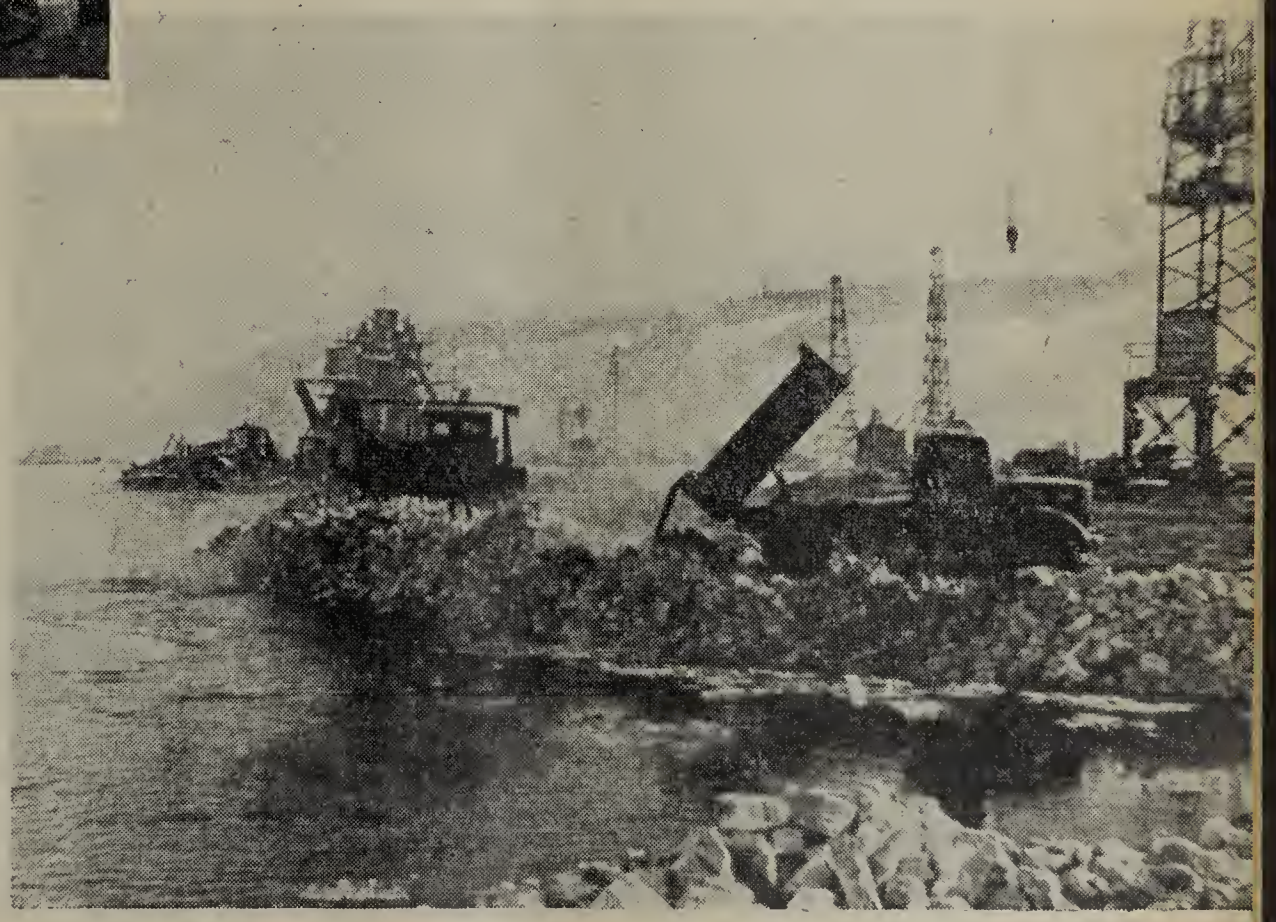

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The new university in the Lenin Hills in Moscow.

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There will be a 25 per cent increase in the number of cinemas, at least a 30 per cent increase in public libraries, and 15 per cent in clubs.

The amount spent on investments for health protection, education, scientific, cultural-educational institutions will be 50 per cent more than in the preceding five year period.

The draft directives for the Five Year Plan show that in order to carry out the plan in the sphere of the development of the national economy and the raising of the material and cultural level of the workers there will have to be an increase of around 90 per cent in the overall volume of the great State construction works. But the State allocations for this will only be increased by about 60 per cent, so that the remaining 30 per cent is to be covered by corresponding reductions in the cost of construction through increased labour productivity, cutting overhead expenditure and reducing prices of building materials and equipment.

Productivity of labour is to increase during the five years by about 50 per cent in industry, 55 per

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Tens of thousands of miles of forest shelter belts will protect the arid lands of the Ukraine and Russia against the hot winds blowing from Asia. Here, towed by a tractor are seven tree planters, model SLN-1.

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The production of luxury articles such as perfumes is rapidly increasing.

cent in building and 40 per cent in agriculture. This increased productivity will be obtained by the introduction of advanced technique, by the improvement of the organisation of work, by a heightening of the cultural-technical level of the workers, and above all by the mechanisation of arduous and labour-consuming jobs in industry and building.

It is planned to reduce production costs of industrial goods by about 25 per cent, and the cost of building work by at least 20 per cent. The cost of work done by tractors of the machine and tractor stations and that of railway transport will also be reduced, as will the cost of retail selling. In all sectors of economic construction there is to be a firm application of economy measures which will allow the maximum use of the existing means of production.

The task is also set of developing a widespread movement of invention and rationalisation among engineers, technicians, workers and collective farmers, in order to ensure further perfection in technique and expansion of production, all-round mechanisation, and to facilitate and improve working conditions.

The published directive says :

"The present (fifth) Five Year Plan again demonstrates to the whole world the great vital force of Socialism, the fundamental superiority of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system. This Five Year Plan is a plan for peaceful economic and cultural development. It will facilitate further consolidation and extension of economic co-operation of the Soviet Union with the countries of peoples' democracy, the development of economic relations with all countries willing to extend trade on the basis of equality and mutual advantages."

And further on :

"The great force of Socialist emulation, the unanimous striving of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia to uphold the cause of peace, the unshakable resolve of the working people to build a Communist society—all this must be directed for fulfilment and overfulfilment of the new Five Year Plan."

The Soviet people have greeted the new Five Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-1955 with great enthusiasm. The workers of the Soviet Union have shown their profound satisfaction at the fact that the new plan for peaceful construction represents a great step forward in the transformation from Socialism to Communism.

Socialist emulation is already developing throughout industry, and on the building sites and transport systems, for the achievement of the State plans ahead of time.

Workers, office employees, engineers and technicians are pledging themselves to increase labour productivity, to increase production, to improve its quality. to economise in raw materials and electric power and to reduce the cost of production.

The workers of the "Stalin" automobile plant have, for example. pledged themselves to complete the first nine months of the plan by September 25th and to produce 30 million roubles' worth of cars above the plan. The builders of the Kuibyshev hydro-electric plant have promised to finish the work of construction and installation for 1952 by December 21st, to raise labour productivity by 15 per cent and to make 100,000 square metres of living space ready for service by December 15th.

The workers of the First Ball-Bearings Factory in Moscow have promised to produce several million roubles in excess of the nine-month plan, to surpass the tasks set for the increase in labour productivity and to provide additional profits of six and a half million roubles for the factory.

The workers of the V.E.F. factory in Riga have undertaken to finish the nine-month plan by September 15th and to produce several million roubles' worth of goods in excess of the plan.

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Pledges of this kind are being made in all Soviet enterprises, showing the determination of the Soviet people to ensure the carying out and the surpassing of the new Five Year Plan and to make a further important step on the road to the building of Communism.

Factory Committees Defend The Workers' Interests

By
JULES DUCHAT
Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.)

THE factory committees which the clandestine C.G.T. demanded during the Nazi occupation were set up immediately after the Liberation. Their functions are many and varied. The law, in fact, gives them the right to keep a watch on the administration of our enterprises, including the right to check on the balance sheet. The importance of this provision in the fight for demands will be easily understood, as also the desire of the employers to prevent its enforcement. The factory committees also have social functions, such as the administration of holiday camps, kindergartens, sports' activities, etc.

The committees are compulsory in all enterprises employing 50 people or more, whatever the function of the enterprise. They consist of the manager of the establishment and of delegates elected by the employees for a period of one year from among candidates put forward by the trade union organisation.

Since their establishment, the committees have been the object of varied forms of attacks by the employers, which has caused the workers' delegates, in the accomplishment of tasks which are new to them, to make mistakes, and even sometimes to engage in class collaboration.

The C.G.T. has thus from the beginning given great attention to such an important social gain as the system of factory committees, to their development and to the effectiveness of the delegates' activity. It has always reacted strongly to remedy confused situations and to make the committees constructive instruments in the service of the workers.

From an analysis of errors and the methods employed to correct and to avoid them on the one hand, and the good results obtained in recent months on the other, it can be considered that the experience of the factory committees has been, and is, satisfactory for the working class.[1]

REVIEW OF ACTIVITY

When all the mistakes and weaknesses in the work of the delegates are weighed against the results obtained, the balance is a positive one.

Though here and there a certain amount of paternalism in the field of social work is still used by the employers to fool the workers, this is on the decrease. Many factory committees now control and administer holiday camps, creches, kindergartens, mutual aid funds and cultural and sports activities with the necessary working class spirit.

Though the results of their economic functions may perhaps appear small, many committees are nevertheless working effectively. Swollen profits, well-disguised by the employers, can be detected and made public, and this knowledge of the financial situation of the enterprise facilitates the winning of wage demands.

Good activity has been successfully carried out in the defence of trade union rights, in the fight against speed-up and American-style productivity, against dismissals, for the defence of French industry and for the Moscow International Economic Conference.

ATTACKS BY THE WORKERS' ENEMIES

The employers were forced to submit to the setting up of the committees at the time of the Liberation, and from the beginning, they have fought against them.

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1 See the detailed study by A. Le Léap, General Secretary of the C.G.T. in **W.T.U.M.**, No. 17, September 5th, 1951.

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While thousands of police were massed around the Renault automobile plants the workers were enthusiastically meeting to elect their delegates to the factory committee.

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Their attacks have become systematic and more violent in recent months.

Helped by the government, they are trying to wipe out the committees, putting forward the idea that they have failed and that the workers are indifferent to them. But every successive election shows an increase in the number of votes for the C.G.T. and in C.G.T. delegates elected.

This shows that the French workers—even those who have not yet taken the step of joining the C.G.T.—are becoming more and more aware that this is the only trade union organisation which fights for their interests, and they are revealing that understanding in the factory committee elections.

If the French employers really considered that the factory committees have failed in their tasks, they would not make the determined efforts that they are making to destroy them.

They are trying to limit their prerogatives, both in the social and the economic spheres, and to hamper their normal functioning. They are making use of arbitrary dismissals in order to behead the committees. By this means they hope to get the workers to abstain from taking part in the work of the committees.

The government also is directly attacking the factory committees. A recent draft decree seeks, among other things, to withdraw from the workers' representatives all control over workers' medical care and to place it under the control of the employers. Government agents refuse to enforce the law properly in differences which arise between the employers and the elected delegates. Added to this there is increased severity in the application of repressive laws and an American-inspired Press campaign condemning the factory committees.

The government majority in Parliament also refuses to pass a law ensuring normal and regular funds for the social work of the committees, and there are a number of draft bills for prolonging the mandates of delegates.

NATIONAL CONFERENCES OF FACTORY COMMITTEES

Faced with these manœuvres, the Bureau of the National Executive Committee of the C.G.T. considered it urgent and indispensable to hold national conferences of factory committees in Paris, at which the delegates, mandated by their workmates, would affirm their common will to defend the system of factory committees against all attacks, from whatever quarter, and also, above all, to take all necessary measures to develop them and to make them more effective in the winning of demands.

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IN spite of all kinds of difficulties, of pressure exerted and of the limited time, the conferences which were held a few weeks ago were a great success. They were attended by 4,055 delegates from all parts of France, from all industries and trades, including public employees. They first met in 24 separate industrial conferences, and then, the next day, they met in a National Plenary Conference at which they examined the situation which had arisen and adopted practical and concrete measures to face up to and overcome the manoeuvres being employed, and to

intensify the activities of the elected members of the committees.

These conferences, which were held on a broad and united basis, and were attended by delegates from the C.F.T.C.,[2] C.G.C.,[3] F.O.[4] and the unorganised, will have a good effect on the policy and work of the elected delegates. They will mark a new and decisive stage in the role which has fallen to the factory committees.

The 1952 national conferences, even more than those called by the C.G.T. in April 1948, were a firm and resolute demonstration of strength. They strongly affirmed the determination of the French working class not to allow the system of factory committees to be sabotaged, any more than any other social gain.

The preparation and the holding of the conferences became the occasion for focussing the attention of all on this form of trade union activity, and making many trade union militants think over this problem anew.

The full National Conference adopted a general resolution which constitutes the national action programme of the committees.

This resolution declares :

"The National Conference calls upon factory committee delegates and trade union organisations at all levels to defend energetically the system of factory committees and joint committees and to work to widen their prerogatives.

"It draws the attention of the delegates to the importance of the role devolving upon them through the confidence placed in them by the workers :

- **in the fight for the workers' demands and for the improvement of their living standards, by showing by precise facts and figures the justice of the C.G.T.'s demands and the possibilities of attaining them in their enterprises;**
- **in the defence of social security, and for the establishment of social insurance agents in the enterprise;**
- **in the fight against the consequences of the policy of national abdication and war preparation, by exposing in every enterprise the threats which this brings to the workers and to the country's economy.**

"The factory committees and joint committees, departmental and federal commissions and the national commission must carry on this activity with the support of the whole of the workers and with the support of the population, to which they must appeal whenever it becomes necessary.

"Firm and resolute action by the committees for the workers' demands and for the independence of our industries is a powerful factor for the achievement of working class unity."

The factory committees are thus better armed to fulfil their mission. They will more than ever become useful weapons for the workers in their fight against capitalism.

They will supply more effective help in the fight for bread, liberty and peace.

2C.F.T.C.—French Confederation of Christian Workers.
3C.G.C.—General Confederation of Foremen and Technicians.
4F.O.—Force Ouvrière, breakaway centre affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.

Worker-members of a factory committee of a large Paris enterprise at work. It is indispensable that the trade unions and factory branches concern themselves with organising the largest number of committees, since the employers try by all methods to prevent their organisation.

Yugoslav Workers Under the Tito Fascist Dictatorship

By ANTON RUPNIK

WITH the direct participation of the American imperialists, the Tito clique has already, for the most part, restored capitalism in Yugoslavia and transformed our country into a reservoir of raw materials and agricutural products for the Wall Street magnates.

The Yugoslav mines and factories, particularly those of strategic value, are more and more being placed under the thumb of the rapacious imperialists. For example, the Kamnik mines have passed completely into the hands of the American Trust, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The American monopolies have also seized other enterprises such as the B.O.H. copper mines and smelting combine, the Trepcha lead mines and combine. The Bosanski Brod and Rieka oil refineries have been handed over to the American firm, Foster Veler Corporation.

In January 1952, the Titoists concluded a so-called "economic aid agreement" with the Washington rulers. By this "agreement" the subjugation of Yugoslavia by the U.S.A. was legalised and the whole economy of the country handed over to the American monopolies. Thus, Yugoslavia has lost its national sovereignty, its economic and political independence and has become the property of the American multi-millionaires.

Tito's Yugoslavia—War Base for the Imperialist Aggressors

The development of events in Yugoslavia also shows clearly that the Tito clique has transformed our country into a base for imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

The Belgrade rulers had already concluded an agreement in 1949 with the American imperialists, putting the Yugoslav aerodromes and air lines at the disposal of the American army. Truman no longer conceals his plans for Yugoslavia. He is untiring in his demands from Congress for "special funds" to strengthen the Yugoslav armed forces, to set up schools of diversion and spying and to carry out, with the help of the Titoist lackeys, splitting activities in the ranks of the working class and its progressive organisations. In Yugoslavia, the whole economy of the country has been placed on a war footing. The militarisation of industry and ports is being feverishly carried out, the latter being equipped to take large warships, and into which the arrival of enormous quantities of tanks, guns, aeroplanes and other American war material is becoming increasingly frequent.

Under orders from their imperialist masters, the Titoists are increasing expenditure for war preparation at an unheard of rate. In 1950, war expenditure represented just about half the total budget. In 1951, it rose to two-thirds, and in 1952 it reached 210,000 million dinars, about three-quarters of the total budget, thus demonstrating its war-like character.

These war preparations reached a culminating point on November 14, with the conclusion of the "military aid agreement" with the Americans.

By this criminal military pact, the Yugoslav army has been effectively incorporated into the armed forces of the imperialist warmongers and placed under the direct control of the Pentagon.

It should be added that during the recent period the Tito government has thrown itself into the arms of the monarch-fascist government in Athens. It has concluded a veritable war alliance with the assassins of Beloyannis. At the same time Tito was sending envoys to the ultra-reactionary rulers in Ankara and solemnly declaring: "There is nothing which separates Yugoslavia and Turkey."

Considering the facts of the recent Yugoslav and Greek provocations against the Hungarian and

Bulgarian frontiers and the recent visits of U.S. Secretary of the Army, Frank Pace, to Belgrade and the announced visit of Eden, Churchill's Foreign Minister, the criminal role of Tito against peace can be clearly seen.

Tito's Trade Unions are Instruments Strengthening Capitalist Exploitation

With the aim of depriving the working class of its most important mass organisation, the Titoists have savagely attacked the trade unions. In 1950 alone, during the mass " purge " of the trade union apparatus, approximately 9,500 trade union officials and militants were arrested. During the same period trade union newspapers were suppressed, including the central organ of the R.A.D. trade unions.

The present Yugoslav trade unions are led by the enemies of the working class and Socialism who have had a great deal of experience in the work of provocation and espionage in the Yugoslav working class movement. They are Salaj, Bezichevich, Belinich, Jankes and others.

The trade unions are deprived of the right to defend the workers and their apparatus has been transformed into militarist centres, into instruments for the strengthening of capitalist exploitation and for the recruiting of unpaid labour. The Titoists are also using the trade union apparatus to spy on and to punish the workers. For example, last year, in the Karlovac railway workshops, employing about 800 workers, 1,000 fines were inflicted in 4 months alone through the intermediary of the trade union chiefs.

Another special task has been assigned to the trade unions. This is the carrying out of a form of "educational" work which consists of developing and intensifying war propaganda, slandering the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies and sowing hatred against the progressive workers' movements of other countries. The facts clearly show that the working class organisations have been turned into instruments for carrying out an anti-popular policy for preparing war and hiding the fascist basis of the regime.

* * *

IN the international field, the trade union high priests of the Tito clique are zealous defenders and propagandists for the reactionary and aggressive policy of the imperialist warmongers. Their subversive activity abroad is aimed at weakening and breaking up the working class movements in the capitalist countries, to smash the ranks of the workers' international organisation, the W.F.T.U., in accordance with the political line of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions. Did not Tito recently declare that the Yugoslav trade unions desired to affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U.?

Pursuing its divisionist policy, the Tito clique sends trade union delegations abroad and invites delegations from those trade unions affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. to visit Yugoslavia. Thus, during the last few months, in order to aid their brothers in treason—the right-wing Socialists—and to break the working class movement, the Titoists have sent so-called trade union delegations to a number of Western European countries and even to India.

A Veritable Gestapo Terror

The workers of our country are deprived of the most elementary rights and liberties and subjected to the bloody terror of Rankovich's Gestapo, the U.D.B. In the province of Mostar, for example, one inhabitant in 60 was sentenced by the Titoist courts in 1950. The butcher Rankovich admitted that in 1950 alone, the Yugoslav courts which are entirely under the control of the U.D.B., have pronounced 300,000 sentences, that is, one Yugoslav citizen in 53 was sentenced. The real figure of patriots persecuted and sentenced is, however, considerablv higher.

Today, 250,000 Yugoslav patriots, loyal fighters for the working class cause, for socialism and peace, are languishing in prisons and concentration camps, like the Goli Otok camp, where they are subjected to unspeakable tortures and to physical prostration.

Prison for the Workers

In present-day Yugoslavia, the workers are subjected to a double capitalist exploitation, both by their own capitalists and by foreign monopolies. Both groups of capitalists are applying typical methods of colonial exploitation in order to extract the maximum profits.

Forced labour is legalised. Demagogically, the Titoists call it "voluntary labour," which in its essence does not differ in any way from the work performed in the Hitlerite concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands of workers are now forced to work for no payment, on the construction of what are called "key objectives," that is to say, various strategic schemes and enterprises destined for war production. They also work in the mines producing strategic war materials for the imperialist warmongers.

The Titoists are employing every means to force the workers to work longer and more intensively. They have gone so far as to abolish officially all limitation on hours of work. In mines and enterprises the working day is 12 to 14 hours and on strategic military works, even longer.

The criminal policy of the Tito rulers is continually lowering the living conditions of the Yugoslav workers. Wages and salaries, already very inadequate, are being systematically reduced. In 1950, according to very incomplete information, the budget expenditure on wages and salaries was reduced by 11%.

The recent Titoist ruling on wages fixes "minimum wages" for the workers, which are in most cases lower than the present wages. These have been fixed at from 4,000 to 6,000 dinars per month.[1] At this juncture, it must be pointed out that 27% of wages are not paid in money but in coupons which give the right to certain food and industrial products at a reduced price. Formerly workers were able, at least in theory, to buy these products with ration cards.

In fact, these "minimum wages" are from 2,900 to 4,000 dinars per month.

The Tito rulers, of course, Jesuitically promise to pay the workers a part of the "eventual" profit made by the enterprise. This "eventual" increase in the workers income could attain, according to them, a maximum of 30% of the wage. In reality, however, the workers receive nothing of the profit realised because the management always declares that the enterprise has been unprofitable.

Moreover, we must remember that the Tito rulers, while so-called "assured feeding" still existed, deprived a great number of workers and office workers of their ration cards for various reasons. They are also carrying out a large-scale reduction in wages and salaries. In

1 Following the recent devaluation, a dollar is worth 300 dinars.

many cases this reduction amounts to as much as 60%.

While real wages are constantly failing, current consumption goods are inaccessible and prices are continually rising. Here are a few examples: 1 litre (1¾ pints) of milk costs from 25 to 30 and even as much as 40 dinars; a kilo (2.2 lb.) of black bread from 35 to 40 dinars and a kilo of white bread, if obtainable, 100 dinars and more; a kilo of sugar 800 dinars; a kilo of cheese, 300; a kilo of butter from 800 to 1,000 dinars. It will suffice to add that a monthly subscription at a canteen cost about 3,000 dinars. A man's suit, which in 1948 cost 3,000 dinars, today costs from 15,000 to 17,000 dinars; stockings which used to cost 40 dinars, today cost 500 dinars; a shirt which was valued at 250 to 300 dinars now costs 3,000; a pair of shoes has risen in price from 600 dinars to 4,000, 5,000 and even more. The price of water, electricity, rent, coal, and medicines has increased six-fold during recent times and 15 times in comparison with 1948. In fact, a working class family of 3 persons can only live for a week on one person's monthly wage. Increasing inflation, and the reduction in the value of the dinar is worsening still further the excessively difficult life of the Yugoslav workers.

The living standard of the Yugoslav workers has suffered a tenfold reduction compared with the pre-war level, and a twelve-fold reduction in comparison with 1947.

* * *

SPEAKING of the "perspectives" of an improvement in the workers' situation, Tito has declared on several occasions that not only was the living standard not going to improve this year but that it would, in fact, become worse.

In order to pay for American rearmament and to cover the expenses connected with war preparation, the Tito rulers are ignominiously pillaging the country's wealth, increasing in very considerable quantities the export of raw materials and food products to capitalist countries, raising taxes to scandalous heights, and are constantly taking new loans from the imperialists. In 1951 they increased taxes by 25% compared with 1950, while these were already 12,000 million dinars higher than 1949. Lately the Titoists in their fascist Assembly have passed a whole series of anti-popular laws, one after another, by which they intend to rob the people of hundreds of thousands of millions of dinars for their war preparations. In addition, the Tito clique is paying thousands of millions of dinars to American and other imperialists for loans, and the interest on the loans, while hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav children do not go to school for the simple reason that there are neither enough school buildings, school supplies, books nor teachers.

The Titoist war preparations, the total subjugation of Yugoslavia to the American imperialists, and the enslaving loans have created such a situation that our country owed the imperialists more than a *thousand million dollars at the beginning of this year.*

Tito finds the arguments which are used in "Borba," official journal of his regime, in the garbage can.

Social Insurance and Work-Safety Wiped Out

The militarisation of the economy and the enormous expenditure for war preparations places a heavy burden on the working people. Instead of hospitals, schools, sanatoria, rest-homes, and other similar institutions, the Titoists are building prisons, concentration camps, military aerodromes, strategic roads etc.

In Tito's Yugoslavia there is practically no social insurance. The Titoists have in fact removed expenditure for the safeguarding of public health, for the fight against contagious diseases and for workers' social insurance from the State budget. The notorious Kidrich has declared that the control organs of the State responsible for the problem of public health and social insurance are completely defunct. In the event of illness, the workers are left to look after themselves.

Nor is any interest shown in health protection for the workers. There are, for example, only two doctors for the 7,000 miners in the Ereka mines, who are unable to give even the most elementary attention to the miners and their families.

The same is true of technical safety for the workers. In 1951, there were about 2,000 fatal accidents at work. In Slovenia, which has little more than a million inhabitants, there were 62,000 work accidents last year. The victims of these accidents are in need of hospital treatment. During the past ten months 1,428 workers have been

seriously injured at the Smedereva enterprise, and in March of this year there were 900 work accidents in 20 days in Zenitsa.

Hunger, savage exploitation and inhuman working and living conditions have brought about a disastrous decline in the state of health of the Yugoslav workers. A special mission of the International Red Cross which visited Yugoslavia stated in its report that tens of thousands of industrial workers are suffering from tuberculosis.

Growth of Unemployment in Yugoslavia

The complete subjection of Yugoslavia to the Anglo-American imperialists, the transfer of the economy to a war footing, the partial—and in some cases complete—stoppage of branches of industry working for the needs of the population, have caused mass dismissals. As in all capitalist countries, unemployment is growing daily. The number of unemployed in the country is approaching 300,000, among whom are about 130,000 women. The Tito paper "Viesnik" admits that 64% of the dismissed women are mothers of large families dependent completely on their wages. The same attitude is adopted towards war disabled, old people and the sick, as to workers who have lost their ability to work. There is a great deal of propaganda about a decree on "aid" for the unemployed. However, the organ *Laoutska Pravitsa* writes openly that workers refusing to go to work in the mines or on building sites for strategic military objectives are not to receive this aid. These facts and many others completely expose the pseudo-socialist demagogy of the Titoists as to the so-called building of socialism in Yugoslavia and on the improvement in the workers' living standards. They expose this fascist regime as the most savage regime of exploitation in the history of our country.

Based on their own experiences and by making comparison with the example of the Peoples' Democracies—who are making great strides towards socialism with the fraternal help of the U.S.S.R.—the Yugoslav people are becoming aware of the magnitude of the crime perpetrated by the Tito clique when they took Yugoslavia out of the camp of peace and socialism and deprived her of the help of these countries.

The Fight of the Yugoslav People against the Tito Regime

The Yugoslav workers have not accepted, and will never accept, the anti-people's policy of hunger and war carried on by the fascist Tito gang, which maintains itself in power entirely by means of terror and with the help of the American millionaires. The imperialist warmongers may arm the Tito gang, and the Titoists may ignominiously slander the peace camp, democracy and socialism and the international working class movement, but both forget the essential factor—the Yugoslav people. In spite of all the criminal machinations of the Titoists, the Yugoslav workers have remained faithful to their revolutionary traditions and to the international working class movement. They will never make war against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

For nearly four years the Yugoslav people have been carrying on a struggle for liberation, which will end in victory over the forces of fascism and reaction. They have become convinced from their own experience that the fight against the Tito clique is inseparable from the fight for peace which is being carried on by the whole of progressive mankind against those who are calling for war. That is why the workers of our country, led by the vanguard of the working class, are carrying on a courageous struggle against the war preparations of the Belgrade warmongers. The Yugoslav patriots are converting the factories, mines, workshops and ports into centres of active struggle against colonial-type exploitation, against the dismissals of workers, for the ending of overtime and forced labour, for improved living standards, in short, into centres of struggle against the Tito regime.

A united liberation front of the Yugoslav people is being formed on a broad political basis, which is uniting and bringing into the fight against fascism and war, not only the workers and the working peasants, but also all patriotic forces within the nation who are for peace and the independence of their country.

The Yugoslav people are confident in their strength and in their victory. They know that they are not alone. With them are the international working class and the mighty camp of peace and democracy, at the head of which is the invincible bastion of peace in the world—the great Soviet Union.

Faithful to working class internationalism, with the support and solidarity of all the workers of the world, and by strengthening still more the fighting unity of their own ranks, the Yugoslav patriots will free their country from fascism and the yoke of imperialism. They will thus fulfil with honour their duty towards the international working class movement.

The Metal Workers' Strike in Australia

By
L. MOUNSER
President, Metal Trades
Central Strike Committee

ON January 16th, 1952, an Arbitration Award was delivered by Mr. Galvin, Conciliation Commissioner, which rejected the claims of 250,000 metal workers throughout Australia for increased wage margins.[1]

This decision resulted in a series of strikes of metal workers in all States.

It was no accident that this attack was made, nor was it an accident that the powerful Metal Trades group were selected as the target.

On returning from America in 1950, Prime Minister Menzies declared that we could expect war in three years. In deference to this spurious war threat Menzies made headlines with such ominous statements as "We must all make sacrifices," and "Two workers must do the work of three," etc.

Never renowned for his love of the working class, Menzies carefully made preparations for smashing trade union opposition to his plans, and for burdening the workers with his suicidal war expenditure and the approaching economic crisis.

Quick to realise the symptoms of the impending attacks, of which the Galvin Award was only the first, the Metal Trades Federation organised nation-wide 24-hour stoppages to work out details for a campaign against the Award. Mass meetings took place in each State during the course of these stoppages.

The New South Wales meeting on February 5th issued a fighting call to all metal shops to negotiate immediately for the long-awaited marginal increases.

It was against this background that the metal workers of Howard Smith's ship repair depot ceased work on February 12th to fight for those demands, after having served them unsuccessfully on the management.

From the very beginning the excellent support we received testified to the popularity of this campaign and the firm manner in which the margins question had gripped the workers.

Two weeks later we were joined by the boiler-makers, engineers and ironworkers of another Sydney ship repair yard, Poole and Steele; and within the fourth week the metal workers of Bonnar's Foundry and Floodvale Industries had entered our ranks.

There were now seven unions in dispute, with skilled and non-skilled men fighting as an harmonious combination of metal workers.

Dissatisfied with delays in the hearing of their own claims, fitters from the Enfield and Everleigh railway workshops were the next to join us. They had decided that this was the only way to force a speedy successful hearing by Austin, Conciliation Commissioner for Railways, who obviously had been waiting for the Galvin decision.

During the course of their four weeks dispute these men displayed s t i r r i n g solidarity, and bequeathed to the trade union movement a graphic lesson on the importance of unity and determination

1 The "margin" is that part of an Australian worker's total wage which exceeds the basic wage.

ENLARGEN THE MARGINS. May 30, 1952.

Fight For Margins Is Fight Against Menzies

As our struggle for margins enters its fifteenth week and becomes more closely allied with the general campaign against reduced living standards, Menzies, the Supreme Architect of Chaos, is overseas plotting more crimes against our people, of a type that followed his last scheming globe-trot.

On arriving back from his first trip to Washington fourteen months ago Menzies immediately threw up a scare of 'war in three years'.

His next step was to begin sacrificing the living standards of our people in deference to this spurious war threat. Remember his classic 'We must all make sacrifices'. 'Two workers must do the work of three', etc.

As a result of his crippling war budget, an estimated total of £300,000,000 a year, all other available sources of fin-

● State Governments have been forced to take loan cuts, because Menzies considered his war budget more sacred than hospitals, homes, schools and public works, etc. This also has resulted in untold hardships and unemployment for our people.

Millionaires' Policy

Presumably departed overseas to discuss the stabilisation of our Empire, Menzies has gone first, not to London, but to Washington, and then returns to Washington on his way back. If these

are affected by this unholy alliance, including small business men and farmers.

A fully united determined peoples movement can force Menzies to resign. We, the metalworkers of this State must place ourselves at the head of this movement. With the Pt. Kembla men delivering the main blow we must see that the campaign for complete wage justice is fully realised and with the defeat of the Menzies Government.

Menzies Must Go!

The journal published by the Metal Trades Central Margins Strike Committee.

—particularly in view of the bitter struggles which lay before us.

During this period the right-wing N.S.W. State Labour Government, and the right-wing members of the Trades and Labour Council made an exceedingly good job of assisting the iron fist of the Menzies government by threatening, among other things, a complete lock-out of all railway workers.

With unity unimpaired by this frantic onslaught, these railway stalwarts continued to fight until they were given firm assurances that their claims would be accorded a speedy, successful hearing. At this stage they voted unanimously to return to work.

About this time we began to hear considerably of the then seven weeks' old Western Australian margins struggle. These praiseworthy fighters were pitting their strength against the combined force of both the employers and the State government, although their unions had been deregistered and they were themselves threatened with the possibility of a £50 fine per man for each day they continued their strike.

The wharf labourers also were forging fine unity and determination in their particular double margins campaign with a national overtime ban.

Inspired by the nation-wide strength and understanding of the margins fight and also by the overwhelming support they were receiving from the factories and respective unions, striking metal labourers on the Sydney waterfront developed an exceptionally high degree of organisation. Existing individual strike committees were co-ordinated by the formation of a Central Strike Committee composed of three elected men from each individual works.

The cardinal organisational principle throughout the strike of 'no activity—no relief pay' was decided unanimously at an early mass meeting of the strikers. Rosters were then drawn up to ensure the aim of 100 per cent activity (which was eventually realised) from which men were detailed to canvas, speak and distribute literature around the workshops.

Each individual works committee was now given a geographical area in which to compaign. It was

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One of the many demonstrations of Australian metalworkers striking against the Galvin Award.

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then the responsibilty of the executive to see that every shop in its particular area was canvassed and enlightened on the Galvin Award and the campaign being waged against it. We at the same time appealed for financial assistance and arranged morning tea and lunch hour factory meetings for further explanation.

Many men who had never spoken before, but nevertheless were eager to play a leading part, requested the setting up of a central speakers' class. This was done and many new and competent speakers developed, some of whom were amongst those sent away to country districts and inter-State.

Also set up were a finance committee and a live-wire social committee, which on one occasion secured a suburban Town Hall free of charge, for the holding of a cabaret.

Our publicity committee, formed in the very early stages of the dispute, wrote, edited and distributed our own weekly journal, *Action,* which in 15,000 copies each week consistantly conveyed the message that our fight for wage justice was irrevocably a fight against the crippling war economy of the Menzies-Fadden government.

During the entire period we collected, along with the Metal Trades Co-ordinating Committee (the top leadership composed of our union officials), the all-time record of £37,000 in strike relief. This was contributed by 384 metropolitan and 24 country workshops.

This high degree of organisation, attendant during the whole course of the strike, whilst basically due to the broad popular nature of the double margins question, was a glowing tribute to the sincerity of the strikers.

We had already experienced victories during the course of our own dispute at both Bonnars and Floodvale. Each secured increased margins as a direct result of their participation in the struggle. Floodvale also won many new amenities.

Under the sound militant leadership of the Metal Trades Co-ordinating Committee success was not very far from our reach when we were sold out by the treacherous extreme right-wing, who throughout the struggle had attempted to undermine the effectiveness of our campaign by widely repudiating our strike action, and exhorting us to return to work empty-handed and entrust our case to the senility of the Arbitration Court.

One of the right-wing figures mainly responsible for the termination of our campaign was L. Short, the court-appointed National Secretary of the Ironworkers Association, who consistently red-baited and slandered militant union leaders and propagated the edict that our strike action was ineffectual.

Forced to return to work, we did so fully united.

The unity we forged and the consciousness we built up during the course of our seventeen weeks' strike, will be further used to carry the marginal campaign through to victory. Through the conduct of some 800 factory gate meetings, and the distribution of 150,000 copies of *Action* and other propaganda we were instrumental in raising the consciousness of some tens of thousands of other workers, and so alerting a large part of the trade union movement to the danger of the Galvin 'Hunger' Award and the Menzies government.

Moreover, we learned the power of organisation. Above all we fully realised and transmitted to others the fundamental lesson for all workers, that is the tremendous importance of unity. If we are able to achieve profound lasting unity within the broad ranks of our own class, then we will be victorious.

THE IRANIAN WORKING CLASS STRENGTHENS ITS UNITY

By IRADJ ESKANDARY

AT the beginning of 1948, reaction launched an all-out attack against the Iranian trade union movement: the Central Council of United Trade Unions (C.C.S.U.) was banned; some of its leaders were thrown into prison. Its General Secretary, Reza Rousta, was condemned to death in his absence, and offices and property of the C.C.S.U. were confiscated.

Following this attack, all trade union rights won by the workers under C.C.S.U. leadership were violated, the Labour Law was no longer enforced, the working week, especially in the non-government factories as in the industrial city of Ispahan, was lengthened to 75 hours and sometimes longer. Wages were reduced and all allowances abolished, in spite of a continuous increase in the cost of living. To formulate the slightest social security demand was forbidden.

Government circles, and especially the Ministry of Labour in complicity with the employers, added decrees to the Labour Law which limited trade union activities.

The workers, however, continued their resistance against these violations and the intrigues of the gov-

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Workers, determined to smash the domination of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, demonstrate in Teheran.

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In Teheran, as throughout the world, May Day is the workers' day.

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ernment and the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., which forced them to belong to a breakaway trade union.

From the beginning of 1950, against the advice of the government trade unions, strikes broke out one after another in all the industrial regions of Iran.

In Shahi, a city in the northern part of the country, two strikers were killed, dozens injured and many imprisoned by the military forces of the town, in a strike which was supported by the wives of the workers and even by a great number of non-industrial workers. As a result of this struggle, the strikers prevented the government from reducing wages and forced them to pay for the days they were on strike. In Semnan, the strikes of the textile workers aroused such solidarity among the inhabitants of the town, that the government was forced to give way. Similarly, the strikes in Ispahan, Teheran, Kaspino and Tabriz succeeded in defeating the attempts of the government and employers to force the workers to submit to the orders of the government trade union organisations.

To rid themselves of the guidance of the government trade unions the Teheran textile workers (Tchit-Sazi factory) in the middle of 1950 took the iniative in forming an independent trade union for their enterprise with the effective participation of over 95 per cent of the workers in the factory.

This initiative was the starting point of a very strong movement in all enterprises to organise independent unions.

The workers in most of the Teheran industrial enterprises very soon followed the example of the Tchit-Sazi factory and, in a relatively short time, more than 25 independent trade unions were set up in Teheran.

The movement quickly spread to the provinces. The 30,000 workers in the Ispahan textile factories and in Semnan in their turn formed independent unions.

In those districts where martial law had been abolished, the formation of such trade unions was relatively easy, but, by contrast, the struggle was very hard and often involved bloodshed in those places where, under cover of a State of Emergency, the police and the army supported the splitters' organisations. Thus, in Ispahan, the army occupied the factories, arrested active unionists, tied them to a bench, flogged them in the main squares of the town until they spat blood, and deported some influential leaders to Bandare Abbas, a place which is used for the detention of criminals.

These repressive measures, however, have not been general, for the resistance of the workers, especially in Semnan, Teheran and Kerman forced the government to give way.

After organising a certain number of these independent trade unions the Teheran workers set up an inter-trade union liaison committee composed of 7 publicly-known members. This committee was formed in August 1951, when 400 representatives mandated by the various trade unions went to the Ministry of Labour officially to demand the registration and legal recognition of this body.

In support of this demand, the Teheran workers

در دمونستراسیون عظیمی که روز سه‌شنبه در تهران بحرکت آمده

Women demonstrate along with the men under the slogan: "Unite to Form a United Anti-Imperialist Front." (Photo from the journal of the Iranian Women's Organisation.)

staged a meeting of 30,000 people in August, during which they demanded the legal recognition of the trade unions and approved the inter-trade union committee.

The organisations affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. having thus been swept aside by the workers and the so-called oil workers' trade union organised by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company being dissolved after the March and April 1951 strikes, the ruling classes conceived the idea of setting up another organisation under government control; but everywhere the government "trade union" envoys went they were greeted by hostile demonstrations. In Abadan, oil centre of Khuzastan, they had to leave town on the very same day under army escort.

Since March 1951, the wave of strikes has continued to spread in Iran. It began with the strike of the workers in the southern oil fields. Supported by various sections of the population, 70,000 workers went on strike for 50 days against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's decision to reduce wages by 30 per cent. The armed forces under orders from the A.I.O. Co. intervened with guns, tanks and machine guns and proceeded to carry out mass arrests, to force the strikers to give in. In spite of savage butchery, the resistance of the workers and their wives, many of whom, with their babies in their arms, ran in front of the tanks, was so strong that the Company was obliged to accept the workers' demands and pay for the days on strike.

This movement had tremendous repercussions and was supported by the workers in all countries. The solidarity of the workers in Iran was manifested by strikes, great demonstrations and subscriptions. A new slogan was born : "Nationalise oil in Iran." This was the real origin of the "National Association for Anti-Imperialist Struggle."

After the Khuzastan strikes, the workers who had been dismissed from the Ispahan textile factories waged a vigorous action against closing the factories caused by the fierce competition of Anglo-American goods which was being encouraged by certain big employers won over to the cause of foreign imperialism.

The unemployed workers' struggle and their great demonstrations, always supported by the textile workers, their wives, and even by the artisans and town shopkeepers, and also by the solidarity of the workers of the whole country, had positive results in the action taken for the defence of national industry against the imperialists.

Then there were the strikes waged by the workers in the textile factories of Semnan, Kerman, Kaspine, Tabriz, Hamedan, Rasht and other industrial towns, under the following slogans : reduction in working hours (the workers often work from 75 to 80 hours a week); higher wages (no worker received the wage he is entitled to according to the Labour Law); equal pay for equal work for women; the banning of child labour under 12 years of age (in the textile and carpet industry, children constitute more than 40 per cent of the labour force and it is not unusual to see children of 4 to 7 years of age working in the workshops); trade union freedom; application of the Labour Law and changes in the reactionary decrees which have been added since 1946.

The Central Council of United Trade Unions, although clandestine, continues to have great prestige

among the Iranian workers, who correctly see it as the real working class organisation which has never ceased to defend the workers' interests.

The daily paper *Navidé Azadi* is at the present time the spokesman of the Iranian trade union movement. It regularly publishes W.F.T.U. decisions and often carries extracts and articles from *World Trade Union Movement*. This daily also publishes pamphlets dealing with Iranian and international trade union questions. Thus the Iranian trade union press is contributing to the strengthening of the spirit of working class internationalism among the workers of Iran.

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THE history of these last few years has proved that the Iranian working class in its fight for a better life and for peace has honourably assumed the leadership of the popular movement for liberty and independence. During the recent events which forced the imperialist agent Ghavem to resign, the powerful strikes of the working class and its trade unions have dealt decisive blows against the government. Even reactionary opinion admits that the working class is at the head of the Iranian people, the driving force in the formation of the united front of anti-imperialist struggle.

It is by knitting their ranks more closely together and by establishing ever-closer ties with the working population of the country, that the workers of Iran will defend their basic interests, the independence of their country and peace.

Message from the W.F.T.U. to the Iranian Workers' Trade Unions

FOLLOWING the strikes and anti-imperialist demonstrations which took place in Iran in July, the W.F.T.U. sent the following message to the Inter-Trade Union Liaison Committee of the workers of Teheran :

"Dear Brothers,

"The World Federation of Trade Unions is following events in your country with the greatest interest, that is, the anti-imperialist demonstrations and the strikes of workers in Abadan, Teheran and Ispahan.

"In the name of the 80 million workers organised in its ranks the W.F.T.U. warmly greets the Iranian people and the courageous Iranian workers who, by their vigorous action, are waging an implacable fight against poverty, foreign imperialism and reaction.

"Many workers in your country have heroically sacrificed their lives along with many other sons of the Iranian people during these bloody events.

"The W.F.T.U. honours the memory of these victims and asks you to convey its condolences to their families.

"In order to carry on these historic struggles successfully, the Iranian working class has closed its fraternal ranks and strengthened its alliance with the whole of the population; it has proved its ability to lead the forces of progress and democracy which, in Iran, have decided on action to raise the living standards of the working masses and to fight for

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یکی از شهدای ۳۰ تیر در خیابان اکباتان مقابل برزن ۳ و ۱۴

A worker assassinated during a huge anti-imperialist demonstration last July 21. (Photo from the journal of the National Association for the Anti-Imperialist Struggle.)

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their liberties and the independence of the nation against the manoeuvres of the imperialists and their agents.

"The experience of the whole international working class is proof that this broad and active national unity of the Iranian people cannot be effective without the unity of the working class which constitutes the basic force.

"The workers of Iran and their trade unions therefore have noble tasks fraught with responsibility to fulfil for their country.

"The role played by the working class to achieve the just aspirations of the Iranian people must, above all, open the road to the free activity of its representative trade unions and democratic organisations.

"The W.F.T.U. notes with great satisfaction that the Iranian workers have achieved the wishes of its General Council expressed in Berlin in November 1951, when in its resolution on the situation in Iran, it wished the 'Iranian workers full success in their action for the consolidation of their ranks and for the creation of a national front with other sections of the population and in their fight for the true independence of their country and for the improvement of the people's living standards.'

"The W.F.T.U. confirms its conviction that the Iranian workers will contribute ever more actively to the struggles for a better life for the working population, for the defence of the sovereignty of the Iranian people and for world peace."

Latin - American Trade Unionists Visit the Soviet Union

● *Invited by the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. for the celebration of May Day, 1952, a delegation of Trade Unionists from several Latin-American countries, representing various shades of political and trade union views, spent over a month in the Soviet Union.*

We publish below some extracts from the interesting report unanimously issued by this delegation before the members returned to their own countries.

THE gigantic task of construction for peace which the Soviet people have set themselves can only be accomplished through an extraordinary technical development which lightens human labour and continually increases its productivity. We saw this technical progress, not only in the exhibitions of agricultural and industrial machinery, but also in the factories in which the machines are made. We saw a lorry come off the production line every five minutes at the "Stalin" factory in Moscow, where the assembly-line system of manufacture and assembly of parts is employed. In the same way, we saw great tractors and harvesting machines turned out from the agricultural machinery factory in Rostov. We visited a cotton and weaving factory in Tbilisi and a coalmine in the Don Basin which are examples of mechanisation and technical progress. We saw how operations in all branches are carried on by advanced mechanisation and rationalisation, freeing the working men and women of undue effort. We noted in the "Stalin" automobile factory and also in all other factories that the safety of the workers is carefully protected, that machines which are dangerous to manipulate are supplied with the necessary protective devices. In the cotton and weaving factory in Tbilisi, and in the "Paris Commune" shoe factory workshops in which the air might become bad, complete ventilation installations and suction apparatus for getting rid of dust and pieces of cotton are supplied. We went down the Chajti coalmine. Here all danger of roof falls and of fire-damp explosions has been averted. The galleries are wide and solidly built, and electrification and machanisation of work eliminate the exhausting physical labour which was formerly prevalent in the mines.

We witnessed the rationalisation effort which is to be seen in all branches of industry and in all work processes. We made personal acquaintance with some of the workers and engineers who have contributed inventions to improving the productivity of labour. Their inventions have been quickly popularised wherever they can be useful, and have won for their authors the thanks of the State and the admiration of the entire Soviet people.

Thus the men and women workers of the Soviet Union are working with complete confidence in the future and with great enthusiasm. This explains why such a large number of workers, office employees, directors and technicians in all sectors of production are surpassing their ever-increasing production norms. Economic plans are thus usually achieved ahead of schedule.

Education and Culture

We visited creches and kindergartens (for children of 3 to 7 years) belonging to the factories. There the children are the object of particular solicitude,

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On the Natanebi Beria collective farm in Georgia. The collective farmer Lola Gogetashvili has just shown the delegation her house.

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and are growing up happy and robust. We visited primary and secondary schools, which are free for all pupils. We visited the "Pioneers' Palace" in which gifted children and young people are given the opportunity to develop their artistic, literary, technical and other talents freely. We were able to appraise the work of the Institutes and Technical colleges which are increasing in number in all working centres, and we made acquaintance with the curricula of Soviet universities. We have become convinced that in that country the right to education and culture in its largest conception, is not, as in the capitalist countries, the privilege of a few, but is the birthright of the whole people. The right to education and culture does not merely exist in law, but all the material and social conditions are given to enable Soviet citizens to enjoy this right to the full. We were profoundly impressed by the marvellous laboratories, libraries and study rooms set up in all cultural and educational establishments, where children and young people can co-ordinate theory and practice. All this gives rise to education of an extraordinarily high level.

For example, in Georgia, where there was no university before the 1917 revolution, there is now a university, established in 1918, which has 12 faculties and 560 professors, in addition to which there are 18 other higher educational institutions with a total of more than 30,000 students. In this Soviet Republic, one out of every eighty of the population holds a higher education diploma, and there is one doctor for every 400 inhabitants. We found schools on the collective farms in which the curricula were of a higher standard than secondary education in our own countries. The students of universities, higher institutes and technical schools receive State scholarships of up to 800 roubles a month, and books and school supplies are given free of charge.

The majority of the many engineers whom we met during our visit are former workers. It was explained to us how their career was made possible by the extensive facilities granted to all Soviet workers, both in educational institutions and in the factories; the workers carrying out secondary, technical and even university courses according to their vocation and capability. In the "Paris Commune" shoe factory, which employs 7,000 workers, there is a very valuable technical library, a children's library of 20,000 volumes, a general cultural library of 22,000 volumes, and a club containing a theatre and several spacious rooms. The club organises choirs, dramatic groups, literary circles, orchestras, dance ensembles, plastic arts groups, and a sports section with ski, hockey, swimming, football, volleyball and basket-ball teams. These cultural and sports activities cater for all the workers. In addition, there is a middle school, corresponding to secondary education in our country, and which functions as part of the factory. This school is attended full time by 150 students, who receive their full wages. There is also a technical institute which has 100 students who follow a four-year course, and who also receive their full wages, a two year apprentices' school with 350 students who work for two hours a day at the factory and attend school for 4 hours a day. The apprentices receive 150 roubles a month, clothing, footwear and food. The director of this factory is one of the many shoe-workers who have become technicians. He began life in 1913 as a shoe-worker, a leather-cutter, at the age of 14.

What we have said concerning this factory, we found also in all the other factories which we visited. A high percentage of the collective farm peasants are also attending secondary, technical or university courses.

In the universities and higher institutes, as we noted in the case of Tbilisi, there are correspondence courses for extra-mural students, which are of special interest to the workers, collective farmers, and, in general, students of over 35 years of age. The extra-

mural students have to come to the university three times a year to pass examinations. There are 2,200 extra-mural students of Tbilisi University, in addition to 5,000 internal students. The extra-mural course lasts for six or seven years instead of five, so that the course may be less concentrated without limiting in any way its scientific content. These "worker-students" receive exceptional facilities in the factories. They are paid full wages when they go for their examinations, as well as during the month's holiday which they receive in order to prepare for their annual examination. We should add that this holiday is over and above their ordinary annual holiday. The collective farmers enjoy the same advantages, and we found ordinary peasants in leading positions in the collective farms, among the engineers and agronomists, who are following courses of secondary, technical or higher education while continuing their work.

A High Standard of Living

We noted that the basic wages of workers in the Soviet Union are from 750 to 1,000 roubles and more a month. A large proportion of the workers exceed their norms, and receive bonuses in addition to their basic wages, which in many cases account for a large percentage of their earnings. These basic wages of 750 to 1,000 roubles give the Soviet workers a very much higher purchasing power than that of the workers of our countries. To this it must be added that the government has carried out five price reductions since 1947 on a wide variety of consumer's goods, considerably raising the purchasing power of wages and the real income of the whole population. The 1947 price reduction meant a saving of 86,000 million roubles for the people in 1948; the 1949 reduction brought an annual saving of 71,000 million roubles; the 1950 reduction, a saving of 110,000 million roubles; the 1951 reduction, a saving of 35,000 million roubles, and the fifth reduction, which took place in April of this year, means a further 15 per cent increase of purchasing power.

With these facts, it is easy to measure the continual increase in the living standards of the Soviet people, which contrasts with the continual price increases and the subsequent lowering of the living standards to which the workers in the capitalist countries are subjected.

The high living standard of the workers is shown by the quality of the meals served in the factory restaurants and canteens, and by the way in which the workers and the whole people are clothed, by the crowds which throng shops selling foodstuffs, clothing, books, electrical appliances, perfumes, etc. It is shown in the theatres, cinemas and the sports arenas, always filled with people, and in general among the people in the streets both in Moscow and in the other cities which we visited.

We noticed that the contrast between country and town is tending to disappear. The collective farm peasants and the State farm workers are benefiting from the progress of civilisation. They apply the most modern technical methods in their work, and their living standards are extremely high. We have seen their palaces of culture, and we noted that in all districts, even the most remote, there are specialists, clinics and schools corresponding to secondary schools in our countries. We were surprised to find a radio set in every collective farm household, and to find that many collective farmers own television sets and motor cars.

Many collective farm families have a family income of around 50,000 roubles a year, plus 10,000 kilograms of grain and other products. Every col-

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The delegation, surrounded by Soviet miners, has just visited a coal mine.

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lective or State farm family has its own garden, which enables them to add to the income derived from their work on the farm. For example, we visited a collective farm family whose income was double that given above. The whole of the members of the collective farms annually fix work norms, called "workdays." Many collective farmers exceed the norm, thus achieving proportionally higher incomes. They also receive bonuses for better production.

To any impartial observer the well-being attained by the Soviet people under socialism is immediately apparent, especially if one compares it with the average living standards of our people. This is what we have seen, and what we shall explain to the workers and to public opinion in our countries.

Now that our stay in the Soviet Union is over, we want to say how happy we have been to have had the opportunity of seeing at first hand the success of this great people who are working for peace and international friendship. Our contact with the Soviet people strengthens our confidence in the victory of the cause of peace. It also strengthens our determination to fight for the unity of the working class in the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions under the banner of friendship between all peoples.

We express our profound thanks to the Soviet trade unions who have given us this invaluable opportunity of staying in the Soviet Union and of getting to know the great victories of that country gained on the road to building a better world.

Carlos Rojas Juanco (Mexico), delegate of the Secretariat of the Confederation of Latin American Workers.
Sotero Valdes (Mexico), co-operative leader.
Tomas Cueva (Mexico), Mexican Railwaymen's Federation.
M. Oliveira (Brazil), representative of the Confederation of Brazilian Workers.
Normando Iscaro (Argentina), delegate of the Movement for the Democracy and Independence of the Trade Unions of the Argentine.
Orlando Millas (Chile), representative of the Confederation of Chilean Workers.
Mario Acosta (Uruguay), Secretary of the Uruguayan Building Workers' Federation.
Jacinto Torres (Cuba), Confederation of Workers of Cuba.
Juan Acosta (Paraguay), General Secretary of the Workers' Council of Paraguay.

SPOTLIGHT ON WORLD LABOUR

Release Glezos, Ambatielos and Their Comrades

TOWARDS the middle of August, after an inspection of Yugoslavia by Frank Pace, American Secretary of the Army, Tito announced officially that a military alliance was being planned between Yugoslavia and Greece. Pijade, his lieutenant, went to Athens to confer with the murderers of Beloyannis. At the same time, the American Admiral Carney, Commander of the South European sector of the Atlantic War coalition, arrived in Athens.

That is the political background to the two big trials which took place simultaneously before the Greek military courts—the trials of Tony Ambatielos, Secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, and of Manolis Glezos, the distinguished hero of the Greek Resistance Movement against the Germans, both surrounded by comrades in struggle who were also accused.

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IN 1948, Tony Ambatielos was sentenced to death because of his militant activity. In reply to this criminal sentence, the workers during the elections gave him their votes and elected him as their Member of Parliament. As a result of both Greek and world protest the death sentence was commuted by Parliament to life imprisonment. At the recent "re-trial" on August 24, this sentence was confirmed for Ambatielos and for 5 others sentenced under the same conditions. In the case of thirteen others the court was forced to pronounce reductions in the prison sentences previously inflicted.

Two days later, Manolis Glezos, previously sentenced to death, came before the military court, which, not daring to maintain the former sentence, commuted it to life imprisonment with hard labour. A small first success as a result of world protest, but how inadequate! Manolis Glezos has contracted tuberculosis in the fascist dungeons, and the new sentence is equivalent to a new death sentence.

In 1942, the Hitlerite occupiers sentenced Manolis Glezos to death, in his absence, for removing the Nazi flag from the Acropolis. The Monarcho-Fascists are following in the footsteps of the Hitlerites in trying to deliver to the firing squad this hero of the fight for Greek independence, who after the liberation became the editor-in-chief of *Rizospastis,* organ of the Greek Communist Party.

Manolis Glezos was also elected Member of Parliament after having been sentenced to death and saved from execution by the tremendous protest movement throughout the world. He must be released together with Ambatielos and their comrades in struggle.

To rescue these glorious fighters for peace and freedom is to fight against the war policy ordered by Wall Street which wants to make Greece a permanent powder barrel.

J.W.

Release the Deported Tunisian Patriots!

In a moving letter their wives protest against the inhuman treatment to which these patriots are subjected.

WE have just received a most moving letter from the wives of Tunisian patriots who have been deported because they desire independence for their country. It is addressed to M. de Hautecloque, the French Resident General in Tunisia, whose shady colonial machinations in no way represent the will of the French people, who know that "a people which oppresses another people cannot itself be free," and who support the Tunisian people's struggle.

In an accompanying letter, which is addressed to the President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Tunisian women state:

"We are enclosing a copy of a letter which we have sent to the French Resident-General in Tunis.

"You will learn from reading it the material situation of the deportees in the Zaarour camp.

"You should also know that visits allowed by relatives last only twenty minutes and are held in the presence of a third person, and that letters to the deportees arrive after an intolerable delay.

"We are sure that you will join with us in our protest, and that the active solidarity of all democratic forces will help us to bring about the release of the patriots from the camps and require that their legal position as deportees be respected and win for them an immediate improvement in their material conditions."

We are sure that the workers of the whole world will respond, as the World Federation of Trade Unions has done, to this appeal, expressing their complete solidarity with the Tunisian patriots and demanding their immediate release.

"The French Resident-General in Tunis.

"Mr. Resident-General,

"We have the honour to communicate to you our indignation against the treatment inflicted on the Djellal internees during their transfer from Djellal to Zaarour,

and at the present situation of the 330 detainees in Zaarour.

"The 80 Ben Gardane detainees were transferred in lorries without benches or awning. They were forced to travel 600 kilometres under the most deplorable conditions, despite the fact that they included an old man suffering from heart disease and a man convalescing after a month of fever.

"We protest to you especially against these 80 men having been herded together in an unventilated shed in Sousse, against the provocation and ill-treatment to which they were exposed and the lack of food during the 24-hour journey.

"In fact, the deportees were unable to eat the first meal which was given to them, under intolerable conditions, without any eating utensils and with one messtin for every ten persons. This first privation was further aggravated by the cancellation of the second meal by decision of the colonel as a reprisal for the refusal of the detainees to wash the dishes of this first meal, which they had not eaten.

"Further, the first news coming from Zaarour indicates that the 'deportees' are in fact being subjected to a prison regime.

"Zaarour is a concentration camp with a double row of barbed wire, a watch-tower, a double guard of Senegalese and two roll calls a day.

"The detainees are herded by groups of fifty-five into sheds in which they each only have a space of 80 centimetres.

"There is a complete lack of beds, tables and chairs, and the detainees sleep, eat, write, and, in short, live on the ground.

"Water, which is in theory distributed three times a day for periods of one hour, is in fact only distributed for a quarter of an hour each day. Under these conditions, the normal supplying of the 330 detainees is quite impossible.

"If one adds to this the fact that the insufficient food given up to the present has been further reduced—only 130 francs a day being allotted for each person for food—that the detainees are forced to clean the camp themselves and do their own cooking, it is clear that the regime under which the Zaarour detainees are living has nothing in common with their legal position as 'deportees.'

"We protest once more at the conditions to which all deported patriots are subjected.

"We demand their release—pure and simple—and the immediate strict enforcement of a regime which corresponds to their legal situation as deportees, in particular:

The abolition of the concentration camps and the assignment of the deportees to a place of residence where they will have:

a) complete freedom of movement;

b) the right to communicate freely with the outside (telephone, visits without the presence of a third person, etc.);

c) complete freedom of information, with the right to receive all newspapers and the free use of the radio.

"Further, we demand that the following measures be taken with all urgency:

a) the removal of barbed wire from the Zaarour camp;

b) the installation of beds, tables, chairs and cupboards;

c) increased food and maintenance allowances.

"Hoping for a speedy response to our demand.

Yours respectfully,
for a Group of Wives of Deportees
S. Djerad."

United Trade Unions International of Transport Workers, Port Workers and Seamen

THE 3rd Session of the Administrative Committee of the Transport Workers Trade Unions International was held in Bucharest from July 23rd to 26th, with the participation of representatives of 21 countries.

After examining the activity of the Trade Unions International since its 2nd Session, the Administrative Committee decided to support the proposal for the amalgamation of its organisation with the Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Unions International.

This proposal, which came from the Secretaries of the two Trade Unions International, was considered to be in full accord with the interests of all categories of workers concerned. In fact, the similarity of their living and working conditions determines the need for common action and a common organisation. The need is particularly felt at this time when a savage attack has been let loose in the capitalist and colonial countries against the living conditions of all transport workers and against their progressive trade union organisations. It comes at a time when, because of the great importance of all forms of transport in war preparations, the imperialists, helped by the International Transport Federation (I.T.F.) of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions, are trying to obstruct the struggle of the transport workers for their basic interests and for peace.

The affiliated organisations having been consulted, and having approved the idea of amalgamation, the Administrative Committee called on them to prepare for the Statutory Conference of the Trade Unions International, the only sovereign body able to decide upon the amalgamation. The popularisation of the aims of this Conference, which the Administrative Committee proposes to hold in February 1953, will be the responsibility of national and local commissions, together with the transport trade union organisations. It must be carried out essentially in meetings of the rank and file in depots, stations, workshops, aerodromes and garages, with the active participation of workers of all opinions, organised and unorganised.

In a special letter, the Administrative Committee calls upon all affiliated and friendly organisations to:

"Contribute actively to the organisation of a new Trade Unions International of Transport Workers, Port Workers and Seamen which will hold high the banner of these workers' struggles, which will lead their struggles, which will support their economic and social demands and make a valuable contribution towards achieving and consolidating their united action and which will place them in the vanguard of the defenders of world peace."

THE Administrative Committee's resolution on the unity of transport workers in the fight for their demands and for peace draws attention to the worsening of the situation of transport workers in the capitalist and colonial countries, and to the continual improvement of the living conditions of the transport workers in the U.S.S.R. and in the countries on the road to Socialism. It states that the struggles of the transport workers are extending, and that their unity is being strengthened despite the splitting policy of the I.T.F. leaders, who even resort to the use of petty criminals and provocateurs to take part in armed attacks.

The resolution emphasises that the transport workers of Western Europe must particularly fight against the plans for "integration" and for "a supreme European transport authority," plans which are inspired by the American war-makers and which carry threats of poverty, slavery and war. In the fight against these plans the transport workers must expose the attitude of the I.T.F. leaders, who are championing "integration."

As preparation for the successful waging of their struggles for their basic interests, democratic rights and trade union liberties, and for peace, the transport workers are called upon to set up wherever possible united action committees, joint committees, or other forms, following the examples of experiences in Italy, France and elsewhere.

"The Administrative Committee calls on the workers and the militants to develop a strong conviction that unity in action as well as trade union unity are only won by ceaseless and persevering struggle carried out in the enterprises and trade unions and that this struggle will not be won by superficial polemics, slander and sectarian manifestations."

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A SPECIAL appeal addressed to all the world's transport workers stresses the vital importance of the defence of peace, and of active contribution in the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and the Peace Congress of the Countries of the Asian and Pacific Region. The appeal calls for fraternal discussions between all workers during meetings and conferences organised in transport enterprises, active participation in the peace committees and the formation of new committees, and the broadest unity in the fight for peace, national independence and a better life.

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A SPECIAL resolution recommends concretely to all transport organisations, whether or not affiliated to the Trade Unions International, to take an active part in the preparation of the International Conference on Social Security which the W.F.T.U. has taken the initiative in organising. The Administrative Committee also examined the programme of economic and social demands of the Trade Unions International. Summarised following the observations made during the debate in the 3rd Session, the text of this programme has been sent to all the affiliated and friendly organisations of the Trade Unions International for discussion by the transport workers of all countries and for adoption to their national conditions. In the light of these discussions, the international programme can be completed in a way that will reflect as fully as possible the basic aspirations of all workers in the industry, and thus become a basis for unity.

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THE communique issued by the Secretariat of the Trade Unions International at the conclusion of the 3rd Session of the Administrative Committee states that this meeting reflects "the growing influence of our Trade Unions International. Its activity is known more and more among transport workers throughout the world and especially among those in the colonial and dependent countries. Despite the splitting propaganda and the obstruction practised by the capitalist governments against the world trade union movement embodied in the W.F.T.U., the transport workers grow ever more conscious of the correctness of our unity policy and our stand for peace.

"The Session expresses its conviction that the affiliated and friendly organisations, groups of worker sympathisers and trade union militants will examine and put into practice these decisions and recommendations, because they are of particular importance for the correct orientation of the present activity of the transport workers' trade union organisations."

Holidays Have a New Meaning in Rumania

TANNED by the warm sun of the Black Sea Coast, her eyes shining with enthusiasm, Maddalena Grassi has just returned from Rumania. Invited together with her husband, Luigi Grassi, Secretary of the W.F.T.U., by the Rumanian General Confederation of Labour, she spent a month in the Rumanian People's Republic; on the Black Sea coast, in Bucharest, on the construction site of the Danube-Black Sea canal and among the Tartar collective farms. For nearly forty days she shared the life of the Rumanian people on the road to socialism.

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Our interviewer asked Maddalena Grassi:—

As these summer months are above all holiday months, could you describe for the workers in the capitalist countries what the 1952 holiday season is like in a People's Democracy?

THAT will be very easy. My husband and I spent the first ten days at Mamaia in a rest-home called *The First of May*, and then for a time at a second centre, about twelve miles away, called *Eforie*. This latter place is famous for its mud-bath and radioactive water treatments, which are given to people suffering from rheumatism or disorders of the circulation. These two magnificently appointed centres are situated in marvellous natural surroundings. The buildings themselves are modern, and they are furnished and equipped with a regard for comfort and cleanliness which greatly impressed me. Under the old regime, it was here that the privileged classes of the Rumanian big bourgeoisie and aristocracy spent months or the whole year, in idleness. Today everything is completely changed within these houses. Of course, there are the same surroundings, and perhaps there were as many flowers there in the old days, the rooms were perhaps as spacious and the armchairs as comfortable, but instead of the roulette and baccarat gambling rooms today there are libraries with hundreds of books in all languages being read by countless readers, there are meeting rooms in which Rumanian workers, men and women of all professions and trades are having a well-deserved rest.

What was the most striking feature for you in the composition of those new holiday makers?

OF course, all these marvellous comforts are no longer the privilege of a few, but are the property of all the Rumanian workers.

There were new kinds of people among these holiday-makers, belonging to all trades and professions. There were academicians and artists, peasants and scientists, writers and miners, woodcutters and doctors, and also people who had belonged to the former ruling classes and who, instead of deserting and slandering their country, have made themselves a new place in it by their work. I almost forgot to mention also the many delegations from all countries cordially invited and magnificently welcomed by the Rumanian democratic organisations. At the entry to the rest-homes there is a sign saying "Welcome," and they really live up to it. I was tremendously impressed by the fraternity and cordiality which reigns among all these men and women of different professions. The academician discusses with the Stakhanovite, the writer with the woodcutter, and all exchange with each other the lessons they have learned from their experience in their work to build happiness and peace.

The new people are particularly honoured in this fraternal workers' society. I was struck by the large number of Stakhanovites, heroes of labour, some of whom, like a miner whose acquaintance I made, have already accomplished their work plan for 1954.

What is life like in the rest-homes?

BEFORE replying directly to that question, I must explain another feature of this new life.

When I speak of workers living in these rest-homes, it must be understood that this means not only the holiday-makers, but also the staff of the establishments: cooks, chambermaids, administrators, those responsible for cultural and leisure activities (each establishment having someone charged with this latter responsibility) and all of whom form a working collective. Outside their hours of duty, these workers mix in with the general public and take part in excursions, meetings, etc. Having made that clear, I will show how the day is passed. Of course, there is a special regime for those who come not only to rest but also to undergo treatment for some complaint. For most of the others the day begins early with a big breakfast. This is followed by rest or curative treatment for some and a morning on the beach or of games for the others. After lunch there is a siesta till four o'clock, then excursions, walks on the beach until dinner-time. In the evenings there are cultural meetings—sometimes cinema shows, sometimes performances by various artistic groups from factories, collective farms, or from Young Pioneers, and sometimes performances by professional companies touring the country. There is dancing and singing, both of old folk songs and dances and new ones. I remember particularly one of these new songs, which is very popular, and which is sung by choirs. It is called "Marinika," and it tells the story of a very lazy worker who was always behind in everything, and who, after being criticised by his workmates, became a Stakhanovite.

When there is no performance, the cultural organiser arranges lectures or talks. Thus, during our stay, we heard a talk on atomic energy given by a well-known scientist who was staying with us, and also a talk by one of the most famous Rumanian film workers, Mme. Sadova, who told us about the production and shooting of her film "Mitrea Cocor," which won a prize at the Karlovy Vary festival.

On other evenings of this kind the foreign delegations would meet Stakhanovites. A member of a foreign delegation, for example, asked a Stakhanovite miner if the workers understood the importance of their task in the new society. "Of course we do," was the reply. "We know that we are now the State. We know that in building Socialism we shall improve our own conditions, that we shall help our brothers in the capitalist countries, and that this will help us to save peace." Peace is the main concern of these people, for whom this new happiness and this good life were only far-off dreams fifteen or twenty years ago.

Everywhere, and at all times, I was struck by the deep feeling of working class internationalism and by the knowledge of the Rumanian workers, who are so eager to learn.

Could you, to conclude on this subject, try to define the new character of these summer holidays for the Rumanian workers?

HOLIDAYS in a People's Democracy like Rumania do not mean more rest and comfort for a few rich people, but relaxation and new happiness, for 300,000 workers this year, for example. The holiday season is the special occasion to make contact with all other kinds of workers, to gain from the experience of others, and, while holidaying, to make even better preparations for the new tasks in the building of Socialism.

And for those like me who have come from countries in which there is unemployment and poverty, and in which holidays are spent between four grey walls and in smoky cities, these splendid real holidays of the Rumanian workers in the most uplifting atmosphere of fraternity are an unforgettable experience, the realisation of all the dreams of the world's workers who are fighting for peace and happiness.

— Thank you, Maddalena, and au revoir.

R.C.

Cyprus Workers Defend Wages, Peace and Freedom

THE policy of war followed by the capitalist world, the huge rearmament programme of the imperialist forces, has resulted in a continuous rise in prices of consumer goods, in an increase of the cost of living all over the capitalist world.

Cyprus, a part of the British colonial empire, could not escape this consequence of war preparation. In Cyprus, as in all capitalist and colonial countries, the cost of living has gone up and up during the last two years and the workers' standard of living has fallen considerably. Since January 1950, the official index of retail prices has risen by 21%. This index, which in January 1950 was at 100 points, in April 1952 stood at 121 points. The food prices index was 130.6 points (1950=100). The clothing prices index was 124.3, fuel and light 115.8, rent 106, tobacco and alcoholic drinks 105.6 and other items 114.3 points.

The price of bread has gone up by 28%, fresh beef by 28%, pork by 16%, olive oil by 82%, imported vegetable oils by 28%, broad beans by 100%, onions

by 200%, and the predominant type of vegetables by 46%.

The already low standard of living of the workers and the people of the island has been further reduced. The economic difficulties of the workers have increased both in number and in extent.

The Cyprus trade union movement, led by the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour, has not been idle. During these two years, nearly every trade union mobilised its members and a good number of unorganised workers in the struggle for cost of living increases.

According to the report submitted by the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour's General Council to the 7th Pan-Cyprian Trade Union Congress, held last April, thanks to the struggles of our trade unions, more than 15,000 workers received cost-of-living increases. The unity displayed by the workers in fighting for this demand, the strength of the unions and their resoluteness to achieve by any means the readjustment of wages and salaries—facts well known to the employers—permitted us to achieve our object without long and difficult strikes. Very few and small strikes occurred during our effort to readjust wages.

The Cyprus working class does not lose sight of the fact that the main cause of the rise in prices is the war policy pursued by the British government. And that is why the Cypriot workers and their trade unions do not confine their struggles to claiming wage readjustments. Cypriot workers fully understand that the struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle in defence of their standard of living and the struggle in defence of their other achievements. They realise that they cannot prosper under British imperialist rule. They also realise that the plans of the imperialists, both British and American, to make Cyprus a base for their aggressive wars, are incompatible with the well-being and prosperity of the Cyprus people.

The Cyprus working class and the trade union movement were the first, here in this island, to respond to the appeal of the Paris-Prague Peace Congress.

The Pan-Cyprian Trade Union Peace Conference held in Limassol in May 1950, was the first mass peace manifestation in Cyprus. Trade unionists organised anti-imperialist demonstrations in the town of Famagusta on the occasion of the visit of American warships in August 1950. The 1951 and 1952 May Day demonstrations were great demonstrations for peace.

The Cyprus trade union movement actively participates in the organised Peace Partisan Movement of our island which is affiliated to the world peace movement. Trade unionists and trade union organisations in all the towns and villages of Cyprus took an active part in the collection of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal and the Berlin resolutions. 90,000 signatures for the Stockholm Appeal and over 100,000 signatures for the Berlin resolutions have been collected by the joint efforts of all peace lovers of this island, among whom the trade unionists are the most militant and enthusiastic. The trade union movement has organised meetings and manifestations against the war in Korea, against the barbarous methods employed by the foreign invaders in Korea and the use of the bacteriological weapon. Meetings have been organised in support of the Iranian people during the difficult days of their struggle for the nationalisation of the oil industry, and in support of the national liberation movement of the Egyptian people.

The Cyprus working class, and especially its organised sections, is the leading force of the Cyprus people's national struggle. This struggle, waged under the leadership of the party of the working class, A.K.E.L., is greatly annoying the imperialist rulers of the island. The trade union movement is militantly participating in this struggle. The people's victory in the January 1950 national plebiscite is the result of the unity of all the people's forces against imperialism, for national freedom, for union with Greece. As is well known 96 per cent of the people voted against British colonial rule. The trade union movement greatly contributed to the achievement of that victory.

The trade unions of Cyprus are in the vanguard of the struggle against illiberal, fascist laws imposed by the imperialist government with the main object of suppressing the people's national and peace movements. When in February 1951, a set of such illiberal laws were passed and published by the London-appointed Executive Council of the Government of Cyprus, workers' meetings and demonstrations were held in all the big towns of the island, and scores of trade unionists were arrested and imprisoned for taking part in them.

The Cyprus trade union movement, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, will always follow the wise and realistic leadership of the latter. The Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour and the trade unions affiliated to it will fight to achieve the Milan and Berlin resolutions of the W.F.T.U. on unity in action. Much has already been achieved in this field, in isolating and unmasking the divisionist "Cyprus Workers' Confederation" affiliated to, and both morally and financially supported by, the I.C.F.T.U. The workers of Cyprus will never lay down the banner of peace. They will always fight against war, they will always resist the plans for making Cyprus a base for war. The workers and the people of Cyprus strongly believe that the W.F.T.U. and the international working class will always support the struggle of their country to achieve national freedom.

A. Ziartides,

General Secretary, Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour

The Lords of Creation

THE United States Secretary of Commerce publishes a series of documents entitled "Business Information Service." These are issued for the use of American industrialists and foreign traders who wish to invest or engage in business in foreign countries. Among this series are studies on the cost of living in foreign countries *for Americans*.

The document on Peru (Living and Operating Costs in Peru, Business Information Series No. 221) gives the following figures on the cost of maintaining an *American* family of four persons:

— low-income family: 6,906 soles per month
— medium-income family: 8,809 soles per month
— upper-income family: 15,159 soles per month

The same document gives some indications on the wages which American businessmen will have to pay to Peruvian workers:

Cook: 200 to 650 soles per month

Chauffeur: 500 to 700 soles per month

Gardener: 60 to 200 soles per month

Shorthand-typist: 500 to 850 soles per month

Telephonist: 500 to 1,000 soles per month

that is, between 1/7 and 1/250 of the amount necessary to support an American family.

Still, membership in the Lima Gold Club costs 17,000 soles plus 200 soles a month.

A kilogramme (2.2 lbs.) of butter costs 28 soles, a dozen eggs 12 soles, a kilogramme of bacon 26 soles, a three-room apartment at least 1,500 soles per month.

This shows clearly the poverty-stricken standard of living of Peruvian workers and the lordly life which the representatives of the monopolies who exploit these Peruvian workers reserve for themselves.

EXPLOITERS . . .and SWINDLERS!

But better still . . . if one can call it that, the journal *La Voz de Mexico* for August 1, 1952, publishes the following:

"42,000 Mexican day-labourers have been deported from the United States under the most revolting conditions. After having worked for North American employers who had promised them a good wage, they were reported by the employers to the immigration authorities as illegal immigrants and expelled without being paid their wages."

Need one comment?

Imperialists, exploiters . . . swindlers . . . these yankee capitalists certainly have all the virtues.

L.F.

Soviet Workers Aid Famine-Stricken India

THE General Secretary of the Aid Committee for the victims of famine in the province of Andhra (Madras State), Y. V. Krishna Rao, sent the following appeal to Brother Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions:

"Dear Friend,

"We would like to inform you of the situation in the Andhra Province. The population is undergoing a terrible famine. We are addressing ourselves to you, and through you, to the various national organisations to ask you to send material assistance to our Committee so that we can buy rice and other food products such as milk, preserved foods, etc.

"We are sending you a report on the work which we have done up to now to help those who are starving.

"In conclusion, we ask you to put at our disposal means by which we can organise new free restaurants and medical aid posts.

"Hoping to receive a favourable reply from you as soon as possible.

With very fraternal greetings,

Krishna Rao,

General Secretary."

* * *

The President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions replied to the United Aid Committee with the following telegram:

"The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions has received your letter asking for aid for the starving population of the Andhra Province.

"In the name of all the workers of the Soviet State, the Soviet Trade Unions express their deepest sympathy for the workers of Andhra Province and the regions of Madras State suffering from the terrible disaster which has stricken them. They are placing at the disposal of the United Aid Committee for the famine victims, 10,000 tons of wheat, 5,000 tons of rice and 500,000 tins of condensed milk.

"Further, the Soviet Trade Unions have decided to allocate a sum of 250,000 rupees for aid to the starving victims.

"The workers of the Soviet Union express their sincere wishes to the United Aid Committee together with all the workers of India for success in their fight against famine and for the safeguarding of the millions of human lives from the terrible disaster which has stricken the province of Andhra and other regions.

"Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R.,

Kuznetsov."

* * *

In reply to a Tass correspondent's question, L. Soloviev, Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., indicated that Soviet ships were already on their way to India with foodstuffs, and that the people of India were expressing their deep gratitude to the Soviet people in messages which were being received.

On September 5, the Indian Government had declared that it considered it necessary that the distribution of food and money should be done through the intermediary of the Government or through the Indian Red Cross. The Government of India had also announced through its Charge d'Affaires in Moscow that it would distribute this assistance in the famine-stricken regions in accordance with the desires of the Soviet trade unions.

L. Soloviev declared that, in sending foodstuffs, the Soviet trade unions' sole aim was to help the hungry people and was motivated by no political consideration. It had appeared normal to the Soviet trade unions to send the aid to the organisation which had asked for it, in this case to the United Famine Aid Committee of Andhra. However, the Soviet trade unions were not opposed to a different method of distributing the assistance on condition that this was given to the regions for whose use it was sent.

The Presidium of the A.U.C.C.T.U., considering that the population of the famine areas of India need immediate assistance and that, according to the Government of India this aid will be given to the population of the regions suffering from famine, had taken the decision to send the foodstuffs and money to the Indian Red Cross in order that it might be distributed to the famine-stricken population of Andhra province and other regions of Madras State.

The Soviet trade unions hoped that their assistance would improve the difficult situation of the hungry population of the State of Madras.

GROWING STRIKE MOVEMENT IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

A considerable strike movement is taking place at present in the capitalist countries. The workers are strengthening their unity and are entering into the struggle with determination against the reduction of their living standards, the increase in unemployment and the attacks on their trade union rights resulting from the imperialist governments' policy of war preparation. The following brief resumé of these struggles throughout the world in the past two months gives an idea of the scope of this movement, which shows every sign of extending.

IN ITALY

— There was a railway strike on August 7th in which between 85 and 95 per cent. of the railwaymen took part.

— A general strike in the town and province of Novara on August 2nd against the closing of three textile mills. The strike took place on the initiative of the three trade union organisations (C.G.I.L., C.I.S.L. and U.I.L.) and was followed by the occupation of the three factories by the workers, who continued to work there, supported by the solidarity of the whole population.

— Demonstrations and strikes of share-croppers, peasants and agricultural workers in Ancona, Grosseto and Catania on August 12th for agrarian reform.

IN FRANCE

— 1,200 miners went on strike in Esterelles on August 23rd against petty persecutions and fines to which they are subjected.

— Strike of the workers of the Hispano-Brune automobile factory in Paris against a 7 per cent. wage reduction.

— While the fight for demands is going on in many enterprises, a great campaign for a general wage increase is taking place on the initiative of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

IN GREAT BRITAIN

— The 1,600 workers of the Fairey Aviation factory in Stockport have been on strike since June 23rd as a result of the sacking of the chairman and convenor of shop stewards. The strike is supported by hundreds of factories in North-West England and by the Fairey factories in London and Manchester.

— The 1,100 workers of the Park Royal Vehicles factory in London have been on strike since July 3rd to force the reinstatement of 78 dismissed workers.

— 150 employees of the Grand Hotel in Birmingham went on strike for three weeks during August following the dismissal of a number of the hotel employees.

— Strike of 180 electricians employed on the building of a petrol refinery at Coryton in Essex on August 17th for three-pence an hour wage increase.

— Banning of overtime by the shop stewards of the Austin Motor Works, Birmingham, employing 20,000 workers, following the management's announcement that 800 workers are to be dismissed as redundant.

— The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions decides on August 31st to recommend a nation-wide ban on overtime and piecework in the industry in support of the demand for a £2 per week wage increase.

IN EIRE

— Printing workers in Dublin went on strike on July 11th for increased wages, and no newspapers appeared throughout the rest of July and the whole of August.

IN BELGIUM

— General 24-hour strike on August 9th against the two-year period of conscription, involving over a million workers. The government decides to reduce the period of military service from 2 years to 21 months.

— Strikes and work stoppages in the metal factories of Hainaut, Charleroi, Tubize, Haine, St. Pierre, Nivelles and Ougrèe-Marihaye to obtain payment for the August 15th holiday, which had been refused by the employers because of the August 9th strike.

IN DENMARK

— Strike of Copenhagen taxi-drivers from August 12th to 21st to prevent a lengthening of the working day.

IN NORWAY

— Stoppage of work in the Loelvdalen railway shops for better health conditions.

IN ALGERIA

— The Algiers' tobacco workers have been on strike for a month for their demands for increased wages and stabilisation of employment (August 22nd).

— Over 5,000 agricultural workers strike on August 27th for better wages and for collective agreements.

IN TUNISIA

— United strike of 1,200 Tunis dockers belonging to U.S.T.T. and U.G.T.T. unions in protest against the decision to violate the hiring regulations (August 19th).

— Solidarity work stoppages by the dockers of Bizerta, Sousse and Sfax and by the cereal workers of Sfax and the workers of the Cap Bon flour-mill (August 22nd).

— Civil aviation and meteorological personnel refuse to accept the conscription order issued by the police and continue their strike (August 4th).

IN EGYPT

— Strike of 10,000 Misr cotton-mill workers in Kapr el Dassar in protest against the sacking of a number of workers for political reasons, and for higher wages. On August 14th violent police attacks are made on the strikers, six of whom are killed and scores wounded.

— Solidarity strike by the workers of Moharrem Bey, near Alexandria. The army opens fire and kills six strikers, wounding many others. The 20-year old worker Mustapha Kamis is condemned to death on August 19th.

IN IRAN

— Successful strike by the Seman textile factory workers (August 10-15th).

IN IRAQ

— Strike of Basra port workers for increased wages. The police open fire, killing 4 and wounding 30. Solidarity strike by the workers of the British base in Shaiba on August 25th.

IN NIGERIA

— After a week of "go slow" working in the Enugu mines and railways, the Nigeria Coal Company agrees to an increase of 30% in the miners' special allowances (August 15th).

IN KOREA

— Strike of 30,000 workers in Pusan on August 3rd in protest against Syngman Rhee's "elections."

UNITED STATES

— The strike of 650,000 steelworkers ended on July 25th (after nearly two months) with wage increases and other gains.

— Stoppage of work by 475,000 miners from August 23rd to September 1st in memory of workers killed and injured in the mines and to force observance of the safety regulations.

— Ten-week strike of the Bigelow-Sandford carpet factory workers results in a ten cents an hour wage increase, which will be applicable to the majority of the 20,000 workers in the industry.

— Strike of 30,000 workers of the Goodrich Rubber Company on August 17th in support of demands for wage increases and the union shop in the collective agreement. They win their demands after a ten-day strike.

IN JAPAN

— Successful strike of 35,000 seamen on August 7th and 8th, and on August 20th, 21st and 22nd, tying up 400 ships belonging to 180 companies, and winning increased retirement bonuses.

— Workers of the Oppama Arsenal, controlled by the American authorities, hold a 24-hour strike on August 15th to win a wage increase.

IN INDIA

— United strike on August 1st of the 35,000 textile workers of Madhya Pradesh State, who put forward a list of demands.

IN INDONESIA

— Strike of 30,000 sugar industry workers from July 24th to 26th for increased bonuses.

IN BRAZIL

— Strike of 5,000 Sao Paolo busworkers on July 16th, affecting 21 lines belonging to 12 enterprises, for a wage increase.

— Workers of the Bona Vista textile factory refuse to work overtime and threaten to strike for a new working agreement (July 17th).

— General strike on August 12th-13th in Rio Grande. Complete stoppage of public services, transport, industry and commerce. The movement spreads throughout the province and the town in protest against high prices of articles of prime necessity.

IN CHILE

— Strike of 8,000 workers of a shoe factory in solidarity with the workers of another factory (July 6th).

— 1,200 nitrate workers employed by the Alcorta enterprise in Antofagasta win satisfaction after six weeks strike.

— Strike of 30,000 nitrate workers on July 12th in Pedro Valdivia, Maria Helena, Tocopilla and other centres for wage increases

— Strike of 10,000 municipal employees on July 24th for higher wages and better conditions.

— Strike of 350 sulphur workers in Arica for economic demands.

— 4,000 National Savings Bank employees threaten to strike for 24 hours on July 25th for wage increases.

IN URUGUAY

— Strike of 3,000 bank employees for higher wages (August 21).

— Mobilisation of workers of refrigerating plants in July for higher wages.

— The radio workers' strike, which began on June 28th for higher wages ends successfully on July 11th.

CUBA

— Demonstration by Havana metal workers on July 31st in front of the Ministry of Labour demanding that measures be taken to prevent the closure of metal factories.

— Strike of 7,000 paper workers (printing industry) in July for wage increases.

— Occupation of the "Lamero" metal factory in Rosario by the workers, who demand the payment of a month's wages due them.

IN MEXICO

— The metal workers of the "Artefacto Metalicos Monterrey" factory in Nuevo Leon demand a new work agreement (August 15).

— Strike of the workers of the Monterrey paper factory for a wage increase (August 15).

IN GUATEMALA

— Workers employed by Pan-American Airways and the T.A.C.A. have been on strike for 33 days for a new collective agreement.

TURKEY

American Imperialist War Base in the Near East

THE American imperialists in agreement with Turkish reaction, are striving to turn Turkey into a base for aggression for the war against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies, and into a base for crushing the national liberation movements of the peoples of the Near East. The American Ambassador in Turkey, George MacGhee, the head of the "Marshall Plan" mission, Russel Dorr, and the head of the U.S. Military Mission, General Arnold, control and direct the internal life of Turkey.

The U.S.A. was already using Turkey during the last war, as a springboard for its expansion into the countries of the Near and Middle East and into the Balkans. In 1941, they were giving Turkey arms and munitions on lend-lease, while the Turkish government was supplying Hitler Germany with foodstuffs and raw materials. They granted Turkey large sums for the reconstruction of aerodromes, for the purchase of warships and other war material.

With the application of the Truman doctrine (March 12, 1947), Turkey has become a United States colony. On order of the American imperialists the ruling circles are constantly increasing military expenditure. Armament supplies in 1951 reached more than a thousand million dollars.

The ports are turned into American military bases and shelter the U.S. naval fleet. Aerodromes as well as strategic roads are being constructed, mainly on the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

The army is in fact under the orders of the Pentagon (U.S. war headquarters). Turkey has a large number of experts, instructors and military missions from the U.S.A. The American missions direct military instruction and draw up plans for the construction of roads and strategic objectives. The Americans would like to use the Turkish army to smash the national liberation movement of the peoples of the Near and Middle East. Only recently Turkey was officially included in the North Atlantic aggressive bloc.

The military expansion of American imperialism in Turkey is closely linked to its economic expansion. The credits granted by the Americans as Marshall Plan "Aid" and "technical aid" are aimed not only at war preparation, but also at transforming the country into an economic appendage of the U.S.A. The Americans are developing their capital investments in Turkish economy. They have seized the Turkish market, this being made possible by the anti-popular policy of the Turkish government. The United States thus obtained the devaluation of the Turkish pound in relation to the dollar, and the reduction of customs duty for goods imported from the U.S.A.

The British monopolies are trying to take advantage of Turkey's lack of dollars to capture the Turkish market. In 1948 and 1951 they occupied first place in that country's imports. Nevertheless the American monopolies for the last six years (1946-51) have controlled from 25 to 30 per cent of imports. Western Germany's share has also increased. Turkey's trade is that of an under-developed dependent country, with the export of raw materials and agricultural products and the import of machines, clothing material and manufactured products, and war material, principally from the U.S.A. As a result of American expansion and the anti-national policy of the ruling circles, the country's economy is in a state of the most complete disorganisation. The situation of the working people is becoming increasingly difficult. The budget deficit for 1951-52 reached 235,500,000 Turkish pounds. Inflation is increasing out of all bounds.

The Americans have dealt a serious blow to Turkish industry. Many factories have had to close down. The workers who are veritable slaves are reduced to the utmost poverty. The wage of a skilled worker is one-fifth or one-sixth of the basic minimum required to live. Prices are continually rising. A worker earns 2 Turkish pounds for 19 hours' work. Women and children of from 8 to 10 years working under extremely difficult conditions receive even less.

The peasants live under the most shocking conditions, 77 per cent of the land belonging to the big landowners. Most of the peasants are forced to rent this land on conditions that prove disastrous for them, reducing them to poverty, famine and sickness . . . .

The transformation of Turkey into an American military base in the Near and Middle East is accompanied by a redoubling of the fascist terror in the country. The Democratic Party which came into power following the May 14, 1950 elections, is carrying on and intensifying the policy of the National Republican Party.

The Communist Party has been banned for 30 years. Democratic organisations are persecuted. In 1951 the death sentence was introduced against Communists. The suppression of newspapers is a common occurrence. Peace supporters have been given heavy prison sentences. The prisons are not large enough to accommodate all the patriots who have been sentenced. The Minister of Justice has drawn up a 10 year plan for the construction of prisons, and in the meantime he is turning stores, theatres and Mosques into prisons. But there is no repression which can stifle the people's growing discontent with the anti-national policy of the government.

Strikes, though banned, are developing and the peasant movement, often spontaneous, is taking on organised forms of struggle in the fight for land. In April-May 1951 there were veritable insurrections of starving peasants.

The protest movement against the treasonable policy of the government is spreading to intellectuals, students, and to the small and middle bourgeoisie affected by American competition. Professors and students are arrested for distributing leaflets in favour of peace. Peace fighters work under illegal conditions. Their paper "The Road to Peace" appears illegally. There were demonstrations in 22 cities against sending Turkish troops to Korea.

The movement of broad sections of the Turkish people for the defence of peace is impeding the criminal plans

of the American warmongers. This struggle is developing as part of the world-wide fight for peace.

Vóprosi Ekonomiki (Problems of Economics), Moscow, No. 6, 1952.

ITALY

Children For Sale in Benevento

CHILDREN'S faces, gestures and smiles, and all around, in the din and confusion, a packed crowd. The Cathedral Square wears the guise of a peasant fair, but goods for sale are children of 8 years of age, boys of 13 to 15. "They are hiring themselves out as farmhands," as they say in the country. In reality, they are sold for a year, sold for the labour of their arms which are still too young and for the sweat of their brows which should not yet know such troubles. Their childhood is being sold, and they will be abruptly thrust into the bitter reality of life.

The "farmboys market," a veritable "children's fair" is one of the social traditions of a mediaeval character which is maintained in this province, still dominated by the most backward system of the large landed properties of thousands and thousands of acres. The parents themselves, poor landless peasants, sell their sons. This is not a gruesome fairy-tale but a reality which is repeated every year.

North of Benevento there are hundreds and hundreds of acres without a single tree, but on which here and there appears a "farm" as large as a castle where the big landowners or their rich farmers live. That is where the "farmboys" will work for a whole year far from their families, far from their mothers to whom they call out while weeping in their sleep. The little ones of eight hired out for the first time will drive the pigs and sheep of the "farm" to pasture. Others employed in ploughing, will bend to the plough and cut deep furrows in their employers' land. Still others will chop wood, work in the dung pits, the stables, barns and cellars to enrich and fatten the employer.

In their families there will be one less mouth to feed. Those who are left will have an extra piece of bread. Six sacks of grain and 3,000 lira was the price paid for a boy of 14. Two brothers were sold en bloc for 2,000 lira and two sacks of grain! The parents, sometimes it is the mothers themselves who deal with the proprietors or their agents, cannot do otherwise than accept these terms.

When poverty becomes so desperate that one cannot live, then the sale of sons becomes a lesser evil. These children, however, no matter who they may be, also have the right to a happy childhood, to education, to games, to a future which will be something other than condemnation to the most thankless and badly paid work.

Only when the system of large landed estates will have disappeared from the province of Benevento, will the sons of poor agricultural workers and landless peasants know the meaning of a happy life. In the Cathedral Square on August 15th we again saw this ignoble buying and selling of human flesh. One day, it will be looked back on with shame.

Noi Donne, 24.8.52.

SWEDEN

No Defeatism!

THE preliminary skirmishes preceding the negotiation of collective agreements have begun. Symptomatic sounds of defeatism are already being heard among the right-wing Social Democratic trade union leaders. These sounds must act as a signal for the utmost vigilance on the part of the workers and get them to express their demands forcefully for substantial wage increases.

In its latest issue, the journal of the Clothing Workers Union, under the heading "Firm Attitude," expresses some points of view to which attention should be drawn. One of these is an attempt to frighten us with the threat that certain employers will demand wage reductions in the next collective agreements! The journal evidently considers that this is going a little too far, but further on we find the explanation of what are, on the whole, rather strange statements for a trade union organ.

"It is, moreover, certain that the situation during the discussion on collective agreements, is such, that it does not seem possible to hope for any considerable leaps in the wages curve."

They could not be clearer. They are trying here to persuade the workers that the reduction in real wages which became effective during the existence of the present collective agreement must, in fact, be endorsed by the new agreement. That is why there are these pretended threats that the employers intend to reduce wages, even before the employers have openly suggested it. It is difficult to consider such reasoning as an isolated point of view; rather must it be considered as emanating from the right-wing trade union leaders as a whole and the government economists apropos the discussion on this year's collective agreements.

To justify this defeatist argument, the pretext of economic difficulties is resorted to, felt especially since the beginning of this year on the labour market. Obviously there is an attempt to substantiate the fable of the "poor" capitalist. In other words, we have already arrived at the stage to which Mr. Erlander alluded in Parliament, when he was forced to admit that the government considered the existence of a certain reserve of unemployed, under present conditions, "opportune," in order to create "economic equilibrium."

But things are not as simple as that. The contraction of the market is a fact, but it is also a fact that the capitalist companies during the boom period and the heyday due to the circumstances of the war, amassed huge profits which gave the shareholders unprecedented dividends and enabled the companies to create large reserves. There is enough wealth there for the companies to draw on without counting the tremendous profits which they are still making, profits running into millions of crowns such as they scarcely dared dream of before the war.

There is no reason for the workers to allow themselves to be drawn into the defeatism propagated by the right-wing trade union pontiffs before the negotiations for the new collective agreements. They must firmly put forward their legitimate demand for full compensation for the reduction in real wages resulting from the rise in prices and rents, at the same time that they demand an increase in real wages. This increase can be won, as the millions in profits pocketed by the companies eloquently prove.

Let us add that we must expect further big price increases which makes clear to the workers the necessity for winning a compensation agreement (sliding scale), effectively guaranteeing real wages against the rise in prices. But the workers will have to be on their guard against compensation agreements based on the present cost of living index which, according to our experience, is systematically falsified by means of various statistical manipulations, so that the increase required to meet the real rise in the cost of living is *never* achieved. This index mocks the workers. The workers are in a position to win a more favourable compensation agreement than the one concluded last time between the trade union centre and the Swedish Employers' Federation.

This year the workers also hold all the trumps. Nevertheless, they will have to send to the conference table people who wish to and can use these trumps. Those who preach defeatism before the commencement of negotiations should stay at home!

Arbetar—Tidningen
(Göteburg), 11.8.52.

UNITED STATES

Funeral Business

THE law of the jungle says: "The jackals and other small flesh eating animals feast on the leftovers of the lions and tigers."

This law is now observed in the American business world. As is well-known, the basis of American businessmen's activity is the armaments race and the preparation for a new war. To finance this war preparation, Congress and the United States government are squeezing tens of thousands of millions of dollars from the American workers. And though the lion's share of these fabulous sums is pocketed by the Wall Street magnates, thanks to the manufacture of atomic bombs, epidemic bacteria and guns, the substantial leftovers from the feast of the high priests of the Golden Calf are devoured by the lesser businessmen, that is, by the dollar jackals.

Only recently, the very reactionary *New York Herald Tribune* exposed the curious variety of the jackals' business in an article with the promising title: "Possibilities of Mass Burial are being studied by the Defence Chiefs" (Retranslation). And it announced, full of optimism, that the so-called Federal Civil Defence Administration had demanded from the U.S. Congress the sum of 2,100,000 dollars from last year's budget for the mass production of shrouds for American citizens.

This then, is the very pressing "problem" occupying the minds of the officials of the United States federal administration. They prefer to spend millions on shouds for future corpses rather than on the construction of schools and houses. It is clear that the originators of this provocative enterprise for the mass production of shrouds want to kill two birds with one stone.

In the first place, they hope to terrorise as many Americans as possible. With this aim, these "civil defence" gentlemen are discussing with the aplomb of scientists, the question of why shrouds are preferable to coffins. The *New York Herald Tribune* reports that the federal administration has calculated that in the event of an "atomic attack" in every American city it will be necessary to bury an average of 40,000 corpses in the two days following the dropping of the atomic bomb. The specialists of the civil defence department authoritatively state that it will be impossible to find 40,000 wooden coffins or of any other material immediately after an atomic disaster! That is why it will be necessary to resort to shrouds.

However, the manufacture of shrouds *en masse* is still not sufficient precaution. The American authorities go still further in their solicitude for the ordinary citizen. The *New York Herald Tribune* is pleased to report that the Pentagon is also concerned with expanding cemeteries. From now on, writes this newspaper, it is planned to lay out new cemeteries near cities. In many cities plans are being drawn up for the transformation of existing parks into temporary cemeteries. In New York it is planned to pack the bodies into barges which will travel up the Hudson and to use the piers as mortuaries.

Thus the transformation of men into corpses, of parks into cemeteries and of piers into mortuaries, is the future forecast by the rulers of the U.S.A. for millions of Americans. But a characteristic feature in all its provocative discussions is the fact that the *New York Herald Tribune* forgets a certain important detail: Who is preparing to drop the atom bomb on American cities?

It is evident that these sinister articles, and in particular that of the *New York Herald Tribune,* are designed to confuse American readers and to hide from them the fact, well-known to all, that the United States is not threatened by any attack.

The other aim of this unhealthy insistence on the mass-production of shrouds is revealed by the *New York Herald Tribune* itself. The mass production of shrouds and the enlargement of cemeteries besides arousing war hysteria, will ensure far from negligible profits for certain "business circles." Shrouds costing about 2 million dollars are not bad business even though they cannot be compared with the lucrative business of Dupont who turns out atom bombs for the extermination of peaceful peoples. Nevertheless, the jackals in the funeral business in the United States, count on getting their share of the spoils, thanks to shrouds . . .

Literaturnaya Gazeta, 7.8.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

August 14

EGYPT.—Ten thousand workers of the Misr cotton mill, the most important in the Near and Middle East, strike for higher wages and against the dismissal of a number of their workmates for political reasons. Several thousand workers in Moharrem Bey, near Alexandria, go on a solidarity strike.

August 15

CHINA.—A new housing plan for 100,000 homes is undertaken in Shanghai, to be completed in May 1953. It plans for kindergartens, nurseries, health centres, co-operative shops, cinemas and sports' grounds.

MEXICO.—Metalworkers of the "Artefacto Metallicos Monterrey" factory in Nuevo Leon strike for revision of their collective agreements.

— Workers of the Monterrey paper factory strike for wage increases.

JAPAN.—Workers of the Oppama Arsenal, controlled by the American authorities, go on a 24-hour strike for better wages and conditions.

IRAN.—The textile workers of Semnan win increased wages after several days on strike.

August 17

UNITED STATES.—Thirty thousand Goodrich Rubber Company workers go on strike after a hold-up in negotiations for a new collective agreement.

NIGERIA.—A meeting of 5,000 workers of the Yaba locomotive depot rejects the new sliding scale wage proposed by the government.

CANADA.—Two thousand five hundred shipbuilding workers strike near Quebec for a reduction of the working week from 48 to 45 hours and for a wage increase of 15 cents an hour.

August 19

EGYPT.—Mustafa Khamis, one of the Misr factory strikers, 20 years of age, is condemned to death by court marital.

GREECE.—An Athens military court confirms the sentence of life imprisonment on Tony Ambatielos, President of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, and other trade union militants.

BELGIUM.—The workers of the Nivelles metal factory stop work and occupy the factory to obtain payment for the August 15th holiday. The employers had refused this using as a pretext the August 9th general strike.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA.—Two thousand five hundred railwaymen of the Abidjan-Niger line stop work in complete unity from 8 to 11 o'clock as a warning strike for their wage claims.

August 20

SOVIET UNION.—The draft directives for the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and on the 5th Five Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. from 1951-1955 are published.

TUNISIA.—Twelve hundred Tunis dockers go on strike in defence of their hiring regulations.

ALBANIA.—The 3rd Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions opens.

JAPAN.—On strike again, the 35,000 seamen win their demand. Seamen with more than 30 years' service will receive a retirement bonus equal to 37 months and 12 days wages.

FINLAND.—The reactionary leaders of the Finnish trade union centre decide to organise a breakaway textile trade union, following the victory of the unity leaders in the latest union elections.

— Doctors' assistants in hospitals walk out after a mass resignation for higher salaries.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Seven hundred and fifty supervisory employees in the South Wales coal mines strike for wage increases. Work stops in 40 pits.

August 21

URUGUAY.—Thirty-three hundred private bank employees strike for wage increases.

DENMARK.—The railway strike ends.

August 22

TUNISIA.—The dockers of Bizerta, Sousse and Sfax stop work in solidarity with the Tunis dockers. The Tunis grain workers and the workers of the Cap Bon flour mill also stop work.

JAPAN.—Hajime Sato, one of the workers imprisoned in the Matsukawa railwaymen's trial, is freed after a widespread campaign.

ICELAND.—The inhabitants of the village of Hafor refuse to evacuate their village, declared a military zone by the American authorities.

DENMARK.—Official statistics state that 51.3 per cent. of boot and shoe workers are unemployed.

August 23

UNITED STATES.—Four hundred and seventy-five thousand miners stop work for ten days in memory of miners killed or injured in work accidents, and to force the employers to observe safety regulations.

August 24

NORWAY.—There is a strike in the main carpentry shops in Oslo for wage increases.

August 25

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—Two hundred and fifty-seven African strikers from a King Williams Town textile factory are arrested for having demonstrated for the release of their arrested workmates.

August 26

IRAQ.—The police open fire on Basra portworkers on strike for wage increases, killing 4 and wounding 30. The employees of the British base in Shaiba declare a solidarity strike.

TOGOLAND.—Five thousand Africans demonstrate for the independence and unification of Togoland. The police open fire, killing 2 and wounding 10.

FRANCE.—Twelve hundred Courrières miners strike in unity to protest against increasing petty persecution.

ITALY.—Ninety-one per cent. of the textile workers of Goritzia province go on a 24-hour strike in protest against mass dismissals.

August 27

NORWAY.—In Oslo, trade union leaders of the five Scandinavian countries issue an appeal to the workers of those countries for a trade union peace conference for the Nordic countries to be held in Oslo on November 15th and 16th.

SWEDEN.—The 500 workers of the Bolinders metal factory stop work in protest against punitive measures against two trade union delegates.

GREAT BRITAIN.—A thousand building workers at Boreham Wood housing estate prevent efforts by the London County Council to stop work on the site, and force the Council to abandon their intention to dismiss forty trade union militants.

— A million shop employees obtain weekly pay increases of from two shillings to ten shillings.

— Following a strike threat, 100,000 furniture workers win a wage increase of a penny an hour.

— Two thousand Durham miners decide not to work an extra shift this winter.

August 29

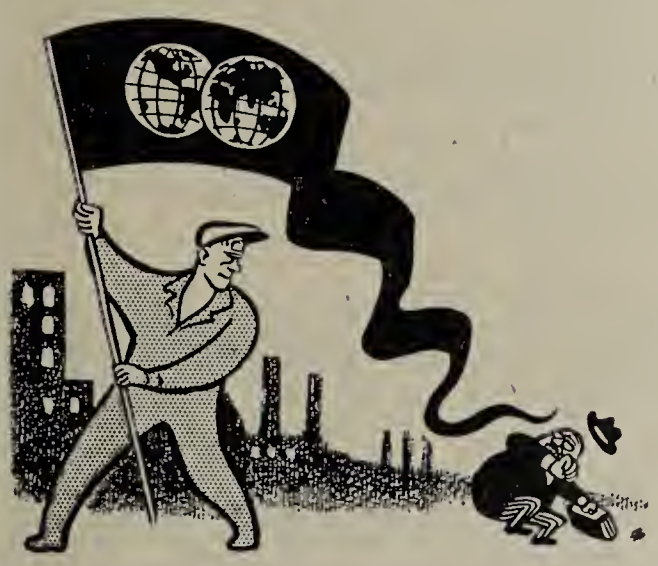
GREAT BRITAIN.—Two thousand engineering workers from 24 factories in Kingston, Surrey, demonstrate in the streets of the town in support of the £2 per week wage claim.

August 31

SOVIET UNION.—The Soviet people enthusiastically celebrate the traditional "Miner's Day."

BULGARIA.—Further reductions in the price of foodstuffs and industrial products are announced. The price of bread is reduced by 25 per cent., wheat 30 per cent., dairy products from 10 to 18 per cent., and meat 5 to 8 per cent.

HUNGARY.—Prices of cereal products are reduced by 18 to 30 per cent.



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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

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Trade Union Democracy in Great Britain . . . . . Joan Loudon

Factory Committees Defend the Workers' Interests . . . Jules Duchat

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Let us force respect for trade union democracy in the organisations in which reactionary trade union bureaucrats are violating trade union rights.

Appeal for the development of the struggle of the workers for the defence of trade union rights and freedoms—Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions (Vienna, June 9-14, 1952).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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Preparing for the International Conference

Why the International Conference is Necessary

(Extract from the report made by HENRI RAYNAUD, Secretary of the French C.G.T., to the meeting of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee, June 18-19, 1952.)

I WOULD like to stress again the fact that the more the living standards of the workers are lowered, the more the purchasing power of wages is reduced and the greater the incidence of poverty, the more social security problems become a matter of life or death.

Poverty and low wages mean lack of care in the case of sickness, the total loss of the means of livelihood in the case of unemployment, and disabled persons without care, children sacrificed and old people exposed to starvation.

The defence of social security is a problem closely connected with all other activities of the working class for the improvement of wages and living conditions.

May I also be permitted to dwell for a moment on the particular importance which must be attached to the question of social security and social insurance for the colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries.

To some extent this follows from my preceding observations. As is well known, the exploitation of the native population is carried on in these countries with unbelievable savagery. Unlimited super-exploitation of the most inhuman and barbarous kind exists in some of them. Even where these countries have some social legislation or social insurance, the laws are not only insufficient but their usefulness is further reduced by racial discrimination tending to exclude the native population. In many colonial and semi-colonial countries where social legislation is supposed to exist, the workers in reality are still vainly awaiting its implementation.

Where such projects are currently being studied, their realisation is being indefinitely delayed. The situation is even more lamentable in those colonial countries in which there is no social legislation whatsoever, leaving the workers exposed to the worst evils of colonialism.

The workers of all other countries must take this situation into account. They must not forget that those of the colonial and semi-colonial countries are entitled to their aid and support in the struggle for a real system of social insurance and social security.

I think that one can very simply state a general policy for these countries—to put an end to racial discrimination, and to bring their social security systems up to the level of the metropolitan country. Since there are great diversities in the situation in these countries, it is necessary to stress those particular demands which have a special significance in each specific case, and which offer possibilities for the mass mobilisation of those concerned.

Let there be no mistake about it: it is a matter of millions and millions of workers who are waiting for an end to be put at long last to this terrible injustice of poverty and suffering.

The mobilisation of the mass of the workers in the greatest possible unity, for the defence, improvement and extension of social insurance and social security is one of the necessary conditions for the success of the International Conference.

The participation of the mass of the workers in the preparation of the International Conference cannot be achieved practically and effectively unless it begins at the factory level. It is the task of the trade union organisations to endeavour to create the conditions for the achievement of this united action in the factories—on the job itself. How? By knowing how to make use to the best advantage, in each specific case, of the most immediate and important demands of the workers in the sphere of social security and social insurance, and which for this reason form a basis for mobilising the workers, and awakening a common will to action. When this movement of unity has been created, it must be organised and made concrete by setting up an action committee for social insurance and social security.

In order to extend this unity, especially to the self-employed workers, to the agricultural community and to other social sections, to experts and technicians, the establishment of local committees is recommended. Also recommended is the creation of a national committee which would obviously have as a basic objective the co-ordination and organisation on a national level of all the preparatory work for the International Conference.

Immense possibilities are offered to us in this struggle, which is part and parcel of working class action throughout the world against poverty and war, for peace, freedom and social progress.

Formation of a Preparatory Committee in Chile

Extract from the Chilean Delegate's Report

A PREPARATORY committee for the establishment of a Sponsoring Committee for the International Conference has been set up in Chile, with the participation of a number of trade union organisations, some of which are affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and some not.

The International Conference is being prepared at a time when the question of social insurance is assuming major importance in Chile. At the same time that the reactionaries in our country are carrying out a strong attack on the living standards of our people, the unity and the strength of the working class are daily increasing.

We have succeeded, as a result of great strikes in many enterprises, in winning the inclusion of social security provisions in collective agreements.

We have also succeeded in bringing before Parliament proposals for considerable reforms in social legislation.

The problem being so topical in Chile, the International Conference has aroused very keen interest among the working class, especially in connection with the proposed social legislation which is now under discussion.

In conclusion, I should like to make an observation on a problem which I believe is not dealt with in the draft programme and which, in my opinion, is very important in our propaganda for the Conference.

In the texts of the Chilean laws on social security many of the demands put forward in the Conference programme are included, but the concrete application of these laws matters more than the text, and the main problem for us is the **quality** of all these social security services.

Therefore, we in Chile propose to raise this problem in the preparatory meetings for the Conference. The Medical Association of Chile is in agreement with us as to the poor quality of medical care for the insured in the present circumstances. That is why I think that it is very important that this problem of the quality of the social security services should be discussed during the preparation of the International Conference.

A second point which I should like to mention concerns the effects of inflation, devaluation and rising prices on the social security system. This is a serious problem, which should be discussed at the Conference.

In my opinion, these two points have a special significance for the pre-Conference discussion in our country, in addition to all the other problems already included in the programme.

Preparation of the International Conference Strengthens the Fight Against the Threats to Social Security in Austria

Extract from the Austrian Delegate's Report

WE in Austria are linking the preparation of the International Conference with our fight against the deterioration in our existing social security system.

We have already succeeded in drawing the attention of the workers and trade union militants to the International Conference. The situation of social security in Austria is a very serious one. In fact, about 40 per cent. of insured workers previously entitled to old age pensions will be deprived of their rights by the new laws passed in May. This involves the workers in a loss of 300 million Austrian schillings.

At the same time, a new treasury law has been passed which makes a present of 300 million schillings to the capitalists.

We shall make use of these facts in the preparation of the Conference to demonstrate to the workers the urgent need for this International Conference.

We have already prepared pamphlets and leaflets on this matter, but we must link this question still more closely with the workers' struggle for the maintenance of their living standards. The bureaucratic leadership has succeeded to some extent in drawing the interest of the Austrian workers away from social security. It is our task to interest them in it.

There are 5 thousand million schillings at stake, which are paid annually in contributions by the Austrian workers. It is extremely important for the workers to know what is happening to this money.

Preparatory Activities and Progress of Social Security in the German Democratic Republic

Extract from the German Delegate's Report

AT the time of our departure from Berlin, a delegation of twenty social security specialists from Western Germany had just arrived there to visit the social security institutions of the German Democratic Republic. This visit arose from a recommendation made at the meeting of the Working Committee in February.

In the coming period we plan to hold local conferences of workers employed in social security institutions. We are also planning a National Social Security Conference. The aim of this Conference will be to set up a broad committee consisting of specialists, doctors and representatives of various associations concerned with social security.

Discussions are now going on in our German Democratic Republic on collective agreements for the various enterprises, and social questions and questions of protection at work have an important place in these discussions.

In this connection we have taken into account the recommendations of the Working Committee, and we have applied part of the proposals contained in the draft social security programme, presenting a number of demands to our government. These demands have been accepted, and the following provisions have been made: from June 1st sickness allowance will be paid at the rate of 90 per cent. of wages until either cure or declaration of invalidity; the number of places in sanatoria for preventive treatment to be increased from 165,000 to 200,000 (in addition to normal medical treatment); benefits to miners have been increased by an average of 36 per cent., and pensions will be paid to them as from the age of 50.

The question of the administration of social security by the trade unions has also been raised. The F.D.G.B. is responsible for the administration and control of social security. Three industrial trade unions—miners, metalworkers and railwaymen—have already drawn up their social security budgets. The postal and telephone workers' trade union will also have its own social security budget as from August 1st.

FINLAND

Miners' Conference on Social Security

IN connection with the Finnish National Preparatory Committee for the International Conference, a conference of Finnish miners on social security and social questions was held in Tampere on June 15th. The resolution adopted by the conference contains a detailed programme of demands relating to working time, paid holidays, pensions, medical care, industrial education, safety at work and leisure facilities.

Here, for example, is paragraph 4 of the resolution, concerning medical care:

"Compulsory medical inspection should be introduced for all miners, at least four times a year for underground workers, and twice a year for surface workers. In cases in which the inspection reveals symptoms of pathological change showing that the miner is suffering from silicosis, tuberculosis of the lungs, disorders or affections of the nervous system, rheumatism of the back, or other miners' industrial diseases, the miner must have the right to free medical and hospital care. If the illness allows of the patient undertaking other work, appropriate work must be found for him, with his agreement. Full wages must be paid throughout the duration of the illness. In the event of invalidity before pensionable age, the miner should have the right to a pension equal to 60 per cent. of his wages and to free medical care."

The resolution has been sent to the main trade union organisations of the country.

Publication of a Pamphlet on the Draft Programme Proposed to the Conference

The Bureau for the preparation of the International Conference has received a pamphlet published by the Finnish National Preparatory Committee. It is quite a short pamphlet (15 pages), printed very simply in newspaper type, in which, after a brief introduction, the various points of the programme proposed by the Working Committee in February are compared with the present situation in Finland. Thus the interest which the programme has in relation to the concrete situation in the country is clearly brought out, together with the main points on which activity is required in order to bring about an advance in social legislation.

This is an example which deserves to be taken up in other countries.

GUATEMALA

National Conference

A NATIONAL Conference on Social Security will be held in Guatemala in October in connection with the preparation of the International Conference.

Struggles for Social Security

FRANCE

C.G.T. Communique on the Defence of Social Security

The C.G.T. issued the following communique on August 2nd :

"THE Confederal Social Security Commission of the C.G.T., meeting on Thursday, July 31st, took note of information which it has received on the plans of the Minister of Labour in relation to measures for the reorganisation of the social security system.

"It protests against the fact that though these texts have already been communicated both to the Press and to certain organisations and individuals, nothing has yet been sent to the organisations most directly concerned, in particular to the National Federation of Social Security Organisations, to the National Union of Family Allowance Administrations and to the trade union organisations.

"Nevertheless, it appears from the information received:

"1) That all the proposed legislative texts have as their objective the balancing of the finances of the social security system, not by providing it with the resources needed in order to cover the present expenditure, deemed by us to be irreducible, but, on the contrary, by meeting the annual global deficit of 37,000 million francs, by an equivalent reduction in expenditure, that is, in benefits.

"No matter what declarations may be made on the maintenance of the benefit rates, the Minister of Labour's plans will nevertheless result in a reduction of not less than **37,000 millions in the total of benefits annually provided for the social insured and recipients of allowances.**

"2) That these restrictive measures affect **sickness insurance, old age insurance and family allowances."**

The Commission draws attention to the measures envisaged by the plan, which will particularly lead to a reduction in the use of costly medicaments, an increase in the number of hours of work required in order to earn the right to benefit, the limitation of reimbursement for pharmaceutical supplies to one single brand, the least costly in the event of their being several similar medicaments, the abolition of milk coupons and of allowances for nursing mothers, and the raising of the pensionable age.

The Commission further declares:

"No provision is made for the much-needed increase in the allowance for old workers. Nothing is envisaged for the complete use every year of the funds accumulating in the old age insurance fund. The intention appears therefore to continue to use the thousands of millions of francs of surplus in the old-age insurance fund to meet deficits elsewhere which nothing is done to overcome.

"The Confederal Commission recalls that the old people of France have in this way, to their misfortune, been robbed of 164,000 million francs since 1947.

"The Government plans also to put forward the principle of the harmonising of special systems with the general system, which means the desire to equalise them at the lower levels, that is, by ending the advantages which these special systems have over the general system.

"This is a very serious measure, being an attack upon the advantages enjoyed by the civil servants, miners, railwaymen, seamen, etc., to which these workers are resolutely attached."

After examining the attacks made on independent administration of social security, the declaration continues:

"The Confederal Social Security Commission calls upon the workers to realise immediately the importance of the dangers which threaten the whole system of social security.

"It therefore calls upon them to **organise unity in the enterprises around defence committees, and to continue their efforts in the local and departmental social security defence committees** in the way in which they acted in 1951 to 1952 against the Pleven and Faure Governments for the defence of their established gains.

"The Confederal Commission asks the C.G.T. representatives in the National Committee for the Defence and Improvement of Social Security to bring these problems to the attention of the Committee with a view to **the organisation of a great national campaign."**

It recalls the C.G.T. demands, which were widely approved by insured persons in the course of the 1950 elections to the social security bodies, and confirmed since then by many by-elections or elections to the administrative organs of special systems, in which the C.G.T. received an average of more than 60 per cent. of the votes.

"It associates itself fully with the appeal for unity issued by the French National Association of Old Workers to all the old people's organisations of France with a view to the organisation of a National Old People's Day, and calls upon all C.G.T. trade union organisations to do everything possible to ensure its success."

BELGIUM

Move to Defend Social Security

IN May, the Belgian Government used the pretext of a deficit of some 300 million francs in the system of sickness and invalidity insurance to launch a major offensive against social security.

After having "eliminated" 89,000 unemployed workers last year from the rolls of those receiving unemployment benefit, the Belgian Government proceeded to drastic cuts in medical insurance. As of May 1st this year it decreed:

—a decrease of 10-14 per cent. in the amount payable by the insurance institutions for doctors' bills;

—a decrease of 10-20 per cent. in the amount payable by the insurance institution for confinement expenses, and the elimination of reimbursement for confinement in some cases;

—a general price increase for prescriptions;

—a lengthening of the waiting period, and a general stiffening of eligibility requirements for medical benefits;

—the abolition of all reimbursement in the case of thousands of pharmaceutical specialities, including some of vital importance.

Actually, there is no justification whatsoever for these measures in the financial situation of Belgian Sickness-Invalidity Insurance. The employers owe at the present moment 1.8 billion francs to the insurance institute. The pharmaceutical trusts have been making huge profits.

Furthermore, the government could cover the entire deficit by **sacrificing only ten 'planes out of its huge armaments programme of 40 billion for 1952 alone.**

The acts of the government, combined with announcements of more reductions to come, have aroused considerable feeling among the Belgian working class. Although the top leadership of the Belgian Workers' Federation has given its blessing to these measures in the agreement of May 6, in which they also agreed to the wiping out of a 50 centimes per hour wage bonus, the vast majority of the workers, including many local trade unions and even trade union federations, have refused to accept the situation.

Instead, they have not only violently protested against

the cuts recently introduced but have put forward new demands for the improvement of social security. The main points of their programme are the introduction of free medical care and an increase of pensions to the level of 75 per cent. of real wages.

This programme figured prominently in the demands of the strikers of 16 great enterprises in the Antwerp region, in the strike vote taken by the miners of the pits of Many, Boverie and Vieille Montagne, in the strike of 7,000 ship repair workers, in the factory meetings held at the great plants of the F.N. enterprises in Herstal and A.C.E.C. enterprises in Charleroi.

Moreover, the dockers have formed a Solidarity Committee for the ship repair workers, at the same time drawing up their own demands for free medical care, increased safety at work, and a supplementary pension of 7,000 francs per year. The miners have also raised the question of a lower retirement age and special pension increases.

These struggles were given new impetus by the inauguration of a "Week of Struggle against the Plundering of Social Security," which was successfully observed from May 26-31. In hundreds of meetings, the issues were explained to the workers. Special meetings were arranged in the factories, and in many cases resolutions were carried by the workers and ship stewards protesting against the medical cuts and endorsing the programme outlined above.

A special initiative was taken by the women of the General Independent Confederation of Pensioners who realised that social security was a vital issue for all women. They sent a delegation to the Women's Rally for Peace and Well-being, and together with that organisation they worked out a plan of action. They decided that they would visit factories and collect signatures to a petition incorporating their demands. Already, the shop stewards of Westinghouse at Forest, of Chaurobel, A.C.E.C. Ruysbrook and many other large plants have registered their support for the women's petition.

Action by the Belgian workers in defence of social security is continuing.

ITALY

Italian Workers Win Increased Family Allowances

THE joint action of the General Confederation of Italian Labour (C.G.I.L., affiliate of the W.F.T.U.), the Christian Trade Unions, the C.I.S.L., and the Italian Labour Union (U.I.L.), has resulted in the conclusion of an agreement with the Confederation of Italian Employers, whereby, among other things, family allowances for manual and office workers in industry have been increased.

This benefit, which is financed by the employers, is payable to each industrial and office worker at the rate of—

153 lire per day for the first and each additional child ($1.75 or 12 shillings per week)

100 lire per day for a wife

55 lire per day for a dependent parent.

This is an increase on the previous family allowances of 38, 32 and 6 lire per day respectively, for the dependents of an industrial worker, and 33, 30 and 4.50 lire for the dependents of an office worker in industry, thus equalising the new allowances to manual and office workers.

The increase involves a total yearly expenditure of 48,000 million lire for the Italian employers.

The agreement is an important success for the Italian workers whose demand was for an all round increase for all categories and has won for the Italian workers an improvement in their standard of living.

RESOLUTION

of the Regional Conference on Accidents and Social Protection in the Sicilian Mines, Caltanissetta,

14th—15th June, 1952*

THE Regional Conference on accidents and social protection in the Sicilian mines which took place in Caltanissetta on June 14th and 15th, 1952, with the participation of delegations of mineworkers, representatives of social assistance institutes, trade union organisations, social insurance organisations, governmental authorities, technicians, experts and doctors, has examined the serious and extremely disturbing situation of the 9,000 miners employed in the mines of the region.

The detailed and documented report of the director of the National Confederal Assistance Institute of Caltanissetta has brought out the serious inadequacies existing in all the mines with regard to the most elementary measures of protection, health and safety, together with the backward organisation of work and the inadequacy of the equipment.

The speeches of those taking part in the conference and of many miners' delegations strongly denounced the tragic consequences of the intensive exploitation forced upon the mineworkers by the employers through piece-work, overtime and double shifts.

In particular, the conference has revealed:

1) The growing number of accidents, which have increased by 242 per cent since 1948, rising from 854 to 2,922, and caused in the majority of cases by the inadequacy of available means of protection, the shortage of safety lamps, the state of the roofing of the tunnels and the non-application of safety measures, without taking into account the super-exploitation of the workers to which we have already referred above.

2) The worsening of the situation with regard to industrial illnesses, the recrudescence of forms of ankhylostoniasis among the workers of certain mines due to the deterioration of the health and sanitary conditions and the increase in the cases of bronchitis caused by inhaling sulphur trioxide, owing to the backward methods of melting.

3) The impossibility of giving speedy and effective assistance in cases of accidents and illness, due to the inadequate character and in many cases to the absence of sanitary arrangements in the mines or in the immediate vicinity, the lack of first-aid posts, medicines, ambulances, telephone, surgical dressing cases, while the health personnel is often inadequate in number and in training.

4) The serious situation caused by the complete inadequacy of housing, means of communication and accessible roads to the mines are all factors causing serious disadvantages to the workers.

5) The delays and excessive bureaucratic methods applied in paying allowances due to the workers, especially by the National Institute for Social Insurance

* See also Bulletin No. 3.

and the National Institute for Sickness Insurance.

Recognising that the accusations brought out in the report were well founded and confirmed in the discussion, the Conference took up the demands of the Sicilian miners and pledged itself to intervene with a view to obtaining their acceptance by the competent authorities as well as by the institutions and other bodies concerned as soon as possible.

It called on the employers and the Italian Sulphur Association to satisfy, in conformity with the legislation in force, the most important demands of the mine workers which are, in the first place, those directed against accidents and industrial disease, that is:

a) Modernisation of the seams and the equipment in the mines.

b) Application of health and safety measures, appropriate reinforcement of the galleries or arches, in order to avoid falls and slides. Tapping and gathering of water in the galleries, the installation of a system of draining away and holding the water in check, and lateral galleries to enable better ventilation of the mines.

c) Provision of necessary means of protection for the workers, such as protective masks, safety lamps, special footwear and clothing to protect the workers against humidity and against frequent injuries to the feet, the installation of sensitive and reliable apparatus to indicate the presence of poisonous gas and to prevent the danger of explosions.

d) Provision of housing for the workers so that they will not have to sleep under the open sky, the installation of showers, refectories and changing rooms.

In order to ensure the carrying out of all these necessary measures, the Conference demanded that the Labour Inspectorate and the Department of Mines carry out a most active and effective inspection and apply more energetic and decisive action to force the employers and the Italian Sulphur Association to put these measures into operation. For, in the majority of cases, these are already provided for by law.

The Conference asked the national and regional authorities to take a great and more active interest in bringing protective legislation up to date, and especially in the application of the standards in force, by the strengthening of inspection in the mines and by providing inspectors with the necessary means to intensify their activity.

It asked the National Institute of Accident Insurance to launch a campaign for accident prevention and to secure the putting into force of the law of January 1952, to have the administration of the sulphur workers insurance included in the framework of the general law, to charge the mine employers and the Italian Sulphur Association to pay contributions and to force them to adopt the most elementary measures of safety and health at work.

It also demanded that the National Institute of Accident Insurance install in all mining districts medical centres and first-aid posts with the necessary supplies and instruments and a permanent medical staff.

The Conference demanded that the National Institute of Sickness Insurance should set up medical centres in agreement with the National Institute of Accident Insurance, and ensure regular attendance of doctors for examinations and treatment of workers who are ill.

The workers demanded of all social insurance institutes that they abandon their bureaucratic attitude and speed up the procedure in granting cash benefits, indemnities for sickness, accident and disability, and that they should carry out this task in a spirit of fraternal understanding.

Finally, the Conference asked:

1) The Government and all regional authorities to undertake without delay an examination of the situation and to take some immediate urgent measures, and other long term measures, based on the idea of a change in the existing legislation by strengthening government powers in the sphere of prevention.

2) The Regional Bureau of Industry and Commerce, to intervene with the Department of Mines so that it rigorously applies the law on the policing of mines and ensure the application of rational working methods; ensure that the application of the law on the financing of the sulphur industry be accompanied by a decisive improvement of the equipment, through modern installations for the protection of the workers' lives.

3) The Director of the Regional Labour Insurance to intervene with the Institute of Accident Insurance on the basis of Article 20 of the Statute, in order to bring about a more effective and improved first-aid service.

4) In addition, that the General Assembly change the law on the financing of social works in the mines by making them obligatory.

5) That trade union organisations, Assistance Boards and the regional and national Members of Parliament who have encouraged and supported the Conference, to carry on determined and continuous activity to persuade all the organisations, organs and bodies concerned to accept and apply in the sectors of their specific competence the urgent demands of the Sicilian miners, and thus to contribute to remedying the present infamous situation, which is a permanent danger to the health, the physical well-being and the lives of the workers in the great majority of Sicilian mines.

The Algerian Experience

An Example for the Colonial Workers in their Struggle for Social Security

By A.H.

IN the preparation of the International Conference on Social Insurance and Social Security, we think it opportune with regard to the Colonial, dependent and under-developed countries to analyse briefly the experiences of one of these countries, Algeria, and the struggle carried on by the Algerian workers to bring a social security system to their country.

Immediately following the Second World War, the Algerian trade union movement, which had been banned under the Vichy regime, underwent considerable development and made a determined effort to organise the workers.

The carrying out of a thorough reform of social security held an important place in its objectives, as a complement to a general increase in wages.

With the participation of our trade union movement a draft law was drawn up by Pierre Fayet, Deputy for Algiers and Secretary of the Departmental Trades Council. This draft adapted French laws to Algerian conditions. As social insurance did not exist in Algeria, the social security system had to be based on family allowances. In order to be practical, it had to cover not only the 400,000 wage-earners of the public and private sectors, but also the agricultural workers and the 800,000 *khamés*—share-croppers who receive one-fifth of the harvest.

The draft law on social security was completed and put before the Bureau of the French National Assembly, and the essential problem then was to take action to have it adopted.

First of all it was necessary to bring about an understanding among the mass of the people of the idea of social security, of the advantages which it could bring to the workers, and of the need to fight in order to win this demand.

Many meetings of trade union cadres were organised. Our draft was developed, explained, discussed, and the conditions for success were laid down. Our programme was published in trade union and democratic papers, and widely distributed. The general idea of social security permeated among the mass of the people, awakened the enthusiasm of the workers and won public opinion to our cause. The housewives and the families of the wage-earners were our best propagandists. Trade union meetings and general meetings were organised. Every strike movement, every action by the workers, included the demand for a social security system.

Once the movement was under way, it was necessary to co-ordinate action on a national scale, and the trade union movement made every effort to this end. Social security weeks were organised on a departmental scale. The most outlying parts of the country were visited, the slogans explained, resolutions passed, petitions signed and delegations organised to call on the elected representatives and the public authorities. Emulation campaigns between different trade unions and industries took on the most varied forms. Then a social security fortnight was organised on the national scale. The workers throughout the whole country demanded a social security system. Great banners spread the slogans of the trade unions and gave a graphic interpretation of the advantages of social security. Leaflets carried illustrations showing what the workers could expect from social security. The one on old age insurance, for example, showed the state of our old people without pensions by a picture of an old man in rags holding out his hand at the street corner. Opposite was an illustration of the advantages of our plan, shown by an old man freed from care, holding his little grandson by the hand. The same was done for the other points, and the whole of our propaganda was published in both the French and Arab languages.

Our efforts had their repercussions among all sections of the population. Official declarations were made, recognising the need for social security in Algeria. The draft handed in by our Brother Fayet was examined by the Home Affairs Commission of the National Assembly and adopted in its general lines.

Reaction, which was incredulous at first, quickly became aware of the scope of the movement which had been aroused. It made desperate and vain efforts to deflect the workers from their demand, using its favourite weapon of racial division; and it also made out that the draft was of a political and separatist character.

In order to avoid the danger, the reactionaries got their Members of Parliament to present a retrograde social security plan. Then, having no confidence in the decision which would be taken by the French National Assembly, they preferred to submit the problem to the Algerian Assembly, a body over which they had control. Meanwhile, the Statute of Algeria was passed, which created the Algerian Assembly and endowed it with limited legislative powers. In the summer of 1949, this Assembly adopted a set of laws providing for the organisation of a general social security system in Algeria, a social security system for civil servants, and the organisation of an agricultural insurance system.

But the Algerian workers are not satisfied with the social security system which has been granted to them. They consider it to be a colonial and racially discriminating caricature of social security.

Nevertheless, even this caricature of a social security system in Algeria has the advantage of creating a starting point for a fighting campaign for its improvement, having always in view the aim of the trade union movement to institute a real social security system covering all risks for all workers, administered by them, and mainly financed by their exploiters.

The International Conference on Social Insurance and Social Security will be of extreme importance to us. It will enable us to compare our experiences with those of other countries with a view to improving our work and carrying out united action of the whole working class to advance towards the winning of a real social security system.

The constitution of an Algerian Committee for a real social security system is a decisive element in this action, for as Brother Ruiz, General Secretary of the Algerian Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee, so rightly said at the last meeting of the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee last June, social security is the affair of the whole Algerian people, of all sections of the population, regardless of their race or opinion, who are animated by a sincere desire for social progress, freedom and peace.

Information, Discussion and Correspondence

From the Tribal Organisation of the African Population to the Struggle of the Colonial Workers for Social Security

ANTHROPOLOGY is doubtless a serious science, and anthropologists respectable men, but the use which is made of their knowledge by the colonialist governments is nothing less than a complete distortion of the facts.

Evidence of this is the study of the tribal organisation of the African populations and the conclusions which certain reactionaries draw from this in order to try to prevent the adoption of any social measures for these peoples. Just think of it, these populations would not understand and would have difficulty in admitting the institution of a system of social security for their members. The tribal organisation is there to make up for it.

". . . . The traditional social system, particularly the extended family system, provides for the assistance of the old, unemployed and infirm, and lays obligations on the whole family to look after the interests and welfare of each member." (Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories, Volume III, 1951.)

There is a striking example of the cynicism of the colonialists, for it is difficult to imagine what help could be given to one of its members by a family or tribe which is itself suffering from hunger, illness, undernourishment and famine.

It is clear that family and tribal solidarity exist among the African populations to a very high degree. However, colonial exploitation has considerably weakened this solidarity where it has not completely destroyed it by the transplantation of African workers for use as shamefully exploited labour-power. (Northern Rhodesian —European miners £58 to £68 a month, African miners £2 11s. to £3 3s. a month—1950.)

It is thus indispensable that a modern institution in line with actual needs should take the place of the family and the tribe, which are no longer able to play their traditional role and assure the African worker the solidarity to which he is entitled.

This institution can only be a system of social security

adapted to the conditions of these territories, capable of protecting the worker whatever his race, colour or religion against all risks and assuring him and his family the minimum of resources for subsistence.

It is precisely this great reform which the colonial workers are demanding, with full knowledge of the issue, having become firmly convinced that the source of all the evils which afflict them is colonial exploitation, which gives fabulous profits to their exploiters and reduced the immense majority of the population to poverty, illness, unemployment and death.

They clearly confirmed this during the Bamako Conference, held on October 27, 1951, which brought together representatives of the trade union organisations of French West and Equatorial Africa and of the Cameroons. At this conference they demanded:

1) A wide system of social security covering all risks, illness, maternity, accidents, incapacity, old age, death, etc.

2) The establishment of an effective system of registration of unemployed, the granting of allowances, the undertaking of productive public works useful to the population and enabling the reabsorption of the unemployed.

3) Annual paid holidays and travelling expenses paid for by the employer.

The action undertaken by the African and Madagascan workers to obtain the adoption of the Labour Code, supported by the C.G.T. and already given its first reading by the French National Assembly, is progressing and growing in order to obtain the elimination of the retrograde clauses introduced by the Council of the Republic. The lists of petitions are being covered with an increasing number of signatures, and the vast movement of opinion created around this question will not fail to have favourable repercussions and bring about the rapid and definite adoption of the Labour Code. This provides for social advantages such as dispensaries and a qualified doctor in all large enterprises, free care for the worker and his family, fourteen weeks on half-pay and free care for the working woman in the event of maternity, family allowances, and a range of measures which favour the institution of a vast system of social security.

In Somaliland, New Guinea, Tanganyika, Togoland, everywhere, the colonial peoples are fighting under the leadership of the working class for a decent life, against colonial oppression, the generator of poverty and oppression, against racial discrimination, and are demanding improvements in the social sphere. Their demands have found their echo in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

The reports of its commissions of inquiry are quite striking on this point.

". . . The Visiting Mission had remarked upon the unsatisfactory health conditions and it was a fact that the difficult conditions of life in New Guinea, the hunger and poverty that were rampant and the lack of adequate medical services meant that, unless basic changes were made in the policy of the Administering Authority, the indigenous inhabitants were doomed to extinction. There was constant increase in the already high mortality rates, especially in the infant mortality rate, which showed that some 40 per cent of the children born never reached maturity. Press reports presented an even gloomier picture. . . ." (Trusteeship Council, 18th March, 1952.)

"During the years 1950 and 1951 epidemics of cholera and malaria affected the country, the former causing 10 per cent of deaths in 1950, and the latter causing 20 per cent of deaths in 1951, without this state of affairs changing in any way the apathy and indifference of the Administrative Authorities." (Somaliland, Petition to the Trusteeship Council, 4th March, 1952.)

We are a long way from anthropology and its theoretical speculations on the tribal organisation of the African populations.

These populations are becoming aware of their destinies and are going forward resolutely to a future freed from colonialist exploitation and its evils. The working class of the colonial countries is in the front rank of this struggle, helped powerfully by the W.F.T.U. and its 80 million members.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the preparation of the International Conference on Social Insurance and Social Security will mark an important stage in the struggle of the African workers for the institution of a real system of social security.

Through the work of the International Conference, and in the light of the results obtained in other countries, they will clarify their demands, they will decide upon the best means by which to achieve them, and by the development of united action for social insurance and social security they will force the granting of these great social reforms, which are at present completely lacking in their countries.

THE VOICE OF GREECE:

Juggling with Insurance Funds

Dear Brothers,

The duly elected Executive Committee of the Greek General Confederation of Labour has studied the subject of the International Conference on Social Insurance and has arrived at the following conclusions:

The International Conference is of particular interest for the workers of Greece, where the Social Insurance Fund has been repeatedly confiscated. This operation has been carried out both by means of inflation and simply by the Government "borrowing" (without ever making repayment) from the Social Insurance Fund, in order to pay for armaments. It should be noted that these funds are made up of monies deducted from the workers' starvation wages.

At present, the problem of social insurance rises to a new and acute pitch, the Americans demanding once again through the intermediary of the puppet government the pocketing of the social insurance fund in order to divert these funds for the preparation of war.

The great majority of workers express concern and sharp protest against this new brigandage, prepared by the American occupants, to the detriment of the Social Insurance Funds. The discontent and the upsurge of feeling among the workers has won the support of a great number of social workers and of political leaders who are showing a lively interest in the problems of social insurance.

For all these reasons, we think that the International Conference on the problems of Social Insurance will have the support of the workers, social workers and progressive citizens of Greece. . . ."

For the Elected Executive Committee of the Greek General Confederation of Labour.

Costas Theos,
Secretary.

Western Germany

Recent regulations on the so-called reform of the unemployment insurance scheme has resulted in a weekly unemployment allowance of between 19 and 27 per cent of last earned wages. This is not only the lowest present rate of any in the West German Insurance Scheme but also the lowest unemployment benefit since the introduction of unemployment insurance. In spite of the reduction of benefits workers' unemployment contributions have been considerably increased.

We may recall that in May 1952, according to official figures, there were 1,311,000 unemployed receiving allowances in Western Germany. The number of unregistered unemployed (not included in this figure) runs into hundreds of thousands.

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Information Bulletin

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

for the

Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security

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SUPPLEMENT TO "WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT" No. 18, 1952

Social Security and National Income

A comparative table of the cost of social security recently published by the International Labour Office, (I.L.O. News, June 1952), shows the percentage of the national income redistributed by social security in various capitalist countries. The figures quoted range from 1.43 per cent in Turkey to 21.77 per cent in the Saar. Great Britain, France, Austria, Belgium and Sweden fall in the middle range of 10-15 per cent. The Union of South Africa spends 3.68 per cent and the United States 4.83 per cent.

New Progress in Social Insurance in the Soviet Union

The draft directives for the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and for the fifth five-year plan for development in the U.S.S.R. from 1951 to 1955 envisage an even greater amount of credits to be granted for Soviet workers and employees. During the course of these five years, credits will be increased by about 30 per cent as compared with 1950. This means that in 1955 the social insurance budget will amount to more than 6,000 million dollars, as against 5,000 million dollars spent in 1950, and 2,600 million dollars spent on social insurance during the whole period of the first five-year plan.

The new five-year plan envisages also a great development in the protection of the health of the Soviet population. During the five-year period the number of hospital beds will increase by at least 20 per cent, the number of places in sanatoria by 15 per cent, the number of places in rest-homes by 30 per cent, and the places in creches and kindergartens by 20 per cent and 40 per cent respectively.

There will be an even more considerable increase in the number of hospital beds in certain republics. For example, there will be an increase of 40 per cent in the Lithuanian Republic, and of 30 per cent in the Republics of Latvia and Esthonia.

For the year 1952 alone, it is planned to spend 5,700 million dollars on public health and physical culture.

The network of governmental creches and kindergartens serve more than two million children, without counting the immense number of these establishments for village children.

The Soviet development plan makes no appropriation for unemployment allowances, given the fact that there has been full employment in the Soviet Union for decades and the number of workers and employees is increasing regularly. According to the plan, this number will be 15 per cent higher in 1955 than in 1950.

Discussion of the Preliminary Social Security Programme

The preliminary Draft Programme of the Working Committee for the preparation of the International Conference has never been regarded as anything else than a basis of discussion. As such it was originally adopted, and as such it has been since confirmed by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., and the Inaugural and Preparatory Committee which met on June 18-19 in Vienna.

With the following article, the Information Bulletin continues this discussion, without identifying itself with the views expressed by the author. It will continue to publish all signed contributions which express different points of view, as long as they are in agreement with the basic purposes of the International Conference.

(Note: The paragraph headings and numbers in Dr. Arreguin's letter refer to the corresponding divisions in the preliminary programme of social security, published in No. 1 of this Bulletin.)

Principles of Social Security

A Contribution by DR. ENRIQUE ARREGUIN, JR.

Mexico

1. To the list of social risks and contingencies, it would be good to add family allowances and paid holidays, in order that these should not have a secondary character which could be interpreted as though they were of secondary importance.

6. This point refers concretely to the sphere of application of social insurance among the various sectors of the population. For greater clarity and precision, it would be good to point out that social insurance must include the two great groups formed by the wage-earners and the independent workers. In the first section must be included both urban and rural workers, those who work at home and State employees. The second must include the members of the liberal professions, together with apprentices and students, with special provisions related to their economic conditions.

7. The worker's contribution must be reduced as much as possible, but it is good to leave always a small cash contribution as a means of guaranteeing a right to benefits and a right to take part in the administration of social insurance. Otherwise there would be the risk of the workers' section being eliminated from the direction and administration of social insurance, placing the workers in the position of being recipients of assistance who are receiving favours as is the case with those in economic need.

8. There is a contradiction between the second and third paragraphs of this point. In the second, the workers are denied participation in the technical services, and in the third, it is stated that this participation must be achieved at all levels of the administration of social insurance. The latter is the correct position since the insured workers in fact have all the technical capacities for work at the highest levels of the direction of social insurance.

Standards of Social Security

1. SICKNESS

a) It would be good to point out that the medical assistance must be *complete*, that is, including attention at home, attention by specialists, hospitalisation and the auxiliary services by diagnosis and pharmacy. In many social insurance systems only part of this medical attention is granted. For example, hospitalisation and pharmaceutical services are lacking, and the service provided is thus incomplete.

b) The ending of the waiting period has some drawbacks. It would be right to fight for the reduction of this period to a minimum of three days, as in many countries the period is much more. The ending of the waiting period would result in an enormous burden for social insurance and would necessitate an increase in the rate of contributions.

Fixing a limit for the allowances in respect of non-industrial illness is the basis for allowing the functioning of invalidity insurance to establish a longer period for certain illnesses of greater duration, such as tuberculosis, nervous and mental illnesses.

d) The money allowance to working mothers for the care of a sick child could be extended so that a grant could be made for the payment of a nurse or other person to care for the child when the mother continues at work.

2. INDUSTRIAL RISKS

a) The same recommendation for complete medical assistance is necessary for this risk.

b) It is necessary to add the granting of a special allowance in cases of major disability, sufficient to pay for the services of an attendant.

3. MATERNITY

a) It is also necessary to emphasise the need for complete medical assistance.

4. OLD AGE AND INVALIDITY

a) The fixing of an age of less than 60 years for a man and 55 for a woman has the disadvantage that it eliminates from work many workers who still have full capacity for work, and who as a result of their experience have attained a high degree of skill. To avoid this, it may be considered correct to fix the age limits for old age pensions at 60 for a man and 55 for a woman, with the possibility of a reduction in the age limit for unhealthy and arduous work.

c) Disablement pensions must be permanent in cases which merit it, and temporary in the case of chronic illnesses which can be cured and in which it is possible to achieve rehabilitation through work.

6. FAMILY ALLOWANCES

The problem in Latin America is not to encourage births, the birth-rate being high, but the care of children in order to overcome the existing high infant mortality rate. The benefits provided should be especially medical supplies and food subsidies.

7. SURVIVORS AND DEATH BENEFITS

a) It is not considered right or just that the widow's pension should only be granted to widows with children. It should be extended to all widows without this limitation, and also without any restrictions as to age. It is also necessary that the widow's pension should not take into account matrimonial legality, but that it should be granted to a mistress under certain defined circumstances.

d) When there is neither a widow nor children, the pension should be granted to the parents if they were economically dependent on the deceased.

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The I.C.F.T.U. and the Struggle of the Colonial Peoples

THE Constituent Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, held in Paris in September-October 1945, reiterated the right of the peoples to self-determination and to national independence, and put forward the principles of help to the under-developed countries both in the industrial and agricultural spheres " in order to free them from their present position of dependence and to improve the standard of living of their population." The Congress stated that in no case should this assistance allow the more developed countries " to interfere in the internal affairs of the needy countries or to subject them to the influence of international trusts and cartels," and it recommended that care should be taken that this programme should not be used to benefit " monopolistic profiteering interests, native or foreign, which would harm the legitimate national and social interests of these countries."

From the decisions taken, as from the rules adopted during that Congress, derive the line of action of the W.F.T.U. with regard to the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and dependent territories:

—sustained help for the establishment and development of trade union organisations aimed at bringing together all of the workers;

—support for their fight for improved working and living conditions and for the winning of their national independence;

—help in the development of their national economy.

The Congress was unanimous on all points.

That was seven years ago. What is the situation today?

We all feel a certain satisfaction in stating that the W.F.T.U. has always worked for the realisation of the tasks which were assigned to it in this sphere,

both by its Constituent Congress and by the Second World Trade Union Congress in Milan in 1949 and the meetings which have been held of the General Council and the Executive Committee. The Dakar and Bamako African Conferences, the Peking Pan-Asian Conference, the various regional conferences held by the Trade Unions Internationals, the activity of the W.F.T.U. in the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, the action of the Liaison Bureaux and the constant support given to the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.), and to the national organisations of the countries concerned, are further proofs.

I will not dwell on the point, for that is not my purpose.

However, though the W.F.T.U. has made every effort to honour its engagements in this sphere as in others, can the same be said of those who were present in 1945 and agreed on these points, and who, at the beginning of 1949, shattered working class unity in order, ten months later, to set up a dissident organisation? I say no, and I shall try to prove it.

No doubt, the leaders of the International Confederation of " Free " Trade Unions make demagogic statements, and pretend, in words, to be the defenders of the oppressed peoples. But how are their words translated into deeds? I shall take but a few examples.

The 1945 Congress of the W.F.T.U. thought it necessary to hold a trade union conference for the countries of Asia. Nevertheless, the members of the Executive Bureau belonging (before the split) to the British Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.), the American Congress of Industrial Organisations (C.I.O.), and the Dutch N.V.V. used all possible delaying tactics to postpone the calling of the conference; and it was not until after the split which they provoked, that the W.F.T.U. was able to hold this conference. Why? Because these leaders knew quite well that this Pan-Asian Conference would bring out the truth that the working peoples of the oppressed countries cannot obtain substantial and definite advantages unless they first shatter the yoke of imperialism and carry to a successful conclusion the struggle for national liberation. That would have hampered considerably the colonialist policy of the British and Dutch governments and provided a serious obstacle to the policy of the American State Department, directed to extending the sphere of influence of the United States to territories placed under the authority of colonial powers, without any regard for the emancipation and the improvement of the conditions of the peoples of these territories.

During the London Congress of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions in December 1949, it can be stated that the words colonialism, imperialism—and even socialism—were carefully banned from the speeches. Thus, the Cypriot delegate, Pissas, was able to say on Friday afternoon, December 9th :

" I cannot see the word imperialism anywhere. Not only is it not to be found anywhere in this report, but it is not even mentioned in any other docu-

ment of our organisation. . . . Doesn't this Congress know that there are more than 50 countries present which are slaves of imperialism? Don't we know that more than 78 territories of the world are occupied by countries which are foreign in race, religion and language? . . . . Don't we know that imperialism is a great danger to the prosperity of the working class of the world? Because of this fact, I propose that imperialism should be clearly and decisively included in this manifesto, and that we state bluntly to the world that we are also opposed to that form of oppression. . . ." (Retranslation).

He went on to add:

"Where is the resolution in this Congress on liberty for the colonials? Where is the resolution showing the solidarity which we owe to all peoples who are suffering under one yoke or another from this or that country? I have seen no resolution. Are we going to limit ourselves merely to writing fine reports? We have drawn them up here in perfect grammatical language. I am grieved to say again that deeds do not follow words in the declarations which we make." (Retranslation).

During the meeting of the International Labour Conference in Geneva last June, I asked the workers' group to adopt a motion of solidarity with the Tunisian workers, regardless of trade union affiliations. There were gathered together there the representatives of trade union organisations affiliated, in the great majority, to the I.C.F.T.U., with the addition of representatives of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions and the W.F.T.U. The trade union centres of 52 countries were represented, only four of them being affiliated to the W.F.T.U. To have adopted the proposed motion would have been to affirm, in a unity doubtless never before known, international working class solidarity with the Tunisian workers. It would have brought tremendous moral comfort to our Tunisian brothers. It would have created a considerable embarrassment to those who oppress them. This motion was deliberately presented in a very moderate form, in order to make it acceptable to all. It was rejected by all the members of the I.C.F.T.U. and the Christian Trade Unions without exception, including those representing the colonial peoples.

However, in order to pose before their members as defenders of the Tunisian people, the I.C.F.T.U. leaders had submitted a resolution to the International Labour Office against the violation of trade union rights in Tunisia. Nineteen complaints brought forward in similar circumstances by the W.F.T.U. were all rejected by the I.L.O. The I.C.F.T.U. leaders thus know very well that their's will remain a dead letter.

That does not matter to them. They accept the fact, thus thinking to save face with their members among the colonial peoples. But they refuse any action which may take on a mass character, and thus become effective.

Here is another example.

The Resolutions Committee of the International Labour Conference had

to examine a draft put forward by the Yugoslav government delegation, dealing with help to economically under-developed countries. The text presented was extremely dangerous, for it could cover up all imperialist activities, and that was, in fact, its aim. I proposed a number of amendments to this text, in order, especially :

a) to guarantee the right of the peoples to self-determination;

b) to ensure that the countries receiving help would have the free disposal of their natural resources;

c) to facilitate for these countries the acquisition of the machinery, tools and raw materials which they need;

d) to contribute to the winning of their economic independence and to eliminate all economic or political privileges for foreign States or monopolies.

All the I.C.F.T.U. delegates on the Committee rejected these amendments, lining up with the employer and government delegates of the capitalist countries. Their spokesman was, by supreme irony, Mr. Shastri, the Indian " worker's " delegate.

However, I repeat that the I.C.F.T.U. leaders had adopted the principles contained in these amendments, in Paris in October 1945.

The I.C.F.T.U. leaders are nevertheless trying hard to make headway in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. They are sending more and more delegations to Africa and Asia. They are setting up liaison offices and schools " for the training of trade union cadres." Why?

The permanent aims of colonialism can be summarized thus : to seize the sources of raw materials, to seek outlets for the industrial products of the home country, to seek cheap sources of labour power and to seek outlets for the profitable investment of capital.

The colonialists are disturbed at the development of the struggle of the colonial peoples for their national independence. They are making use of their agents in the working class movement. The aim of the activities of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders is to hold back and stem this movement and to help to strengthen the enslavement of these countries.

In expounding his programme on January 20th, 1949, President Truman stressed his desire to draw up a broad and bold plan directed towards bringing the benefits of science and technique to the under-developed areas of the world. Shortly afterwards, high officials of the American State Department announced that a plan was already being studied, based on co-operation between the United States government and the countries concerned on the one hand, and American private capital through the intermediary of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on the other. The government of the country " benefiting " from American aid would supply the natural resources of the country and the necessary labour power and services.

That is not what the peoples of the under-developed countries need. They require above all:

—to increase their agricultural production;

—to create and develop a national industry;

—to raise the national cultural level.

Under cover of helping in the development of international trade, the United States means in reality to drain off to itself the raw materials and to export its surplus production, without any regard to the real needs of the countries concerned. No doubt an industry will develop, especially an extraction industry, and no doubt ports will be set up, means of communication established and schools organised, though only in the degree to which they prove useful to the exploitation of the country's wealth by the American monopolies.

The same is certainly true of all colonial countries.

This is made even worse by the integration of Point Four within the system of "mutual security," which is in fact merely an appendage of the "military aid" programme—the seizure of strategic raw materials, the building of strategic roads and the installation of military bases. Truman was able to say in his message on the Mutual Security Programme to Congress on March 7th, 1952 that four-fifths or more of the manganese, tin or chrome for a destroyer or a jet-fighter comes from outside the Western Hemisphere, meaning, no doubt, that they come from under-developed countries.

The I.C.F.T.U. leaders have been responsible for helping in the development of this policy. So they are careful not to attack imperialism, or to give effective support to the working class struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries or to support national emancipation movements. The report presented by the General Secretary, Oldenbroek, at their Milan Congress was nothing more than an unreserved acceptance of American plans, the Atlantic Pact, the Marshall Plan, Point Four of the Truman doctrine, the Schuman Plan, etc. All the resolutions adopted—European economic union, the Japanese question, the German question, the Austrian question, etc.—are inspired by the same policy. The defence of the workers' interests was very far from their preoccupations. It is quite easy to understand that an African delegate said, when it was a question of the "defence of Western civilisation" by arms: "Give us bread and freedom, and we shall be able to defend them."

I consider it to be useful for the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries to know this.

ALAIN LE LEAP,

Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

Trade Union Democracy in Great Britain

By JOAN LOUDON

COMPARED with many American trade unions, British unions are democratic. In most cases the officials are elected—though once elected they are often there for life. The tradition handed down by the early unions that the members should control the officers is still strong, and in some unions is the practice. Most unions have policy conferences, which according to their constitutions are the supreme authority. Accounts are scrupulously kept and are published.

However there are some undemocratic features in the constitutions of many unions, and unfortunately this is most true of the body which co-ordinates the unions, the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

Further, a constant struggle is necessary to get democracy carried out in practice. If a union leadership is determined to pursue unpopular policies, its hold on the machine gives it a hundred opportunities to frustrate the wishes of the members, even if the rule book provides for a good deal of democracy. Much depends on whether the leadership wants the whole membership to take an active part in the work of the union. In some unions the leadership does want this, in others it certainly does not.

Conferences

MOST unions hold annual or biennial conferences where policy is formulated, and this policy is binding on Executive Committees and officials. There are a few unions however which have no regular policy conferences. The outstanding example here is the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, of which Lincoln Evans, one of the most reactionary members of the General Council of the TUC, is General Secretary.

There are some other features which may prevent a conference being fully effective. One is the length of conference. The Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Union of Railwaymen meet for a fortnight or (in the case of the NUR) until the business is finished. Many unions meet for about a week, but some only for two or three days, which often means that important resolutions are not discussed at all. The qualifications for being a delegate can affect the character of the conference. In some unions a big proportion of delegates may be full-time officials—in the Seamen's Union up to half. In the National Union of Mineworkers no known and trusted local leader can be sent two years running, because the branches which are to send delegates are selected on a rota system. This is a survival of the early belief that all should take a hand in the business in turn, which today helps to prevent an effective conference.

The Chairman and the Standing Orders Committee have much power for good or ill in any conference. They are seen at their worst at the TUC, but even at the Transport Salaried Staffs' conference this year they managed to cut discussion on two vital subjects affecting world peace to 15 minutes. True, the Standing Orders Committee is elected and the Chairman can be voted out of the chair, but that only happens if he has very seriously angered the conference.

When a resolution is passed, much still depends on how the leadership fights to carry it out. If a conference decides on a wage claim for a certain amount the union leaders are bound to present it, though even then they may sabotage it by saying in public that such a claim is ridiculous. Most unions have gone on record repeatedly for equal pay, but how many leaderships, apart from those in the Civil Service, have campaigned effectively for it?

Officials

IN most unions the full-time officials are elected by the membership, *but they are often elected for life.* In the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Electrical Trades Union, however, all officials have to stand for re-election every three to five years, if they wish to

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Asking for £1 a week wage increase, engineering apprentices demonstrate in front of the offices of the Engineering Employers' National Federation, while trade union leaders negotiate with the employers.

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continue in the posts, In the Transport and General Workers Union, Arthur Deakin's union, on the other hand, officials other than the main national officers *are appointed by the Executive,* which helps to account for the fact that the dockers, for instance, have repeatedly had to conduct strikes which are in effect strikes against the union's leadership. In the General and Municipal Workers Union the officials are elected, but the Executive *can dismiss them and need not give a reason.* They did this a few years ago to an official who had helped to lead a splendid struggle of the London catering workers.

The Life of the Branches

AN active branch life is essential to the health of the union. Although it is probably true that the closest contact of the members is on the job, it is in the branch that the formation of policy begins.[1] In many of the cotton unions, however, the work of the union is carried on by committees, and the members may meet as seldom as twice a year. Nor is there a strong job organisation in these unions. The members' contributions are usually collected at their homes.

In some unions attendance at the branches is reasonably good, conditions and policy are thoroughly discussed, a lively correspondence is carried on with the Head Office and on occasions the members will demand and get the presence of an Executive member or official to explain and justify his conduct. It is also a common complaint, however, that attendances are too small and there are branches that never meet at all.

Because in some unions the branch is not necessarily based on the place of work, the members of one union in a big engineering factory, for example, may belong to a dozen different local branches, some meeting far from the place of work near the members' homes. This feature of the organisational structure makes it more difficult for the workers of a given factory to agree and enforce a common policy. The difficulty of getting any policy which the workers and their Shop Stewards favour adopted officially is added to by the fact that the workers may belong to half a dozen different unions, since in Britain they are not always organised into industrial unions but into various craft or semi-craft unions. This can have the effect of reducing workers' solidarity and effectiveness.

Another factor in some cases is the limitation on the powers of the branch. An extreme example is the General and Municipal Workers, in which the rules state that: "Branch committees or meetings of branch members shall not have authority to decide anything not expressed as being within their powers as stated in the various rules of the union." Even in the Amalgamated Engineering Union it was laid down before the last elections that no letter from any organisation opposing the A.E.U. might be read to the branch, which meant, since the A.E.U. is affiliated to the Labour Party, that no letter from a Communist candidate, for example, could be read.

Shop Organisation

THE rule books of many unions have provided for some representative on the job from an early date. But during the first world war the rank and file developed the institution of Shop Stewards in engineering into a movement which linked shop with shop and provided the main militant leadership in the industry. The Clyde Workers' Committee was a force that the government had to reckon with.

Today, the extent of workshop organisation varies greatly. In general, where there is much piecework, and therefore of necessity much negotiating to be done on the job, as in engineering and furniture manufacture, or where there is a shifting labour force and frequently bad labour conditions, as in building, the Shop Stewards'

1 British trade union branches are not necessarily based on the place of work. They may also be based on areas containing a number of different work establishments, or on areas where workers live but do not necessarily work.

The Sheffield Shop Stewards' Conference in March 1952. Standing: Les Smith, Secretary of the National Council of Shop Stewards. Extreme left: Herbert Howarth, representative from the English Steel Corporation who made the main report.

organisation is strong, and has a recognised place in the union machine. In printing also the shop organisation is extremely powerful, and though it seldom comes into the news, when it does act it acts decisively, as was seen recently when Lord Kemsley, one of the big Press lords, provoked a strike which was solid from journalists to labourers.

The part which the job organisation can play in strengthening the union was shown very vividly recently in a strike of building workers on an oil refinery project on the Isle of Grain, on the Thames.[2] Over 6,000 workers struck because one section was refused adequate negotiating rights. They not merely won their strike but in the course of it recruited 2,000 workers, many of them of other nationalities, into the unions.

It cannot be said that the Shop Stewards always get the backing that they should from the union leaderships. In engineering one of the commonest causes of dispute is victimisation of a Shop Steward by the employer, and when the workers strike against this the strike is not always endorsed by the union leadership.

There is also sometimes some official coolness towards any national organisation of Shop Stewards, on the ground that this is an unofficial body which tries to usurp the right to make policy. In fact, however, Shop Stewards are well aware that their conferences cannot make policy. Discussions are useful though, and delegates can go back to their branches to fight for a policy in the constitutional manner.

Control of Negotiations

ONE of the main tests of democracy in a union is the way negotiations are conducted—whether the demands presented are really those of the workers, whether the members are consulted before a claim is made, whether they are kept informed of the course of negotiations and are given a chance to express their views before an offer is accepted, whether action by the members is welcomed when the employers prove stubborn.

In many unions the policy conference instructs the Executive on the kind of claim to be made, but in the Transport and General Workers' Union it has normally been held that because the union covers so many industries, claims affecting one particular trade cannot be dealt with in the national conference and must be referred to the national trade group committees. These formerly had in practice a good deal of autonomy, but in recent years *the Executive has sometimes refused to make a claim which a trade group wanted made.*

The miners and the National Union of Railwaymen have a good tradition of holding special delegate conferences, and the miners sometimes conduct a national ballot to consult the members on whether an offer by the employer is satisfactory. But this is not always operated. On the recent pension scheme for mineworkers a ballot was refused, and when the scheme came into operation it proved so unpopular that large numbers of men were unwilling to contribute. In the docks also it has been customary to hold delegate conferences on pay claims, but in recent years delegates have not been informed what the employers' offer was before they got to the conference, so that they were unable to consult their members.

In the steel unions, local negotiators, who are elected, are expressly required to settle claims on their own responsibility, without consulting the members who elected them. Lincoln Evans has recently justified this undemocratic practice in his foreword to a history of the union:

"It is not a leadership which demands that the

2 See **W.T.U.M.**, No. 13, July 1-15, 1952, Spotlight on World Labour, for article by Peter Fryer on the Isle of Grain strike.

responsibility for making decisions must be thrown on the mass of men who have had no opportunity of hearing the case argued; it is an abdication of it."

Character of the Unions

IT should also be noted that British unions vary widely in character. Some are industrial unions, some cater only for skilled men, some cover dozens of different industries. In a general union covering many industries, however much provision there may be for autonomy of trade groups, the members as a whole have less chance of making their voice heard, just because they are split among industries having little in common with few common demands, than in a union where the members all belong to one industry or one craft. All this affects trade union democracy.

Limitation of the Rights of Members

THERE are certain measures which, even if they are decided on by an apparently democratic method, are clearly undemocratic in their effects. A number of unions have bans on Communists as officials, sometimes even as branch officials, or as delegates from the union to other bodies. These bans were in most cases either imposed or endorsed by conference or ballot vote, but the effect on the life of the union is uniformly bad. The members are deprived of some of their best officers, it is often difficult to get alternative officers or delegates, and far from excluding political wrangles the measure introduces an irrelevant political factor into the work of the union and distracts the energies of the members.

The T.U.C.

WITH all their defects, the Constitutions of most unions do offer the members some chance of making their voice heard. The position is far less good when it comes to the T.U.C.

The Trades Union Congress is the annual conference of delegates from all affiliated unions (i.e. the vast majority of trade unions in Britain). The General Council of the T.U.C. is elected at Congress for a year. The T.U.C. has no compulsory powers over the unions, but it is the sole agency for international affiliation; and the General Council has enough powers of leadership (given to it in the years after the first world war when it was hoped the Council would become a "general staff of labour") to make it a powerful influence on union Executives and the body which governments consult as being representative of the whole trade union movement. The T.U.C. also has complete control over the local Trades Councils.

The T.U.C. is by no means a democratic body. This is partly a question of how Congress is conducted, and partly a question of the operation of the General Council. The disproportionate amount of time given to representatives of the General Council in debates at Congress has provoked a number of protests and revolts. The kind of pressure which is exerted on delegations by the Standing Orders Committee came out into the open at the 1948 Congress when Sir William Lawther, opposing the resolution supporting the W.F.T.U., said:

"If there be an example of mischief making it is the action of the people who have been urged to withdraw this and have refused to do so."

One of the most important questions however is the block voting system. This means that the whole vote of each union is cast as one, according to majority decision in the delegation. This not merely excludes what may be very large minorities, so that the total vote gives a false impression of the balance of opinion even in the delegations, but the delegations themselves have a comparatively short time to decide their attitude. They will go through every item on the agenda, often before the debates have been heard, and on questions on which there is not a hard-and-fast decision of the union conference to bind the delegation, the General Secretary

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Workers in the E.N.V. plant in London voting to continue strike action.

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can exercise a big influence in deciding which way the vote is to be cast.

The General Council is so composed as to give all the important industries representation on it. Candidates are nominated by groups of unions with members in one, or a few connected industries, but they are voted on by the whole Congress. *A few big unions can therefore decide the composition of the whole Council,* and on many important issues discussed by the Council recently there have been only two or three progressive votes out of a Council of 33—a division which bears no relation to the division of opinion in the movement.

This method of election also means that members of the General Council can maintain that they are responsible only to Congress, not to the members of their own unions, and can therefore vote (and do) at Council meetings, *against the policy of their own union.*

The powers and influence of the General Council are considerable. It was the General Council which led the campaign, until it was defeated on this question at the 1950 Congress, for acceptance of the policy of "wage restraint." The Trades Councils, which are bodies of delegates from different union branches in one locality, which have played a big art in organising solidarity in many disputes, and were the local agents of the T.U.C. in the General Strike of 1926, have come under the direct control of the T.U.C. because they are not part of the machinery of any union. By withholding the annual registration of a Trades Council the General Council can break it up and disrupt local unity, and it has just done this with the biggest and one of the oldest Trades Councils in the country, London, without a shadow of democratic procedure. The Scottish T.U.C. also recently disbanded the Glasgow Trades Council. The decision can be reversed by the Trades Union Congress itself, but since the question only affects one locality at a time, a reversal is always hard to get.

The disaffiliation of the British trade unions from the W.F.T.U., after one has said all that must be said on the responsibility of the rank and file for allowing the position to arise, was only possible because the General Council had put down an iron curtain before the activities of the W.F.T.U. which was in marked contrast to the way in which it is now pouring out the U.S. State Department propaganda of the I.C.F.T.U.

The Labour Party

THE trade unions, as is well known, created the Labour Party in Britain, and the membership affiliated through trade unions is still four-fifths of the total Labour Party membership. And yet neither in its opposition nor its policy has the Parliamentary Labour Party fully reflected the trade union movement.

This is partly because procedure at Labour Party conferences is not satisfactory. As a former employee of the Labour Party head office, now a Labour M.P., said in a recent article in the *New Statesman* (June 7th, 1952):

> "The National Executive . . . . to some extent bulldozes the Conference by its post-war habit of presenting comprehensive policy statements on aspects of broad policy which had to be accepted or rejected as a whole."

The theory that M.P.s are not responsible either to the Party conference, or, if they are nominees of a trade union, to the union, but only to their constituency, has enabled Labour governments to flout conference policy on such questions as equal pay and tied houses for farm workers.[3]

Finally in the localities, although trade union branches may be affiliated to their local Labour Party, they do not always send delegates nor take their full share in formulating policy and helping to choose the parliamentary candidate.

Conclusion

AS we have seen there are many strains on trade union democracy in Britain. And it is clear that this is not by chance. Trade unions exist within a given society and in an imperialist society the ruling class tries by every means, including using the workers' organisations, to hold back, to limit and to stifle the aspirations and will of the workers.

But this is becoming increasingly difficult. In Great Britain as elsewhere the workers, enlightened by the facts, are gaining a clearer understanding of the reasons for their growing economic difficulties, of the increasing war dangers and their origins. They are increasingly making their voices heard, both in support of their economic claims and in the struggle for peace and for a Five-Power Peace Pact and disarmament.

This growing consciousness which has been shown in recent union conferences, and in the Labour Party, alarms the right-wing leaders who are redoubling their attacks against democracy. But certainly this rank and file unity will grow and the British trade unionists will impose a trade union policy which conforms to the desire for peace and well-being of the workers just as they have been able to do several times in the past on the wages question.

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3 In many cases agricultural workers are given housing accommodation which belong to the farmer who turns the workers out if he discharges them. The Labour Party had promised to abolish this right of farmers to force workers to leave their accommodation.

The Fifth Five Year Plan

***by* M. NIKOLAYEV**

ON August 20th the Soviet press published the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-1955, which is to be discussed at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party, which will meet on October 5th.

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan outstanding successes were achieved in the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., and in raising the well-being and the cultural level of the Soviet people. This Five-Year Plan, which was fulfilled in industry ahead of time—in four years and three months—aimed at raising the volume of production throughout industry to a level 48% higher than the pre-war level. In fact, in the last year of the plan, Soviet industrial production was 73% higher than in 1940, and the national income had risen by 64%.

The living standards of the Soviet people rose considerably during the period of this post-war Five-Year Plan, especially as a result of the monetary reform and the ending of the rationing system on all food and industrial products, together with the systematic reduction in the prices of consumer's goods carried out by the Soviet government.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. envisages a further great development of the national economy and a further rise in the material well-being and the cultural level of the Soviet people. It is planned to raise industrial production by approximately 70% during the five years, with an annual overall increase of industrial production of about 12%. The annual increase in the output of means of production is fixed at 13%, and that of consumer's goods at 11%.

It is proposed to develop during the period of the plan a rapid growth of vital types of industrial goods and foodstuffs. The production of pig iron will increase by about 76%, steel 62%, rolled metal 64%, coal 43%, oil 85%, cotton fabrics 61%, wollen fabrics 54%, meat 92% and butter 72%.

The production of the engineering industry will be almost doubled, providing the basis for tremendous technical development in all spheres of the national economy. The total power output of electric power stations is to be doubled, and that of hydro-electric stations trebled. It is planned to put into operation large hydro-electric stations including the Kuibyshev hydro-electric station with a capacity of 2,100,000 kilowatts, the Kamsk, Gorki, Mingochaur, Ust-Kamenogorsk and others, with an aggregate capacity of 1,916,000 kilowatts. At the same time, there will be the development of the construction of the Stalingrad and Kakhovka hydro-electric stations, and work will be begun on a number of others, including Cheboksary hydro-electric station on the Volga, Votkinsk on the Kama and Buchtarminsk on the Irtysh. Work will also begin for the utilisation of energy resources of the Angara River.

State capital investments in industry for the development of industrial production will be almost doubled as compared with the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

ABOVE: **In a factory in Taganrog, workers discuss the improvement of the welding process for the boilers for electric power plants.**

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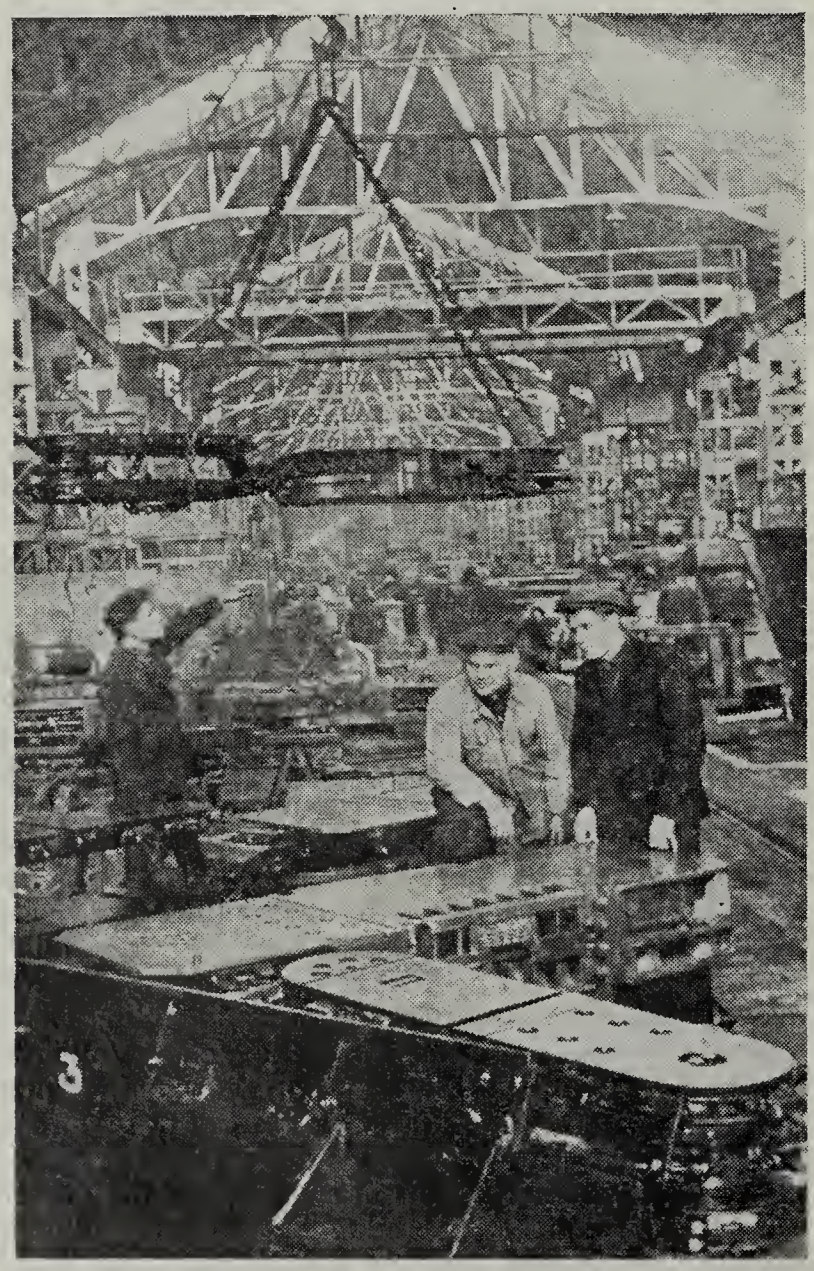
BELOW: **Inspecting the combines for the Donbas mines before shipment.**



Together with commissioning new enterprises and aggregates, the production capacity of operating establishments will be increased by means of reconstruction, the installation of new equipment, the mechanisation and intensification of production by technological improvements.

The plan envisages at least a doubling of the production of basic construction materials in order to meet the growing demands of the national economy.

The main task of the plan in the sphere of agriculture is, as in the past, to increase the yields of all crops, to increase still further the publicly-owned livestocks, while at the same time making a considerable increase in its productivity, to increase the gross output and sale of crops and livestock by a further strengthening and development of the collective farms, by improvements in the work of the State farms and the machine and tractor stations through advanced agrotechnical methods.

It is also planned to increase the overall grain yield by 40-50 per cent, raw cotton 55-65 per cent, tobacco from 65-70 per cent, to increase the number of large-horned cattle from 18-20 per cent, the production of meat and lard by 80-90 per cent, milk 45-50 per cent, and to produce two to two-and-a-half times as much wool.

The mechanisation of agriculture will be still further developed. There will be an increase of around 50 per cent in the capacity of the tractor park of the machine and tractor stations, and there will be a widespread development of the use of electrically-driven tractors and other agricultural machines.

The volume of State investments in agriculture is fixed at about 2.1 times as high as that of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The Fifth Five Year Plan also makes provision for a development in all forms of transport and communications. To this end, state capital investments in transport and communications are planned to increase by about 63 per cent during the period 1951-1955 above 1946-1950.

The new plan bears the stamp of the Stalinist concern for the continual raising of the material well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people. Based on the increased industrial and agricultural production, State and co-operative retail trade will increase by about 70 per cent. The national income of the U.S.S.R. will rise by no less than 60 per cent, and the number of workers and office employees in the national economy will be about 15 per cent higher in 1955 than in 1950.

The overall income of the workers, office employees and peasants will continue to increase. State appropriations for workers' and office employees' social insurance will be around 30 per cent higher as compared with 1950. *The real wages of workers and office employees will increase by not less than* 35 *per cent, taking into account the planned reduction in retail prices.*

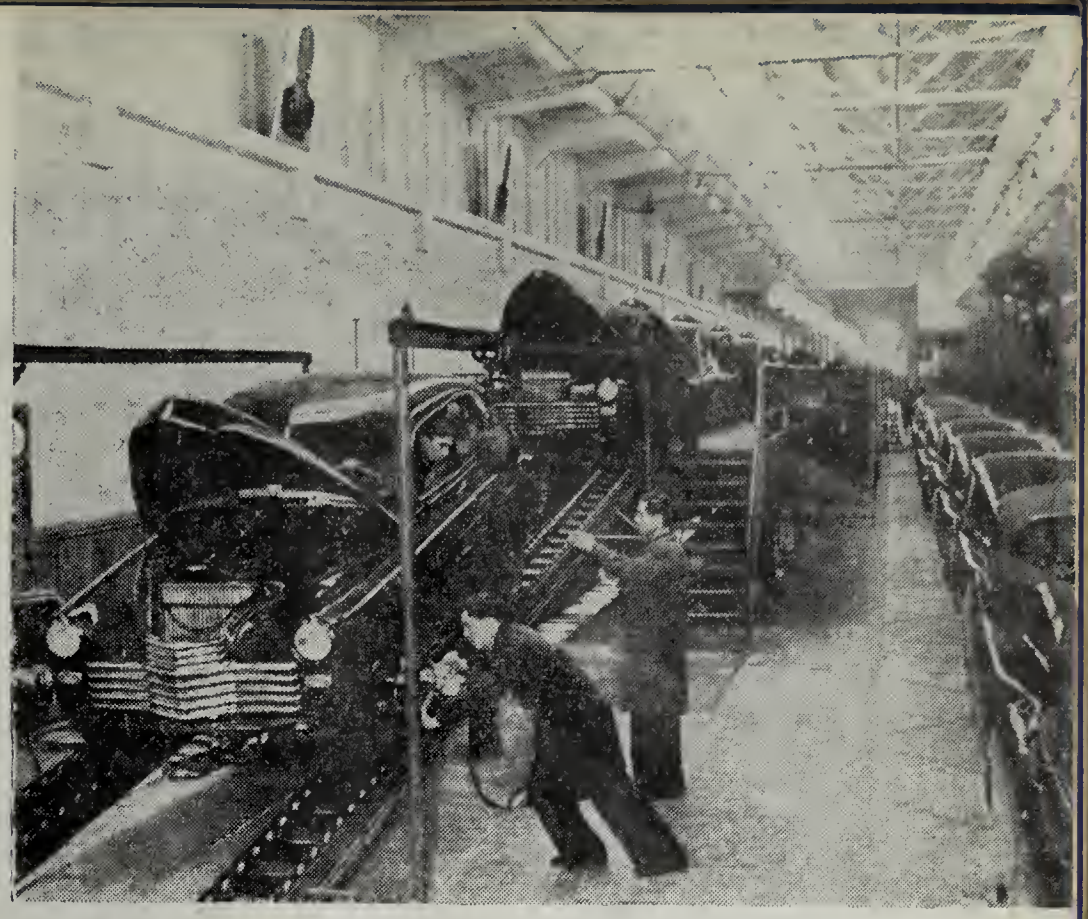
It is also planned during the five years to practically double the amount of money devoted to the building of houses. State building organisations are to make ready for occupancy new dwelling houses

with an area totalling about 105 million square metres in towns and workers' settlements.

There will be a considerable increase in the network of health, educational, scientific and cultural establishments.

The number of beds in hospitals will be increased by at least 20 per cent, the number of accommodations in sanatoria by about 15 per cent, in rest-homes 30 per cent, and the number of children in creches and kindergartens will increase 20 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. There will also be an increase of at least 25 per cent in the number of doctors during the five years.

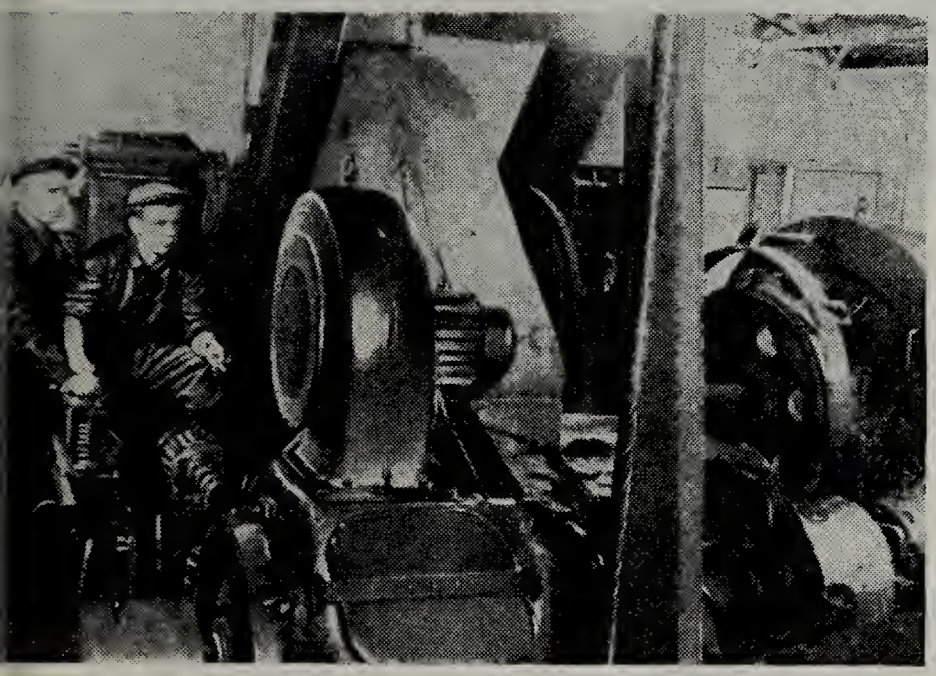
By the end of the period, the seven-year system of education will be completely replaced by the ten-year system of universal secondary schooling in the capitals of the Republics, in the main centres of regions and territories and in the large industrial centres. Preparations will be made to introduce this ten-year system into the remaining towns and rural areas during the succeeding Five Year Plan period.



Building of schools in the towns and villages will be increased by about 70 per cent as compared with the preceding five year plan period.

The number of trained specialists of all kinds leaving the higher and secondary special educational establishments will increase by 30 to 35 per cent, and the number of specialists for the most important branches of industry, construction and agriculture will be doubled.

It is also planned to develop new scientific and research establishments.



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ABOVE RIGHT: **The Molotov automobile plant in Gorki. The assembly line for the light Pobeda motor cars.**

MIDDLE: **The great works of communism require the large-scale mechanisation of work-sites. Here is the control post for an excavator.**

BELOW: **On the site of the Kuibyshev hydro-electric power plant which will generate 2.1 million kilowatts.**

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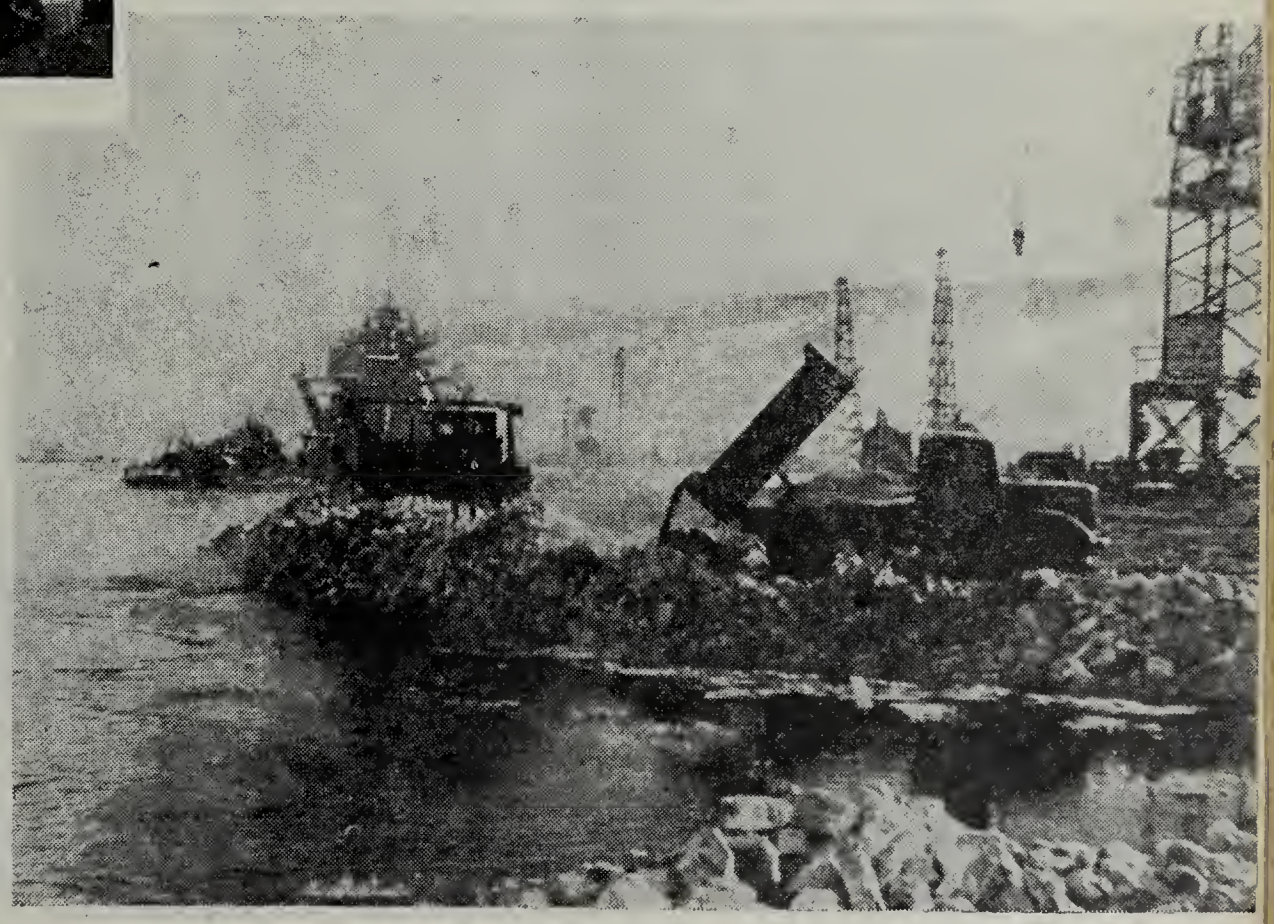

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The new university in the Lenin Hills in Moscow.

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There will be a 25 per cent increase in the number of cinemas, at least a 30 per cent increase in public libraries, and 15 per cent in clubs.

The amount spent on investments for health protection, education, scientific, cultural-educational institutions will be 50 per cent more than in the preceding five year period.

The draft directives for the Five Year Plan show that in order to carry out the plan in the sphere of the development of the national economy and the raising of the material and cultural level of the workers there will have to be an increase of around 90 per cent in the overall volume of the great State construction works. But the State allocations for this will only be increased by about 60 per cent, so that the remaining 30 per cent is to be covered by corresponding reductions in the cost of construction through increased labour productivity, cutting overhead expenditure and reducing prices of building materials and equipment.

Productivity of labour is to increase during the five years by about 50 per cent in industry, 55 per

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Tens of thousands of miles of forest shelter belts will protect the arid lands of the Ukraine and Russia against the hot winds blowing from Asia. Here, towed by a tractor are seven tree planters, model SLN-1.

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The production of luxury articles such as perfumes is rapidly increasing.

cent in building and 40 per cent in agriculture. This increased productivity will be obtained by the introduction of advanced technique, by the improvement of the organisation of work, by a heightening of the cultural-technical level of the workers, and above all by the mechanisation of arduous and labour-consuming jobs in industry and building.

It is planned to reduce production costs of industrial goods by about 25 per cent, and the cost of building work by at least 20 per cent. The cost of work done by tractors of the machine and tractor stations and that of railway transport will also be reduced, as will the cost of retail selling. In all sectors of economic construction there is to be a firm application of economy measures which will allow the maximum use of the existing means of production.

The task is also set of developing a widespread movement of invention and rationalisation among engineers, technicians, workers and collective farmers, in order to ensure further perfection in technique and expansion of production, all-round mechanisation, and to facilitate and improve working conditions.

The published directive says :

"The present (fifth) Five Year Plan again demonstrates to the whole world the great vital force of Socialism, the fundamental superiority of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system. This Five Year Plan is a plan for peaceful economic and cultural development. It will facilitate further consolidation and extension of economic co-operation of the Soviet Union with the countries of peoples' democracy, the development of economic relations with all countries willing to extend trade on the basis of equality and mutual advantages."

And further on :

"The great force of Socialist emulation, the unanimous striving of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia to uphold the cause of peace, the unshakable resolve of the working people to build a Communist society—all this must be directed for fulfilment and overfulfilment of the new Five Year Plan."

The Soviet people have greeted the new Five Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-1955 with great enthusiasm. The workers of the Soviet Union have shown their profound satisfaction at the fact that the new plan for peaceful construction represents a great step forward in the transformation from Socialism to Communism.

Socialist emulation is already developing throughout industry, and on the building sites and transport systems, for the achievement of the State plans ahead of time.

Workers, office employees, engineers and technicians are pledging themselves to increase labour productivity, to increase production, to improve its quality, to economise in raw materials and electric power and to reduce the cost of production.

The workers of the "Stalin" automobile plant have, for example, pledged themselves to complete the first nine months of the plan by September 25th and to produce 30 million roubles' worth of cars above the plan. The builders of the Kuibyshev hydro-electric plant have promised to finish the work of construction and installation for 1952 by December 21st, to raise labour productivity by 15 per cent and to make 100,000 square metres of living space ready for service by December 15th.

The workers of the First Ball-Bearings Factory in Moscow have promised to produce several million roubles in excess of the nine-month plan, to surpass the tasks set for the increase in labour productivity and to provide additional profits of six and a half million roubles for the factory.

The workers of the V.E.F. factory in Riga have undertaken to finish the nine-month plan by September 15th and to produce several million roubles' worth of goods in excess of the plan.

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Pledges of this kind are being made in all Soviet enterprises, showing the determination of the Soviet people to ensure the carying out and the surpassing of the new Five Year Plan and to make a further important step on the road to the building of Communism.

Factory Committees Defend The Workers' Interests

By
JULES DUCHAT
Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.)

THE factory committees which the clandestine C.G.T. demanded during the Nazi occupation were set up immediately after the Liberation. Their functions are many and varied. The law, in fact, gives them the right to keep a watch on the administration of our enterprises, including the right to check on the balance sheet. The importance of this provision in the fight for demands will be easily understood, as also the desire of the employers to prevent its enforcement. The factory committees also have social functions, such as the administration of holiday camps, kindergartens, sports' activities, etc.

The committees are compulsory in all enterprises employing 50 people or more, whatever the function of the enterprise. They consist of the manager of the establishment and of delegates elected by the employees for a period of one year from among candidates put forward by the trade union organisation.

Since their establishment, the committees have been the object of varied forms of attacks by the employers, which has caused the workers' delegates, in the accomplishment of tasks which are new to them, to make mistakes, and even sometimes to engage in class collaboration.

The C.G.T. has thus from the beginning given great attention to such an important social gain as the system of factory committees, to their development and to the effectiveness of the delegates' activity. It has always reacted strongly to remedy confused situations and to make the committees constructive instruments in the service of the workers.

From an analysis of errors and the methods employed to correct and to avoid them on the one hand, and the good results obtained in recent months on the other, it can be considered that the experience of the factory committees has been, and is, satisfactory for the working class.[1]

REVIEW OF ACTIVITY

When all the mistakes and weaknesses in the work of the delegates are weighed against the results obtained, the balance is a positive one.

Though here and there a certain amount of paternalism in the field of social work is still used by the employers to fool the workers, this is on the decrease. Many factory committees now control and administer holiday camps, creches, kindergartens, mutual aid funds and cultural and sports activities with the necessary working class spirit.

Though the results of their economic functions may perhaps appear small, many committees are nevertheless working effectively. Swollen profits, well-disguised by the employers, can be detected and made public, and this knowledge of the financial situation of the enterprise facilitates the winning of wage demands.

Good activity has been successfully carried out in the defence of trade union rights, in the fight against speed-up and American-style productivity, against dismissals, for the defence of French industry and for the Moscow International Economic Conference.

ATTACKS BY THE WORKERS' ENEMIES

The employers were forced to submit to the setting up of the committees at the time of the Liberation, and from the beginning, they have fought against them.

1See the detailed study by A. Le Léap, General Secretary of the C.G.T. in **W.T.U.M.**, No. 17, September 5th, 1951.

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While thousands of police were massed around the Renault automobile plants the workers were enthusiastically meeting to elect their delegates to the factory committee.

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Their attacks have become systematic and more violent in recent months.

Helped by the government, they are trying to wipe out the committees, putting forward the idea that they have failed and that the workers are indifferent to them. But every successive election shows an increase in the number of votes for the C.G.T. and in C.G.T. delegates elected.

This shows that the French workers—even those who have not yet taken the step of joining the C.G.T.—are becoming more and more aware that this is the only trade union organisation which fights for their interests, and they are revealing that understanding in the factory committee elections.

If the French employers really considered that the factory committees have failed in their tasks, they would not make the determined efforts that they are making to destroy them.

They are trying to limit their prerogatives, both in the social and the economic spheres, and to hamper their normal functioning. They are making use of arbitrary dismissals in order to behead the committees. By this means they hope to get the workers to abstain from taking part in the work of the committees.

The government also is directly attacking the factory committees. A recent draft decree seeks, among other things, to withdraw from the workers' representatives all control over workers' medical care and to place it under the control of the employers. Government agents refuse to enforce the law properly in differences which arise between the employers and the elected delegates. Added to this there is increased severity in the application of repressive laws and an American-inspired Press campaign condemning the factory committees.

The government majority in Parliament also refuses to pass a law ensuring normal and regular funds for the social work of the committees, and there are a number of draft bills for prolonging the mandates of delegates.

NATIONAL CONFERENCES OF FACTORY COMMITTEES

Faced with these manœuvres, the Bureau of the National Executive Committee of the C.G.T. considered it urgent and indispensable to hold national conferences of factory committees in Paris, at which the delegates, mandated by their workmates, would affirm their common will to defend the system of factory committees against all attacks, from whatever quarter, and also, above all, to take all necessary measures to develop them and to make them more effective in the winning of demands.

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IN spite of all kinds of difficulties, of pressure exerted and of the limited time, the conferences which were held a few weeks ago were a great success. They were attended by 4,055 delegates from all parts of France, from all industries and trades, including public employees. They first met in 24 separate industrial conferences, and then, the next day, they met in a National Plenary Conference at which they examined the situation which had arisen and adopted practical and concrete measures to face up to and overcome the manoeuvres being employed, and to

intensify the activities of the elected members of the committees.

These conferences, which were held on a broad and united basis, and were attended by delegates from the C.F.T.C.,[2] C.G.C.,[3] F.O.[4] and the unorganised, will have a good effect on the policy and work of the elected delegates. They will mark a new and decisive stage in the role which has fallen to the factory committees.

The 1952 national conferences, even more than those called by the C.G.T. in April 1948, were a firm and resolute demonstration of strength. They strongly affirmed the determination of the French working class not to allow the system of factory committees to be sabotaged, any more than any other social gain.

The preparation and the holding of the conferences became the occasion for focussing the attention of all on this form of trade union activity, and making many trade union militants think over this problem anew.

The full National Conference adopted a general resolution which constitutes the national action programme of the committees.

This resolution declares :

"The National Conference calls upon factory committee delegates and trade union organisations at all levels to defend energetically the system of factory committees and joint committees and to work to widen their prerogatives.

"It draws the attention of the delegates to the importance of the role devolving upon them through the confidence placed in them by the workers :

- **in the fight for the workers' demands and for the improvement of their living standards, by showing by precise facts and figures the justice of the C.G.T.'s demands and the possibilities of attaining them in their enterprises;**
- **in the defence of social security, and for the establishment of social insurance agents in the enterprise;**
- **in the fight against the consequences of the policy of national abdication and war preparation, by exposing in every enterprise the threats which this brings to the workers and to the country's economy.**

"The factory committees and joint committees, departmental and federal commissions and the national commission must carry on this activity with the support of the whole of the workers and with the support of the population, to which they must appeal whenever it becomes necessary.

"Firm and resolute action by the committees for the workers' demands and for the independence of our industries is a powerful factor for the achievement of working class unity."

The factory committees are thus better armed to fulfil their mission. They will more than ever become useful weapons for the workers in their fight against capitalism.

They will supply more effective help in the fight for bread, liberty and peace.

2C.F.T.C.—French Confederation of Christian Workers.
3C.G.C.—General Confederation of Foremen and Technicians.
4F.O.—Force Ouvrière, breakaway centre affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.

Worker-members of a factory committee of a large Paris enterprise at work. It is indispensable that the trade unions and factory branches concern themselves with organising the largest number of committees, since the employers try by all methods to prevent their organisation.

Yugoslav Workers Under the Tito Fascist Dictatorship

WITH the direct participation of the American imperialists, the Tito clique has already, for the most part, restored capitalism in Yugoslavia and transformed our country into a reservoir of raw materials and agricutural products for the Wall Street magnates.

The Yugoslav mines and factories, particularly those of strategic value, are more and more being placed under the thumb of the rapacious imperialists. For example, the Kamnik mines have passed completely into the hands of the American Trust, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The American monopolies have also seized other enterprises such as the B.O.H. copper mines and smelting combine, the Trepcha lead mines and combine. The Bosanski Brod and Rieka oil refineries have been handed over to the American firm, Foster Veler Corporation.

In January 1952, the Titoists concluded a so-called " economic aid agreement " with the Washington rulers. By this " agreement " the subjugation of Yugoslavia by the U.S.A. was legalised and the whole economy of the country handed over to the American monopolies. Thus, Yugoslavia has lost its national sovereignty, its economic and political independence and has become the property of the American multi-millionaires.

Tito's Yugoslavia—War Base for the Imperialist Aggressors

The development of events in Yugoslavia also shows clearly that the Tito clique has transformed our country into a base for imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

The Belgrade rulers had already concluded an agreement in 1949 with the American imperialists, putting the Yugoslav aerodromes and air lines at the disposal of the

By

ANTON RUPNIK

American army. Truman no longer conceals his plans for Yugoslavia. He is untiring in his demands from Congress for " special funds " to strengthen the Yugoslav armed forces, to set up schools of diversion and spying and to carry out, with the help of the Titoist lackeys, splitting activities in the ranks of the working class and its progressive organisations. In Yugoslavia, the whole economy of the country has been placed on a war footing. The militarisation of industry and ports is being feverishly carried out, the latter being equipped to take large warships, and into which the arrival of enormous quantities of tanks, guns, aeroplanes and other American war material is becoming increasingly frequent.

Under orders from their imperialist masters, the Titoists are increasing expenditure for war preparation at an unheard of rate. In 1950, war expenditure represented just about half the total budget. In 1951, it rose to two-thirds, and in 1952 it reached 210,000 million dinars, about three-quarters of the total budget, thus demonstrating its war-like character.

These war preparations reached a culminating point on November 14, with the conclusion of the " military aid agreement " with the Americans.

By this criminal military pact, the Yugoslav army has been effectively incorporated into the armed forces of the imperialist warmongers and placed under the direct control of the Pentagon.

It should be added that during the recent period the Tito government has thrown itself into the arms of the monarch-fascist government in Athens. It has concluded a veritable war alliance with the assassins of Beloyannis. At the same time Tito was sending envoys to the ultra-reactionary rulers in Ankara and solemnly declaring: " There is nothing which separates Yugoslavia and Turkey."

Considering the facts of the recent Yugoslav and Greek provocations against the Hungarian and

Bulgarian frontiers and the recent visits of U.S. Secretary of the Army, Frank Pace, to Belgrade and the announced visit of Eden, Churchill's Foreign Minister, the criminal role of Tito against peace can be clearly seen.

Tito's Trade Unions are Instruments Strengthening Capitalist Exploitation

With the aim of depriving the working class of its most important mass organisation, the Titoists have savagely attacked the trade unions. In 1950 alone, during the mass "purge" of the trade union apparatus, approximately 9,500 trade union officials and militants were arrested. During the same period trade union newspapers were suppressed, including the central organ of the R.A.D. trade unions.

The present Yugoslav trade unions are led by the enemies of the working class and Socialism who have had a great deal of experience in the work of provocation and espionage in the Yugoslav working class movement. They are Salaj, Bezichevich, Belinich, Jankes and others.

The trade unions are deprived of the right to defend the workers and their apparatus has been transformed into militarist centres, into instruments for the strengthening of capitalist exploitation and for the recruiting of unpaid labour. The Titoists are also using the trade union apparatus to spy on and to punish the workers. For example, last year, in the Karlovac railway workshops, employing about 800 workers, 1,000 fines were inflicted in 4 months alone through the intermediary of the trade union chiefs.

Another special task has been assigned to the trade unions. This is the carrying out of a form of "educational" work which consists of developing and intensifying war propaganda, slandering the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies and sowing hatred against the progressive workers' movements of other countries. The facts clearly show that the working class organisations have been turned into instruments for carrying out an anti-popular policy for preparing war and hiding the fascist basis of the regime.

* * *

IN the international field, the trade union high priests of the Tito clique are zealous defenders and propagandists for the reactionary and aggressive policy of the imperialist warmongers. Their subversive activity abroad is aimed at weakening and breaking up the working class movements in the capitalist countries, to smash the ranks of the workers' international organisation, the W.F.T.U., in accordance with the political line of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions. Did not Tito recently declare that the Yugoslav trade unions desired to affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U.?

Pursuing its divisionist policy, the Tito clique sends trade union delegations abroad and invites delegations from those trade unions affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. to visit Yugoslavia. Thus, during the last few months, in order to aid their brothers in treason—the right-wing Socialists—and to break the working class movement, the Titoists have sent so-called trade union delegations to a number of Western European countries and even to India.

A Veritable Gestapo Terror

The workers of our country are deprived of the most elementary rights and liberties and subjected to the bloody terror of Rankovich's Gestapo, the U.D.B. In the province of Mostar, for example, one inhabitant in 60 was sentenced by the Titoist courts in 1950. The butcher Rankovich admitted that in 1950 alone, the Yugoslav courts which are entirely under the control of the U.D.B., have pronounced 300,000 sentences, that is, one Yugoslav citizen in 53 was sentenced. The real figure of patriots persecuted and sentenced is, however, considerably higher.

Today, 250,000 Yugoslav patriots, loyal fighters for the working class cause, for socialism and peace, are languishing in prisons and concentration camps, like the Goli Otok camp, where they are subjected to unspeakable tortures and to physical prostration.

Prison for the Workers

In present-day Yugoslavia, the workers are subjected to a double capitalist exploitation, both by their own capitalists and by foreign monopolies. Both groups of capitalists are applying typical methods of colonial exploitation in order to extract the maximum profits.

Forced labour is legalised. Demagogically, the Titoists call it "voluntary labour," which in its essence does not differ in any way from the work performed in the Hitlerite concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands of workers are now forced to work for no payment, on the construction of what are called "key objectives," that is to say, various strategic schemes and enterprises destined for war production. They also work in the mines producing strategic war materials for the imperialist warmongers.

The Titoists are employing every means to force the workers to work longer and more intensively. They have gone so far as to abolish officially all limitation on hours of work. In mines and enterprises the working day is 12 to 14 hours and on strategic military works, even longer.

The criminal policy of the Tito rulers is continually lowering the living conditions of the Yugoslav workers. Wages and salaries, already very inadequate, are being systematically reduced. In 1950, according to very incomplete information, the budget expenditure on wages and salaries was reduced by 11%.

The recent Titoist ruling on wages fixes "minimum wages" for the workers, which are in most cases lower than the present wages. These have been fixed at from 4,000 to 6,000 dinars per month.[1] At this juncture, it must be pointed out that 27% of wages are not paid in money but in coupons which give the right to certain food and industrial products at a reduced price. Formerly workers were able, at least in theory, to buy these products with ration cards.

In fact, these "minimum wages" are from 2,900 to 4,000 dinars per month.

The Tito rulers, of course, Jesuitically promise to pay the workers a part of the "eventual" profit made by the enterprise. This "eventual" increase in the workers income could attain, according to them, a maximum of 30% of the wage. In reality, however, the workers receive nothing of the profit realised because the management always declares that the enterprise has been unprofitable.

Moreover, we must remember that the Tito rulers, while so-called "assured feeding" still existed, deprived a great number of workers and office workers of their ration cards for various reasons. They are also carrying out a large-scale reduction in wages and salaries. In

1 Following the recent devaluation, a dollar is worth 300 dinars.

many cases this reduction amounts to as much as 60%.

While real wages are constantly failing, current consumption goods are inaccessible and prices are continually rising. Here are a few examples: 1 litre (1¾ pints) of milk costs from 25 to 30 and even as much as 40 dinars; a kilo (2.2 lb.) of black bread from 35 to 40 dinars and a kilo of white bread, if obtainable, 100 dinars and more; a kilo of sugar 800 dinars; a kilo of cheese, 300; a kilo of butter from 800 to 1,000 dinars. It will suffice to add that a monthly subscription at a canteen cost about 3,000 dinars. A man's suit, which in 1948 cost 3,000 dinars, today costs from 15,000 to 17,000 dinars; stockings which used to cost 40 dinars, today cost 500 dinars; a shirt which was valued at 250 to 300 dinars now costs 3,000; a pair of shoes has risen in price from 600 dinars to 4,000, 5,000 and even more. The price of water, electricity, rent, coal, and medicines has increased six-fold during recent times and 15 times in comparison with 1948. In fact, a working class family of 3 persons can only live for a week on one person's monthly wage. Increasing inflation, and the reduction in the value of the dinar is worsening still further the excessively difficult life of the Yugoslav workers.

The living standard of the Yugoslav workers has suffered a tenfold reduction compared with the pre-war level, and a twelve-fold reduction in comparison with 1947.

* * *

SPEAKING of the "perspectives" of an improvement in the workers' situation, Tito has declared on several occasions that not only was the living standard not going to improve this year but that it would, in fact, become worse.

In order to pay for American rearmament and to cover the expenses connected with war preparation, the Tito rulers are ignominiously pillaging the country's wealth, increasing in very considerable quantities the export of raw materials and food products to capitalist countries, raising taxes to scandalous heights, and are constantly taking new loans from the imperialists. In 1951 they increased taxes by 25% compared with 1950, while these were already 12,000 million dinars higher than 1949. Lately the Titoists in their fascist Assembly have passed a whole series of anti-popular laws, one after another, by which they intend to rob the people of hundreds of thousands of millions of dinars for their war preparations. In addition, the Tito clique is paying thousands of millions of dinars to American and other imperialists for loans, and the interest on the loans, while hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav children do not go to school for the simple reason that there are neither enough school buildings, school supplies, books nor teachers.

Tito finds the arguments which are used in "Borba," official journal of his regime, in the garbage can.

The Titoist war preparations, the total subjugation of Yugoslavia to the American imperialists, and the enslaving loans have created such a situation that our country owed the imperialists more than a *thousand million dollars at the beginning of this year.*

Social Insurance and Work-Safety Wiped Out

The militarisation of the economy and the enormous expenditure for war preparations places a heavy burden on the working people. Instead of hospitals, schools, sanatoria, rest-homes, and other similar institutions, the Titoists are building prisons, concentration camps, military aerodromes, strategic roads etc.

In Tito's Yugoslavia there is practically no social insurance. The Titoists have in fact removed expenditure for the safeguarding of public health, for the fight against contagious diseases and for workers' social insurance from the State budget. The notorious Kidrich has declared that the control organs of the State responsible for the problem of public health and social insurance are completely defunct. In the event of illness, the workers are left to look after themselves.

Nor is any interest shown in health protection for the workers. There are, for example, only two doctors for the 7,000 miners in the Ereka mines, who are unable to give even the most elementary attention to the miners and their families.

The same is true of technical safety for the workers. In 1951, there were about 2,000 fatal accidents at work. In Slovenia, which has little more than a million inhabitants, there were 62,000 work accidents last year. The victims of these accidents are in need of hospital treatment. During the past ten months 1,428 workers have been

seriously injured at the Smedereva enterprise, and in March of this year there were 900 work accidents in 20 days in Zenitsa.

Hunger, savage exploitation and inhuman working and living conditions have brought about a disastrous decline in the state of health of the Yugoslav workers. A special mission of the International Red Cross which visited Yugoslavia stated in its report that tens of thousands of industrial workers are suffering from tuberculosis.

Growth of Unemployment in Yugoslavia

The complete subjection of Yugoslavia to the Anglo-American imperialists, the transfer of the economy to a war footing, the partial—and in some cases complete—stoppage of branches of industry working for the needs of the population, have caused mass dismissals. As in all capitalist countries, unemployment is growing daily. The number of unemployed in the country is approaching 300,000, among whom are about 130,000 women. The Tito paper "Viesnik" admits that 64% of the dismissed women are mothers of large families dependent completely on their wages. The same attitude is adopted towards war disabled, old people and the sick, as to workers who have lost their ability to work. There is a great deal of propaganda about a decree on "aid" for the unemployed. However, the organ *Laoutska Pravitsa* writes openly that workers refusing to go to work in the mines or on building sites for strategic military objectives are not to receive this aid. These facts and many others completely expose the pseudo-socialist demagogy of the Titoists as to the so-called building of socialism in Yugoslavia and on the improvement in the workers' living standards. They expose this fascist regime as the most savage regime of exploitation in the history of our country.

Based on their own experiences and by making comparison with the example of the Peoples' Democracies—who are making great strides towards socialism with the fraternal help of the U.S.S.R.—the Yugoslav people are becoming aware of the magnitude of the crime perpetrated by the Tito clique when they took Yugoslavia out of the camp of peace and socialism and deprived her of the help of these countries.

The Fight of the Yugoslav People against the Tito Regime

The Yugoslav workers have not accepted, and will never accept, the anti-people's policy of hunger and war carried on by the fascist Tito gang, which maintains itself in power entirely by means of terror and with the help of the American millionaires. The imperialist warmongers may arm the Tito gang, and the Titoists may ignominiously slander the peace camp, democracy and socialism and the international working class movement, but both forget the essential factor—the Yugoslav people. In spite of all the criminal machinations of the Titoists, the Yugoslav workers have remained faithful to their revolutionary traditions and to the international working class movement. They will never make war against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

For nearly four years the Yugoslav people have been carrying on a struggle for liberation, which will end in victory over the forces of fascism and reaction. They have become convinced from their own experience that the fight against the Tito clique is inseparable from the fight for peace which is being carried on by the whole of progressive mankind against those who are calling for war. That is why the workers of our country, led by the vanguard of the working class, are carrying on a courageous struggle against the war preparations of the Belgrade warmongers. The Yugoslav patriots are converting the factories, mines, workshops and ports into centres of active struggle against colonial-type exploitation, against the dismissals of workers, for the ending of overtime and forced labour, for improved living standards, in short, into centres of struggle against the Tito regime.

A united liberation front of the Yugoslav people is being formed on a broad political basis, which is uniting and bringing into the fight against fascism and war, not only the workers and the working peasants, but also all patriotic forces within the nation who are for peace and the independence of their country.

The Yugoslav people are confident in their strength and in their victory. They know that they are not alone. With them are the international working class and the mighty camp of peace and democracy, at the head of which is the invincible bastion of peace in the world—the great Soviet Union.

Faithful to working class internationalism, with the support and solidarity of all the workers of the world, and by strengthening still more the fighting unity of their own ranks, the Yugoslav patriots will free their country from fascism and the yoke of imperialism. They will thus fulfil with honour their duty towards the international working class movement.

The Metal Workers' Strike in Australia

By
L. MOUNSER
President, Metal Trades
Central Strike Committee

ON January 16th, 1952, an Arbitration Award was delivered by Mr. Galvin, Conciliation Commissioner, which rejected the claims of 250,000 metal workers throughout Australia for increased wage margins.[1]

This decision resulted in a series of strikes of metal workers in all States.

It was no accident that this attack was made, nor was it an accident that the powerful Metal Trades group were selected as the target.

On returning from America in 1950, Prime Minister Menzies declared that we could expect war in three years. In deference to this spurious war threat Menzies made headlines with such ominous statements as "We must all make sacrifices," and "Two workers must do the work of three," etc.

Never renowned for his love of the working class, Menzies carefully made preparations for smashing trade union opposition to his plans, and for burdening the workers with his suicidal war expenditure and the approaching economic crisis.

Quick to realise the symptoms of the impending attacks, of which the Galvin Award was only the first, the Metal Trades Federation organised nation-wide 24-hour stoppages to work out details for a campaign against the Award. Mass meetings took place in each State during the course of these stoppages.

The New South Wales meeting on February 5th issued a fighting call to all metal shops to negotiate immediately for the long-awaited marginal increases.

It was against this background that the metal workers of Howard Smith's ship repair depot ceased work on February 12th to fight for those demands, after having served them unsuccessfully on the management.

From the very beginning the excellent support we received testified to the popularity of this campaign and the firm manner in which the margins question had gripped the workers.

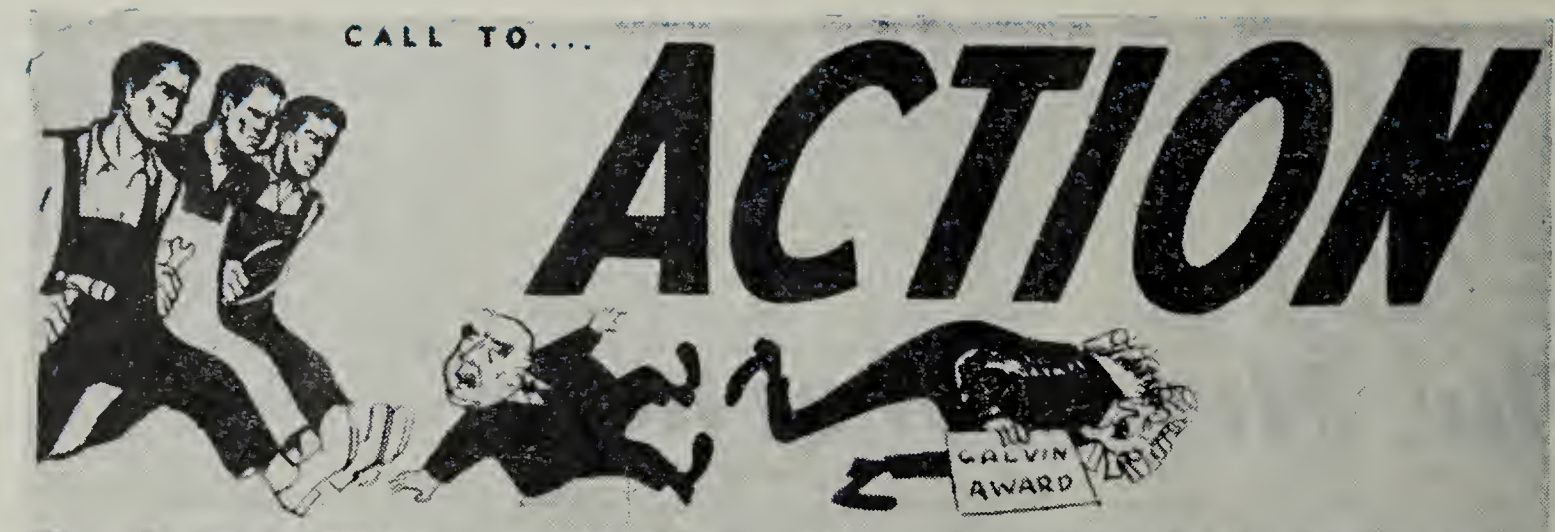
Two weeks later we were joined by the boiler-makers, engineers and ironworkers of another Sydney ship repair yard, Poole and Steele; and within the fourth week the metal workers of Bonnar's Foundry and Floodvale Industries had entered our ranks.

There were now seven unions in dispute, with skilled and non-skilled men fighting as an harmonious combination of metal workers.

Dissatisfied with delays in the hearing of their own claims, fitters from the Enfield and Everleigh railway workshops were the next to join us. They had decided that this was the only way to force a speedy successful hearing by Austin, Conciliation Commissioner for Railways, who obviously had been waiting for the Galvin decision.

During the course of their four weeks dispute these men displayed s t i r r i n g solidarity, and bequeathed to the trade union movement a graphic lesson on the importance of unity and determination

1 The "margin" is that part of an Australian worker's total wage which exceeds the basic wage.



ENLARGEN THE MARGINS. May 30, 1952.

Fight For Margins Is Fight Against Menzies

As our struggle for margins enters its fifteenth week and becomes more closely allied with the general campaign against reduced living standards, Menzies, the Supreme Architect of Chaos, is overseas plotting more crimes against our people, of a type that followed his last scheming globe-trot.

On arriving back from his first trip to Washington fourteen months ago Menzies immediately threw up a scare of 'war in three years'.

His next step was to begin sacrificing the living standards of our people in deference to this spurious war threat. Remember his classic 'We must all make sacrifices', 'Two workers must do the work of three', etc.

As a result of his crippling war budget, an estimated total of £300,000,000 a year, all other available sources of finance have been drained.

● State Governments have been forced to take loan cuts, because Menzies considered his war budget more sacred than hospitals, homes, schools and public works, etc. Thus also has resulted in untold hardships and unemployment for our people.

Millionaires' Policy

Presumably departed overseas to discuss the stabilisation of our Empire, Menzies has gone first, not to London, but to Washington, and then returns to Washington on his way back. If these are affected by this unholy alliance, including small business men and farmers.

A fully united determined peoples movement can force Menzies to resign. We, the metalworkers of this State must place ourselves at the head of this movement. With the Pt. Kembla men delivering the main blow we must see that the campaign for complete wage justice is fully realised and with the defeat of the Menzies Government.

Menzies Must Go!

The journal published by the Metal Trades Central Margins Strike Committee.

—particularly in view of the bitter struggles which lay before us.

During this period the right-wing N.S.W. State Labour Government, and the right-wing members of the Trades and Labour Council made an exceedingly good job of assisting the iron fist of the Menzies government by threatening, among other things, a complete lock-out of all railway workers.

With unity unimpaired by this frantic onslaught, these railway stalwarts continued to fight until they were given firm assurances that their claims would be accorded a speedy, successful hearing. At this stage they voted unanimously to return to work.

About this time we began to hear considerably of the then seven weeks' old Western Australian margins struggle. These praiseworthy fighters were pitting their strength against the combined force of both the employers and the State government, although their unions had been deregistered and they were themselves threatened with the possibility of a £50 fine per man for each day they continued their strike.

The wharf labourers also were forging fine unity and determination in their particular double margins campaign with a national overtime ban.

Inspired by the nation-wide strength and understanding of the margins fight and also by the overwhelming support they were receiving from the factories and respective unions, striking metal labourers on the Sydney waterfront developed an exceptionally high degree of organisation. Existing individual strike committees were co-ordinated by the formation of a Central Strike Committee composed of three elected men from each individual works.

The cardinal organisational principle throughout the strike of 'no activity—no relief pay' was decided unanimously at an early mass meeting of the strikers. Rosters were then drawn up to ensure the aim of 100 per cent activity (which was eventually realised) from which men were detailed to canvas, speak and distribute literature around the workshops.

Each individual works committee was now given a geographical area in which to compaign. It was

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One of the many demonstrations of Australian metalworkers striking against the Galvin Award.

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then the responsibilty of the executive to see that every shop in its particular area was canvassed and enlightened on the Galvin Award and the campaign being waged against it. We at the same time appealed for financial assistance and arranged morning tea and lunch hour factory meetings for further explanation.

Many men who had never spoken before, but nevertheless were eager to play a leading part, requested the setting up of a central speakers' class. This was done and many new and competent speakers developed, some of whom were amongst those sent away to country districts and inter-State.

Also set up were a finance committee and a live-wire social committee, which on one occasion secured a suburban Town Hall free of charge, for the holding of a cabaret.

Our publicity committee, formed in the very early stages of the dispute, wrote, edited and distributed our own weekly journal, *Action,* which in 15,000 copies each week consistantly conveyed the message that our fight for wage justice was irrevocably a fight against the crippling war economy of the Menzies-Fadden government.

During the entire period we collected, along with the Metal Trades Co-ordinating Committee (the top leadership composed of our union officials), the all-time record of £37,000 in strike relief. This was contributed by 384 metropolitan and 24 country workshops.

This high degree of organisation, attendant during the whole course of the strike, whilst basically due to the broad popular nature of the double margins question, was a glowing tribute to the sincerity of the strikers.

We had already experienced victories during the course of our own dispute at both Bonnars and Floodvale. Each secured increased margins as a direct result of their participation in the struggle. Floodvale also won many new amenities.

Under the sound militant leadership of the Metal Trades Co-ordinating Committee success was not very far from our reach when we were sold out by the treacherous extreme right-wing, who throughout the struggle had attempted to undermine the effectiveness of our campaign by widely repudiating our strike action, and exhorting us to return to work empty-handed and entrust our case to the senility of the Arbitration Court.

One of the right-wing figures mainly responsible for the termination of our campaign was L. Short, the court-appointed National Secretary of the Ironworkers Association, who consistently red-baited and slandered militant union leaders and propagated the edict that our strike action was ineffectual.

Forced to return to work, we did so fully united.

The unity we forged and the consciousness we built up during the course of our seventeen weeks' strike, will be further used to carry the marginal campaign through to victory. Through the conduct of some 800 factory gate meetings, and the distribution of 150,000 copies of *Action* and other propaganda we were instrumental in raising the consciousness of some tens of thousands of other workers, and so alerting a large part of the trade union movement to the danger of the Galvin 'Hunger' Award and the Menzies government.

Moreover, we learned the power of organisation. Above all we fully realised and transmitted to others the fundamental lesson for all workers, that is the tremendous importance of unity. If we are able to achieve profound lasting unity within the broad ranks of our own class, then we will be victorious.

THE IRANIAN WORKING CLASS STRENGTHENS ITS UNITY

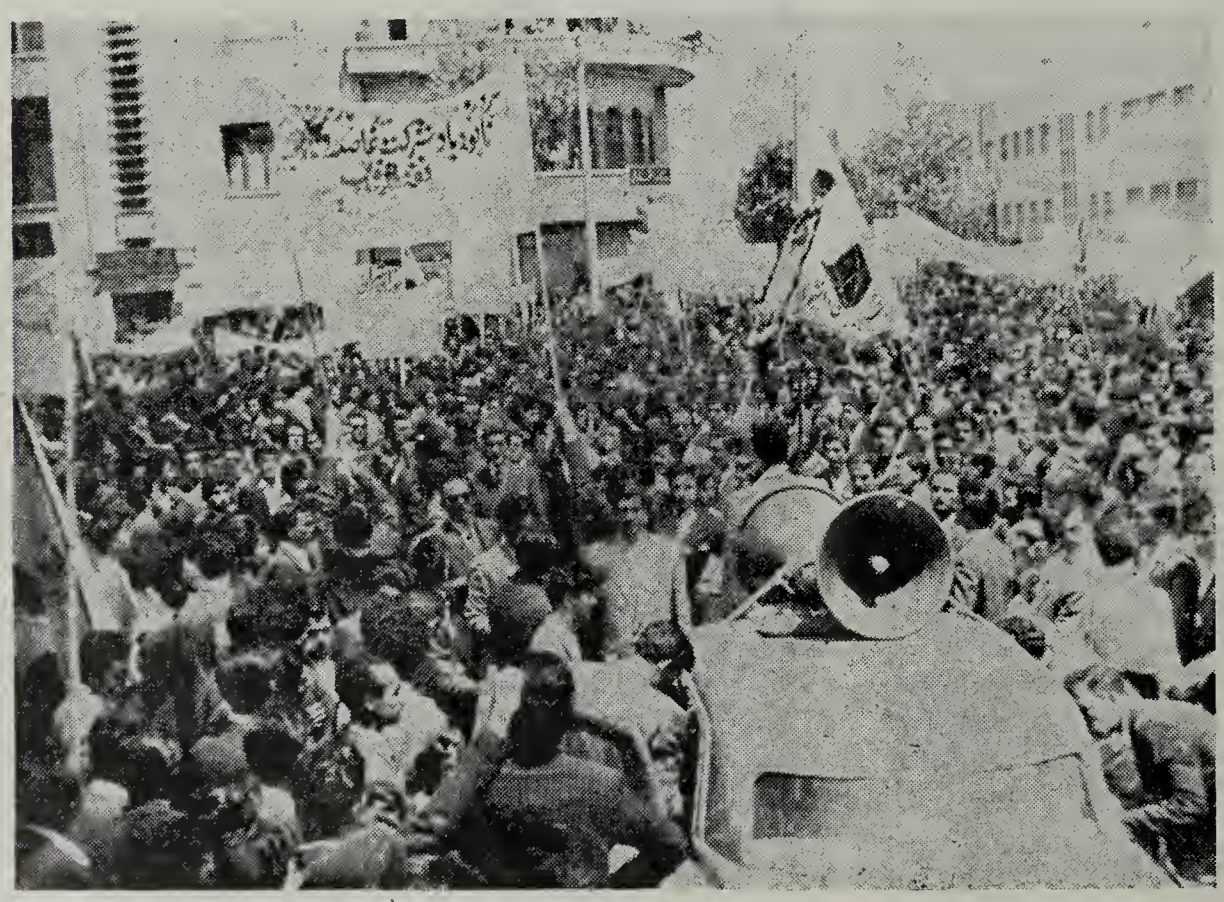
By IRADJ ESKANDARY

AT the beginning of 1948, reaction launched an all-out attack against the Iranian trade union movement: the Central Council of United Trade Unions (C.C.S.U.) was banned; some of its leaders were thrown into prison. Its General Secretary, Reza Rousta, was condemned to death in his absence, and offices and property of the C.C.S.U. were confiscated.

Following this attack, all trade union rights won by the workers under C.C.S.U. leadership were violated, the Labour Law was no longer enforced, the working week, especially in the non-government factories as in the industrial city of Ispahan, was lengthened to 75 hours and sometimes longer. Wages were reduced and all allowances abolished, in spite of a continuous increase in the cost of living. To formulate the slightest social security demand was forbidden.

Government circles, and especially the Ministry of Labour in complicity with the employers, added decrees to the Labour Law which limited trade union activities.

The workers, however, continued their resistance against these violations and the intrigues of the gov-



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Workers, determined to smash the domination of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, demonstrate in Teheran.

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In Teheran, as throughout the world, May Day is the workers' day.

ernment and the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., which forced them to belong to a breakaway trade union.

From the beginning of 1950, against the advice of the government trade unions, strikes broke out one after another in all the industrial regions of Iran.

In Shahi, a city in the northern part of the country, two strikers were killed, dozens injured and many imprisoned by the military forces of the town, in a strike which was supported by the wives of the workers and even by a great number of non-industrial workers. As a result of this struggle, the strikers prevented the government from reducing wages and forced them to pay for the days they were on strike. In Semnan, the strikes of the textile workers aroused such solidarity among the inhabitants of the town, that the government was forced to give way. Similarly, the strikes in Ispahan, Teheran, Kaspino and Tabriz succeeded in defeating the attempts of the government and employers to force the workers to submit to the orders of the government trade union organisations.

To rid themselves of the guidance of the government trade unions the Teheran textile workers (Tchit-Sazi factory) in the middle of 1950 took the iniative in forming an independent trade union for their enterprise with the effective participation of over 95 per cent of the workers in the factory.

This initiative was the starting point of a very strong movement in all enterprises to organise independent unions.

The workers in most of the Teheran industrial enterprises very soon followed the example of the Tchit-Sazi factory and, in a relatively short time, more than 25 independent trade unions were set up in Teheran.

The movement quickly spread to the provinces. The 30,000 workers in the Ispahan textile factories and in Semnan in their turn formed independent unions.

In those districts where martial law had been abolished, the formation of such trade unions was relatively easy, but, by contrast, the struggle was very hard and often involved bloodshed in those places where, under cover of a State of Emergency, the police and the army supported the splitters' organisations. Thus, in Ispahan, the army occupied the factories, arrested active unionists, tied them to a bench, flogged them in the main squares of the town until they spat blood, and deported some influential leaders to Bandare Abbas, a place which is used for the detention of criminals.

These repressive measures, however, have not been general, for the resistance of the workers, especially in Semnan, Teheran and Kerman forced the government to give way.

After organising a certain number of these independent trade unions the Teheran workers set up an inter-trade union liaison committee composed of 7 publicly-known members. This committee was formed in August 1951, when 400 representatives mandated by the various trade unions went to the Ministry of Labour officially to demand the registration and legal recognition of this body.

In support of this demand, the Teheran workers

در دمونستراسیون عظیمی که روز سه‌شنبه در تهران بحرکت آمده

Women demonstrate along with the men under the slogan: "Unite to Form a United Anti-Imperialist Front." (Photo from the journal of the Iranian Women's Organisation.)

staged a meeting of 30,000 people in August, during which they demanded the legal recognition of the trade unions and approved the inter-trade union committee.

The organisations affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. having thus been swept aside by the workers and the so-called oil workers' trade union organised by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company being dissolved after the March and April 1951 strikes, the ruling classes conceived the idea of setting up another organisation under government control; but everywhere the government "trade union" envoys went they were greeted by hostile demonstrations. In Abadan, oil centre of Khuzastan, they had to leave town on the very same day under army escort.

Since March 1951, the wave of strikes has continued to spread in Iran. It began with the strike of the workers in the southern oil fields. Supported by various sections of the population, 70,000 workers went on strike for 50 days against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's decision to reduce wages by 30 per cent. The armed forces under orders from the A.I.O. Co. intervened with guns, tanks and machine guns and proceeded to carry out mass arrests, to force the strikers to give in. In spite of savage butchery, the resistance of the workers and their wives, many of whom, with their babies in their arms, ran in front of the tanks, was so strong that the Company was obliged to accept the workers' demands and pay for the days on strike.

This movement had tremendous repercussions and was supported by the workers in all countries. The solidarity of the workers in Iran was manifested by strikes, great demonstrations and subscriptions. A new slogan was born : "Nationalise oil in Iran." This was the real origin of the "National Association for Anti-Imperialist Struggle."

After the Khuzastan strikes, the workers who had been dismissed from the Ispahan textile factories waged a vigorous action against closing the factories caused by the fierce competition of Anglo-American goods which was being encouraged by certain big employers won over to the cause of foreign imperialism.

The unemployed workers' struggle and their great demonstrations, always supported by the textile workers, their wives, and even by the artisans and town shopkeepers, and also by the solidarity of the workers of the whole country, had positive results in the action taken for the defence of national industry against the imperialists.

Then there were the strikes waged by the workers in the textile factories of Semnan, Kerman, Kaspine, Tabriz, Hamedan, Rasht and other industrial towns, under the following slogans: reduction in working hours (the workers often work from 75 to 80 hours a week); higher wages (no worker received the wage he is entitled to according to the Labour Law); equal pay for equal work for women; the banning of child labour under 12 years of age (in the textile and carpet industry, children constitute more than 40 per cent of the labour force and it is not unusual to see children of 4 to 7 years of age working in the workshops); trade union freedom; application of the Labour Law and changes in the reactionary decrees which have been added since 1946.

The Central Council of United Trade Unions, although clandestine, continues to have great prestige

among the Iranian workers, who correctly see it as the real working class organisation which has never ceased to defend the workers' interests.

The daily paper *Navidé Azadi* is at the present time the spokesman of the Iranian trade union movement. It regularly publishes W.F.T.U. decisions and often carries extracts and articles from *World Trade Union Movement*. This daily also publishes pamphlets dealing with Iranian and international trade union questions. Thus the Iranian trade union press is contributing to the strengthening of the spirit of working class internationalism among the workers of Iran.

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THE history of these last few years has proved that the Iranian working class in its fight for a better life and for peace has honourably assumed the leadership of the popular movement for liberty and independence. During the recent events which forced the imperialist agent Ghavem to resign, the powerful strikes of the working class and its trade unions have dealt decisive blows against the government. Even reactionary opinion admits that the working class is at the head of the Iranian people, the driving force in the formation of the united front of anti-imperialist struggle.

It is by knitting their ranks more closely together and by establishing ever-closer ties with the working population of the country, that the workers of Iran will defend their basic interests, the independence of their country and peace.

Message from the W.F.T.U. to the Iranian Workers' Trade Unions

FOLLOWING the strikes and anti-imperialist demonstrations which took place in Iran in July, the W.F.T.U. sent the following message to the Inter-Trade Union Liaison Committee of the workers of Teheran :

"Dear Brothers,

"The World Federation of Trade Unions is following events in your country with the greatest interest, that is, the anti-imperialist demonstrations and the strikes of workers in Abadan, Teheran and Ispahan.

"In the name of the 80 million workers organised in its ranks the W.F.T.U. warmly greets the Iranian people and the courageous Iranian workers who, by their vigorous action, are waging an implacable fight against poverty, foreign imperialism and reaction.

"Many workers in your country have heroically sacrificed their lives along with many other sons of the Iranian people during these bloody events.

"The W.F.T.U. honours the memory of these victims and asks you to convey its condolences to their families.

"In order to carry on these historic struggles successfully, the Iranian working class has closed its fraternal ranks and strengthened its alliance with the whole of the population; it has proved its ability to lead the forces of progress and democracy which, in Iran, have decided on action to raise the living standards of the working masses and to fight for

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یکی از شهدای ۳۰ تیر در خیابان اکباتان مقابل برزن ۳و ۱۴

A worker assassinated during a huge anti-imperialist demonstration last July 21. (Photo from the journal of the National Association for the Anti-Imperialist Struggle.)

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their liberties and the independence of the nation against the manoeuvres of the imperialists and their agents.

"The experience of the whole international working class is proof that this broad and active national unity of the Iranian people cannot be effective without the unity of the working class which constitutes the basic force.

"The workers of Iran and their trade unions therefore have noble tasks fraught with responsibility to fulfil for their country.

"The role played by the working class to achieve the just aspirations of the Iranian people must, above all, open the road to the free activity of its representative trade unions and democratic organisations.

"The W.F.T.U. notes with great satisfaction that the Iranian workers have achieved the wishes of its General Council expressed in Berlin in November 1951, when in its resolution on the situation in Iran, it wished the 'Iranian workers full success in their action for the consolidation of their ranks and for the creation of a national front with other sections of the population and in their fight for the true independence of their country and for the improvement of the people's living standards.'

"The W.F.T.U. confirms its conviction that the Iranian workers will contribute ever more actively to the struggles for a better life for the working population, for the defence of the sovereignty of the Iranian people and for world peace."

Latin - American Trade Unionists Visit the Soviet Union

● *Invited by the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. for the celebration of May Day, 1952, a delegation of Trade Unionists from several Latin-American countries, representing various shades of political and trade union views, spent over a month in the Soviet Union.*

We publish below some extracts from the interesting report unanimously issued by this delegation before the members returned to their own countries.

THE gigantic task of construction for peace which the Soviet people have set themselves can only be accomplished through an extraordinary technical development which lightens human labour and continually increases its productivity. We saw this technical progress, not only in the exhibitions of agricultural and industrial machinery, but also in the factories in which the machines are made. We saw a lorry come off the production line every five minutes at the "Stalin" factory in Moscow, where the assembly-line system of manufacture and assembly of parts is employed. In the same way, we saw great tractors and harvesting machines turned out from the agricultural machinery factory in Rostov. We visited a cotton and weaving factory in Tbilisi and a coalmine in the Don Basin which are examples of mechanisation and technical progress. We saw how operations in all branches are carried on by advanced mechanisation and rationalisation, freeing the working men and women of undue effort. We noted in the "Stalin" automobile factory and also in all other factories that the safety of the workers is carefully protected, that machines which are dangerous to manipulate are supplied with the necessary protective devices. In the cotton and weaving factory in Tbilisi, and in the "Paris Commune" shoe factory workshops in which the air might become bad, complete ventilation installations and suction apparatus for getting rid of dust and pieces of cotton are supplied. We went down the Chajti coalmine. Here all danger of roof falls and of fire-damp explosions has been averted. The galleries are wide and solidly built, and electrification and machanisation of work eliminate the exhausting physical labour which was formerly prevalent in the mines.

We witnessed the rationalisation effort which is to be seen in all branches of industry and in all work processes. We made personal acquaintance with some of the workers and engineers who have contributed inventions to improving the productivity of labour. Their inventions have been quickly popularised wherever they can be useful, and have won for their authors the thanks of the State and the admiration of the entire Soviet people.

Thus the men and women workers of the Soviet Union are working with complete confidence in the future and with great enthusiasm. This explains why such a large number of workers, office employees, directors and technicians in all sectors of production are surpassing their ever-increasing production norms. Economic plans are thus usually achieved ahead of schedule.

Education and Culture

We visited creches and kindergartens (for children of 3 to 7 years) belonging to the factories. There the children are the object of particular solicitude,

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On the Natanebi Beria collective farm in Georgia. The collective farmer Lola Gogetashvili has just shown the delegation her house.

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and are growing up happy and robust. We visited primary and secondary schools, which are free for all pupils. We visited the "Pioneers' Palace" in which gifted children and young people are given the opportunity to develop their artistic, literary, technical and other talents freely. We were able to appraise the work of the Institutes and Technical colleges which are increasing in number in all working centres, and we made acquaintance with the curricula of Soviet universities. We have become convinced that in that country the right to education and culture in its largest conception, is not, as in the capitalist countries, the privilege of a few, but is the birthright of the whole people. The right to education and culture does not merely exist in law, but all the material and social conditions are given to enable Soviet citizens to enjoy this right to the full. We were profoundly impressed by the marvellous laboratories, libraries and study rooms set up in all cultural and educational establishments, where children and young people can co-ordinate theory and practice. All this gives rise to education of an extraordinarily high level.

For example, in Georgia, where there was no university before the 1917 revolution, there is now a university, established in 1918, which has 12 faculties and 560 professors, in addition to which there are 18 other higher educational institutions with a total of more than 30,000 students. In this Soviet Republic, one out of every eighty of the population holds a higher education diploma, and there is one doctor for every 400 inhabitants. We found schools on the collective farms in which the curricula were of a higher standard than secondary education in our own countries. The students of universities, higher institutes and technical schools receive State scholarships of up to 800 roubles a month, and books and school supplies are given free of charge.

The majority of the many engineers whom we met during our visit are former workers. It was explained to us how their career was made possible by the extensive facilities granted to all Soviet workers, both in educational institutions and in the factories; the workers carrying out secondary, technical and even university courses according to their vocation and capability. In the "Paris Commune" shoe factory, which employs 7,000 workers, there is a very valuable technical library, a children's library of 20,000 volumes, a general cultural library of 22,000 volumes, and a club containing a theatre and several spacious rooms. The club organises choirs, dramatic groups, literary circles, orchestras, dance ensembles, plastic arts groups, and a sports section with ski, hockey, swimming, football, volleyball and basket-ball teams. These cultural and sports activities cater for all the workers. In addition, there is a middle school, corresponding to secondary education in our country, and which functions as part of the factory. This school is attended full time by 150 students, who receive their full wages. There is also a technical institute which has 100 students who follow a four-year course, and who also receive their full wages, a two year apprentices' school with 350 students who work for two hours a day at the factory and attend school for 4 hours a day. The apprentices receive 150 roubles a month, clothing, footwear and food. The director of this factory is one of the many shoe-workers who have become technicians. He began life in 1913 as a shoe-worker, a leather-cutter, at the age of 14.

What we have said concerning this factory, we found also in all the other factories which we visited. A high percentage of the collective farm peasants are also attending secondary, technical or university courses.

In the universities and higher institutes, as we noted in the case of Tbilisi, there are correspondence courses for extra-mural students, which are of special interest to the workers, collective farmers, and, in general, students of over 35 years of age. The extra-

mural students have to come to the university three times a year to pass examinations. There are 2,200 extra-mural students of Tbilisi University, in addition to 5,000 internal students. The extra-mural course lasts for six or seven years instead of five, so that the course may be less concentrated without limiting in any way its scientific content. These "worker-students" receive exceptional facilities in the factories. They are paid full wages when they go for their examinations, as well as during the month's holiday which they receive in order to prepare for their annual examination. We should add that this holiday is over and above their ordinary annual holiday. The collective farmers enjoy the same advantages, and we found ordinary peasants in leading positions in the collective farms, among the engineers and agronomists, who are following courses of secondary, technical or higher education while continuing their work.

A High Standard of Living

We noted that the basic wages of workers in the Soviet Union are from 750 to 1,000 roubles and more a month. A large proportion of the workers exceed their norms, and receive bonuses in addition to their basic wages, which in many cases account for a large percentage of their earnings. These basic wages of 750 to 1,000 roubles give the Soviet workers a very much higher purchasing power than that of the workers of our countries. To this it must be added that the government has carried out five price reductions since 1947 on a wide variety of consumer's goods, considerably raising the purchasing power of wages and the real income of the whole population. The 1947 price reduction meant a saving of 86,000 million roubles for the people in 1948; the 1949 reduction brought an annual saving of 71,000 million roubles; the 1950 reduction, a saving of 110,000 million roubles; the 1951 reduction, a saving of 35,000 million roubles, and the fifth reduction, which took place in April of this year, means a further 15 per cent increase of purchasing power.

With these facts, it is easy to measure the continual increase in the living standards of the Soviet people, which contrasts with the continual price increases and the subsequent lowering of the living standards to which the workers in the capitalist countries are subjected.

The high living standard of the workers is shown by the quality of the meals served in the factory restaurants and canteens, and by the way in which the workers and the whole people are clothed, by the crowds which throng shops selling foodstuffs, clothing, books, electrical appliances, perfumes, etc. It is shown in the theatres, cinemas and the sports arenas, always filled with people, and in general among the people in the streets both in Moscow and in the other cities which we visited.

We noticed that the contrast between country and town is tending to disappear. The collective farm peasants and the State farm workers are benefiting from the progress of civilisation. They apply the most modern technical methods in their work, and their living standards are extremely high. We have seen their palaces of culture, and we noted that in all districts, even the most remote, there are specialists, clinics and schools corresponding to secondary schools in our countries. We were surprised to find a radio set in every collective farm household, and to find that many collective farmers own television sets and motor cars.

Many collective farm families have a family income of around 50,000 roubles a year, plus 10,000 kilograms of grain and other products. Every col-

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The delegation, surrounded by Soviet miners, has just visited a coal mine.

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lective or State farm family has its own garden, which enables them to add to the income derived from their work on the farm. For example, we visited a collective farm family whose income was double that given above. The whole of the members of the collective farms annually fix work norms, called "workdays." Many collective farmers exceed the norm, thus achieving proportionally higher incomes. They also receive bonuses for better production.

To any impartial observer the well-being attained by the Soviet people under socialism is immediately apparent, especially if one compares it with the average living standards of our people. This is what we have seen, and what we shall explain to the workers and to public opinion in our countries.

Now that our stay in the Soviet Union is over, we want to say how happy we have been to have had the opportunity of seeing at first hand the success of this great people who are working for peace and international friendship. Our contact with the Soviet people strengthens our confidence in the victory of the cause of peace. It also strengthens our determination to fight for the unity of the working class in the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions under the banner of friendship between all peoples.

We express our profound thanks to the Soviet trade unions who have given us this invaluable opportunity of staying in the Soviet Union and of getting to know the great victories of that country gained on the road to building a better world.

Carlos Rojas Juanco (Mexico), delegate of the Secretariat of the Confederation of Latin American Workers.
Sotero Valdes (Mexico), co-operative leader.
Tomas Cueva (Mexico), Mexican Railwaymen's Federation.
M. Oliveira (Brazil), representative of the Confederation of Brazilian Workers.
Normando Iscaro (Argentina), delegate of the Movement for the Democracy and Independence of the Trade Unions of the Argentine.
Orlando Millas (Chile), representative of the Confederation of Chilean Workers.
Mario Acosta (Uruguay), Secretary of the Uruguayan Building Workers' Federation.
Jacinto Torres (Cuba), Confederation of Workers of Cuba.
Juan Acosta (Paraguay), General Secretary of the Workers' Council of Paraguay.

Release Glezos, Ambatielos and Their Comrades

TOWARDS the middle of August, after an inspection of Yugoslavia by Frank Pace, American Secretary of the Army, Tito announced officially that a military alliance was being planned between Yugoslavia and Greece. Pijade, his lieutenant, went to Athens to confer with the murderers of Beloyannis. At the same time, the American Admiral Carney, Commander of the South European sector of the Atlantic War coalition, arrived in Athens.

That is the political background to the two big trials which took place simultaneously before the Greek military courts—the trials of Tony Ambatielos, Secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, and of Manolis Glezos, the distinguished hero of the Greek Resistance Movement against the Germans, both surrounded by comrades in struggle who were also accused.

* * *

IN 1948, Tony Ambatielos was sentenced to death because of his militant activity. In reply to this criminal sentence, the workers during the elections gave him their votes and elected him as their Member of Parliament. As a result of both Greek and world protest the death sentence was commuted by Parliament to life imprisonment. At the recent "re-trial" on August 24, this sentence was confirmed for Ambatielos and for 5 others sentenced under the same conditions. In the case of thirteen others the court was forced to pronounce reductions in the prison sentences previously inflicted.

Two days later, Manolis Glezos, previously sentenced to death, came before the military court, which, not daring to maintain the former sentence, commuted it to life imprisonment with hard labour. A small first success as a result of world protest, but how inadequate! Manolis Glezos has contracted tuberculosis in the fascist dungeons, and the new sentence is equivalent to a new death sentence.

In 1942, the Hitlerite occupiers sentenced Manolis Glezos to death, in his absence, for removing the Nazi flag from the Acropolis. The Monarcho-Fascists are following in the footsteps of the Hitlerites in trying to deliver to the firing squad this hero of the fight for Greek independence, who after the liberation became the editor-in-chief of *Rizospastis,* organ of the Greek Communist Party.

Manolis Glezos was also elected Member of Parliament after having been sentenced to death and saved from execution by the tremendous protest movement throughout the world. He must be released together with Ambatielos and their comrades in struggle.

To rescue these glorious fighters for peace and freedom is to fight against the war policy ordered by Wall Street which wants to make Greece a permanent powder barrel.

J.W.

Release the Deported Tunisian Patriots!

In a moving letter their wives protest against the inhuman treatment to which these patriots are subjected.

WE have just received a most moving letter from the wives of Tunisian patriots who have been deported because they desire independence for their country. It is addressed to M. de Hautecloque, the French Resident General in Tunisia, whose shady colonial machinations in no way represent the will of the French people, who know that "a people which oppresses another people cannot itself be free," and who support the Tunisian people's struggle.

In an accompanying letter, which is addressed to the President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Tunisian women state:

"We are enclosing a copy of a letter which we have sent to the French Resident-General in Tunis.

"You will learn from reading it the material situation of the deportees in the Zaarour camp.

"You should also know that visits allowed by relatives last only twenty minutes and are held in the presence of a third person, and that letters to the deportees arrive after an intolerable delay.

"We are sure that you will join with us in our protest, and that the active solidarity of all democratic forces will help us to bring about the release of the patriots from the camps and require that their legal position as deportees be respected and win for them an immediate improvement in their material conditions."

We are sure that the workers of the whole world will respond, as the World Federation of Trade Unions has done, to this appeal, expressing their complete solidarity with the Tunisian patriots and demanding their immediate release.

"The French Resident-General in Tunis.

"Mr. Resident-General,

"We have the honour to communicate to you our indignation against the treatment inflicted on the Djellal internees during their transfer from Djellal to Zaarour,

and at the present situation of the 330 detainees in Zaarour.

"The 80 Ben Gardane detainees were transferred in lorries without benches or awning. They were forced to travel 600 kilometres under the most deplorable conditions, despite the fact that they included an old man suffering from heart disease and a man convalescing after a month of fever.

"We protest to you especially against these 80 men having been herded together in an unventilated shed in Sousse, against the provocation and ill-treatment to which they were exposed and the lack of food during the 24-hour journey.

"In fact, the deportees were unable to eat the first meal which was given to them, under intolerable conditions, without any eating utensils and with one messtin for every ten persons. This first privation was further aggravated by the cancellation of the second meal by decision of the colonel as a reprisal for the refusal of the detainees to wash the dishes of this first meal, which they had not eaten.

"Further, the first news coming from Zaarour indicates that the 'deportees' are in fact being subjected to a prison regime.

"Zaarour is a concentration camp with a double row of barbed wire, a watch-tower, a double guard of Senegalese and two roll calls a day.

"The detainees are herded by groups of fifty-five into sheds in which they each only have a space of 80 centimetres.

"There is a complete lack of beds, tables and chairs, and the detainees sleep, eat, write, and, in short, live on the ground.

"Water, which is in theory distributed three times a day for periods of one hour, is in fact only distributed for a quarter of an hour each day. Under these conditions, the normal supplying of the 330 detainees is quite impossible.

"If one adds to this the fact that the insufficient food given up to the present has been further reduced—only 130 francs a day being allotted for each person for food—that the detainees are forced to clean the camp themselves and do their own cooking, it is clear that the regime under which the Zaarour detainees are living has nothing in common with their legal position as 'deportees.'

"We protest once more at the conditions to which all deported patriots are subjected.

"We demand their release—pure and simple—and the immediate strict enforcement of a regime which corresponds to their legal situation as deportees, in particular:

The abolition of the concentration camps and the assignment of the deportees to a place of residence where they will have:

a) complete freedom of movement;

b) the right to communicate freely with the outside (telephone, visits without the presence of a third person, etc.);

c) complete freedom of information, with the right to receive all newspapers and the free use of the radio.

"Further, we demand that the following measures be taken with all urgency:

a) the removal of barbed wire from the Zaarour camp;

b) the installation of beds, tables, chairs and cupboards;

c) increased food and maintenance allowances.

"Hoping for a speedy response to our demand.

Yours respectfully,
for a Group of Wives of Deportees
S. Djerad."

United Trade Unions International of Transport Workers, Port Workers and Seamen

THE 3rd Session of the Administrative Committee of the Transport Workers Trade Unions International was held in Bucharest from July 23rd to 26th, with the participation of representatives of 21 countries.

After examining the activity of the Trade Unions International since its 2nd Session, the Administrative Committee decided to support the proposal for the amalgamation of its organisation with the Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Unions International.

This proposal, which came from the Secretaries of the two Trade Unions International, was considered to be in full accord with the interests of all categories of workers concerned. In fact, the similarity of their living and working conditions determines the need for common action and a common organisation. The need is particularly felt at this time when a savage attack has been let loose in the capitalist and colonial countries against the living conditions of all transport workers and against their progressive trade union organisations. It comes at a time when, because of the great importance of all forms of transport in war preparations, the imperialists, helped by the International Transport Federation (I.T.F.) of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions, are trying to obstruct the struggle of the transport workers for their basic interests and for peace.

The affiliated organisations having been consulted, and having approved the idea of amalgamation, the Administrative Committee called on them to prepare for the Statutory Conference of the Trade Unions International, the only sovereign body able to decide upon the amalgamation. The popularisation of the aims of this Conference, which the Administrative Committee proposes to hold in February 1953, will be the responsibility of national and local commissions, together with the transport trade union organisations. It must be carried out essentially in meetings of the rank and file in depots, stations, workshops, aerodromes and garages, with the active participation of workers of all opinions, organised and unorganised.

In a special letter, the Administrative Committee calls upon all affiliated and friendly organisations to:

"Contribute actively to the organisation of a new Trade Unions International of Transport Workers, Port Workers and Seamen which will hold high the banner of these workers' struggles, which will lead their struggles, which will support their economic and social demands and make a valuable contribution towards achieving and consolidating their united action and which will place them in the vanguard of the defenders of world peace."

THE Administrative Committee's resolution on the unity of transport workers in the fight for their demands and for peace draws attention to the worsening of the situation of transport workers in the capitalist and colonial countries, and to the continual improvement of the living conditions of the transport workers in the U.S.S.R. and in the countries on the road to Socialism. It states that the struggles of the transport workers are extending, and that their unity is being strengthened despite the splitting policy of the I.T.F. leaders, who even resort to the use of petty criminals and provocateurs to take part in armed attacks.

The resolution emphasises that the transport workers of Western Europe must particularly fight against the plans for "integration" and for "a supreme European transport authority," plans which are inspired by the American war-makers and which carry threats of poverty, slavery and war. In the fight against these plans the transport workers must expose the attitude of the I.T.F. leaders, who are championing "integration."

As preparation for the successful waging of their struggles for their basic interests, democratic rights and trade union liberties, and for peace, the transport workers are called upon to set up wherever possible united action committees, joint committees, or other forms, following the examples of experiences in Italy, France and elsewhere.

"The Administrative Committee calls on the workers and the militants to develop a strong conviction that unity in action as well as trade union unity are only won by ceaseless and persevering struggle carried out in the enterprises and trade unions and that this struggle will not be won by superficial polemics, slander and sectarian manifestations."

* * *

A SPECIAL appeal addressed to all the world's transport workers stresses the vital importance of the defence of peace, and of active contribution in the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and the Peace Congress of the Countries of the Asian and Pacific Region. The appeal calls for fraternal discussions between all workers during meetings and conferences organised in transport enterprises, active participation in the peace committees and the formation of new committees, and the broadest unity in the fight for peace, national independence and a better life.

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A SPECIAL resolution recommends concretely to all transport organisations, whether or not affiliated to the Trade Unions International, to take an active part in the preparation of the International Conference on Social Security which the W.F.T.U. has taken the initiative in organising. The Administrative Committee also examined the programme of economic and social demands of the Trade Unions International. Summarised following the observations made during the debate in the 3rd Session, the text of this programme has been sent to all the affiliated and friendly organisations of the Trade Unions International for discussion by the transport workers of all countries and for adoption to their national conditions. In the light of these discussions, the international programme can be completed in a way that will reflect as fully as possible the basic aspirations of all workers in the industry, and thus become a basis for unity.

* * *

THE communique issued by the Secretariat of the Trade Unions International at the conclusion of the 3rd Session of the Administrative Committee states that this meeting reflects "the growing influence of our Trade Unions International. Its activity is known more and more among transport workers throughout the world and especially among those in the colonial and dependent countries. Despite the splitting propaganda and the obstruction practised by the capitalist governments against the world trade union movement embodied in the W.F.T.U., the transport workers grow ever more conscious of the correctness of our unity policy and our stand for peace.

"The Session expresses its conviction that the affiliated and friendly organisations, groups of worker sympathisers and trade union militants will examine and put into practice these decisions and recommendations, because they are of particular importance for the correct orientation of the present activity of the transport workers' trade union organisations."

Holidays Have a New Meaning in Rumania

TANNED by the warm sun of the Black Sea Coast, her eyes shining with enthusiasm, Maddalena Grassi has just returned from Rumania. Invited together with her husband, Luigi Grassi, Secretary of the W.F.T.U., by the Rumanian General Confederation of Labour, she spent a month in the Rumanian People's Republic ; on the Black Sea coast, in Bucharest, on the construction site of the Danube-Black Sea canal and among the Tartar collective farms. For nearly forty days she shared the life of the Rumanian people on the road to socialism.

* * *

Our interviewer asked Maddalena Grassi:—

As these summer months are above all holiday months, could you describe for the workers in the capitalist countries what the 1952 holiday season is like in a People's Democracy?

THAT will be very easy. My husband and I spent the first ten days at Mamaia in a rest-home called *The First of May,* and then for a time at a second centre, about twelve miles away, called *Eforie*. This latter place is famous for its mud-bath and radioactive water treatments, which are given to people suffering from rheumatism or disorders of the circulation. These two magnificently appointed centres are situated in marvellous natural surroundings. The buildings themselves are modern, and they are furnished and equipped with a regard for comfort and cleanliness which greatly impressed me. Under the old regime, it was here that the privileged classes of the Rumanian big bourgeoisie and aristocracy spent months or the whole year, in idleness. Today everything is completely changed within these houses. Of course, there are the same surroundings, and perhaps there were as many flowers there in the old days, the rooms were perhaps as spacious and the armchairs as comfortable, but instead of the roulette and baccarat gambling rooms today there are libraries with hundreds of books in all languages being read by countless readers, there are meeting rooms in which Rumanian workers, men and women of all professions and trades are having a well-deserved rest.

What was the most striking feature for you in the composition of those new holiday makers?

OF course, all these marvellous comforts are no longer the privilege of a few, but are the property of all the Rumanian workers.

There were new kinds of people among these holiday-makers, belonging to all trades and professions. There were academicians and artists, peasants and scientists, writers and miners, woodcutters and doctors, and also people who had belonged to the former ruling classes and who, instead of deserting and slandering their country, have made themselves a new place in it by their work. I almost forgot to mention also the many delegations from all countries cordially invited and magnificently welcomed by the Rumanian democratic organisations. At the entry to the rest-homes there is a sign saying "Welcome," and they really live up to it. I was tremendously impressed by the fraternity and cordiality which reigns among all these men and women of different professions. The academician discusses with the Stakhanovite, the writer with the woodcutter, and all exchange with each other the lessons they have learned from their experience in their work to build happiness and peace.

The new people are particularly honoured in this fraternal workers' society. I was struck by the large number of Stakhanovites, heroes of labour, some of whom, like a miner whose acquaintance I made, have already accomplished their work plan for 1954.

What is life like in the rest-homes?

BEFORE replying directly to that question, I must explain another feature of this new life.

When I speak of workers living in these rest-homes, it must be understood that this means not only the holiday-makers, but also the staff of the establishments: cooks, chambermaids, administrators, those responsible for cultural and leisure activities (each establishment having someone charged with this latter responsibility) and all of whom form a working collective. Outside their hours of duty, these workers mix in with the general public and take part in excursions, meetings, etc. Having made that clear, I will show how the day is passed. Of course, there is a special regime for those who come not only to rest but also to undergo treatment for some complaint. For most of the others the day begins early with a big breakfast. This is followed by rest or curative treatment for some and a morning on the beach or of games for the others. After lunch there is a siesta till four o'clock, then excursions, walks on the beach until dinner-time. In the evenings there are cultural meetings—sometimes cinema shows, sometimes performances by various artistic groups from factories, collective farms, or from Young Pioneers, and sometimes performances by professional companies touring the country. There is dancing and singing, both of old folk songs and dances and new ones. I remember particularly one of these new songs, which is very popular, and which is sung by choirs. It is called "Marinika," and it tells the story of a very lazy worker who was always behind in everything, and who, after being criticised by his workmates, became a Stakhanovite.

When there is no performance, the cultural organiser arranges lectures or talks. Thus, during our stay, we heard a talk on atomic energy given by a well-known scientist who was staying with us, and also a talk by one of the most famous Rumanian film workers, Mme. Sadova, who told us about the production and shooting of her film "Mitrea Cocor," which won a prize at the Karlovy Vary festival.

On other evenings of this kind the foreign delegations would meet Stakhanovites. A member of a foreign delegation, for example, asked a Stakhanovite miner if the workers understood the importance of their task in the new society. "Of course we do," was the reply. "We know that we are now the State. We know that in building Socialism we shall improve our own conditions, that we shall help our brothers in the capitalist countries, and that this will help us to save peace." Peace is the main concern of these people, for whom this new happiness and this good life were only far-off dreams fifteen or twenty years ago.

Everywhere, and at all times, I was struck by the deep feeling of working class internationalism and by the knowledge of the Rumanian workers, who are so eager to learn.

Could you, to conclude on this subject, try to define the new character of these summer holidays for the Rumanian workers?

HOLIDAYS in a People's Democracy like Rumania do not mean more rest and comfort for a few rich people, but relaxation and new happiness, for 300,000 workers this year, for example. The holiday season is the special occasion to make contact with all other kinds of workers, to gain from the experience of others, and, while holidaying, to make even better preparations for the new tasks in the building of Socialism.

And for those like me who have come from countries in which there is unemployment and poverty, and in which holidays are spent between four grey walls and in smoky cities, these splendid real holidays of the Rumanian workers in the most uplifting atmosphere of fraternity are an unforgettable experience, the realisation of all the dreams of the world's workers who are fighting for peace and happiness.

— Thank you, Maddalena, and au revoir.

R.C.

Cyprus Workers Defend Wages, Peace and Freedom

THE policy of war followed by the capitalist world, the huge rearmament programme of the imperialist forces, has resulted in a continuous rise in prices of consumer goods, in an increase of the cost of living all over the capitalist world.

Cyprus, a part of the British colonial empire, could not escape this consequence of war preparation. In Cyprus, as in all capitalist and colonial countries, the cost of living has gone up and up during the last two years and the workers' standard of living has fallen considerably. Since January 1950, the official index of retail prices has risen by 21%. This index, which in January 1950 was at 100 points, in April 1952 stood at 121 points. The food prices index was 130.6 points (1950=100). The clothing prices index was 124.3, fuel and light 115.8, rent 106, tobacco and alcoholic drinks 105.6 and other items 114.3 points.

The price of bread has gone up by 28%, fresh beef by 28%, pork by 16%, olive oil by 82%, imported vegetable oils by 28%, broad beans by 100%, onions

by 200%, and the predominant type of vegetables by 46%.

The already low standard of living of the workers and the people of the island has been further reduced. The economic difficulties of the workers have increased both in number and in extent.

The Cyprus trade union movement, led by the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour, has not been idle. During these two years, nearly every trade union mobilised its members and a good number of unorganised workers in the struggle for cost of living increases.

According to the report submitted by the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour's General Council to the 7th Pan-Cyprian Trade Union Congress, held last April, thanks to the struggles of our trade unions, more than 15,000 workers received cost-of-living increases. The unity displayed by the workers in fighting for this demand, the strength of the unions and their resoluteness to achieve by any means the readjustment of wages and salaries—facts well known to the employers—permitted us to achieve our object without long and difficult strikes. Very few and small strikes occurred during our effort to readjust wages.

The Cyprus working class does not lose sight of the fact that the main cause of the rise in prices is the war policy pursued by the British government. And that is why the Cypriot workers and their trade unions do not confine their struggles to claiming wage readjustments. Cypriot workers fully understand that the struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle in defence of their standard of living and the struggle in defence of their other achievements. They realise that they cannot prosper under British imperialist rule. They also realise that the plans of the imperialists, both British and American, to make Cyprus a base for their aggressive wars, are incompatible with the well-being and prosperity of the Cyprus people.

The Cyprus working class and the trade union movement were the first, here in this island, to respond to the appeal of the Paris-Prague Peace Congress.

The Pan-Cyprian Trade Union Peace Conference held in Limassol in May 1950, was the first mass peace manifestation in Cyprus. Trade unionists organised anti-imperialist demonstrations in the town of Famagusta on the occasion of the visit of American warships in August 1950. The 1951 and 1952 May Day demonstrations were great demonstrations for peace.

The Cyprus trade union movement actively participates in the organised Peace Partisan Movement of our island which is affiliated to the world peace movement. Trade unionists and trade union organisations in all the towns and villages of Cyprus took an active part in the collection of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal and the Berlin resolutions. 90,000 signatures for the Stockholm Appeal and over 100,000 signatures for the Berlin resolutions have been collected by the joint efforts of all peace lovers of this island, among whom the trade unionists are the most militant and enthusiastic. The trade union movement has organised meetings and manifestations against the war in Korea, against the barbarous methods employed by the foreign invaders in Korea and the use of the bacteriological weapon. Meetings have been organised in support of the Iranian people during the difficult days of their struggle for the nationalisation of the oil industry, and in support of the national liberation movement of the Egyptian people.

The Cyprus working class, and especially its organised sections, is the leading force of the Cyprus people's national struggle. This struggle, waged under the leadership of the party of the working class, A.K.E.L., is greatly annoying the imperialist rulers of the island. The trade union movement is militantly participating in this struggle. The people's victory in the January 1950 national plebiscite is the result of the unity of all the people's forces against imperialism, for national freedom, for union with Greece. As is well known 96 per cent of the people voted against British colonial rule. The trade union movement greatly contributed to the achievement of that victory.

The trade unions of Cyprus are in the vanguard of the struggle against illiberal, fascist laws imposed by the imperialist government with the main object of suppressing the people's national and peace movements. When in February 1951, a set of such illiberal laws were passed and published by the London-appointed Executive Council of the Government of Cyprus, workers' meetings and demonstrations were held in all the big towns of the island, and scores of trade unionists were arrested and imprisoned for taking part in them.

The Cyprus trade union movement, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, will always follow the wise and realistic leadership of the latter. The Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour and the trade unions affiliated to it will fight to achieve the Milan and Berlin resolutions of the W.F.T.U. on unity in action. Much has already been achieved in this field, in isolating and unmasking the divisionist "Cyprus Workers' Confederation" affiliated to, and both morally and financially supported by, the I.C.F.T.U. The workers of Cyprus will never lay down the banner of peace. They will always fight against war, they will always resist the plans for making Cyprus a base for war. The workers and the people of Cyprus strongly believe that the W.F.T.U. and the international working class will always support the struggle of their country to achieve national freedom.

A. Ziartides,

General Secretary, Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour

The Lords of Creation

THE United States Secretary of Commerce publishes a series of documents entitled "Business Information Service." These are issued for the use of American industrialists and foreign traders who wish to invest or engage in business in foreign countries. Among this series are studies on the cost of living in foreign countries *for Americans*.

The document on Peru (Living and Operating Costs in Peru, Business Information Series No. 221) gives the following figures on the cost of maintaining an *American* family of four persons:

— low-income family: 6,906 soles per month
— medium-income family: 8,809 soles per month
— upper-income family: 15,159 soles per month

The same document gives some indications on the wages which American businessmen will have to pay to Peruvian workers:

Cook: 200 to 650 soles per month

Chauffeur: 500 to 700 soles per month

Gardener: 60 to 200 soles per month

Shorthand-typist: 500 to 850 soles per month

Telephonist: 500 to 1,000 soles per month

that is, between 1/7 and 1/250 of the amount necessary to support an American family.

Still, membership in the Lima Gold Club costs 17,000 soles plus 200 soles a month.

A kilogramme (2.2 lbs.) of butter costs 28 soles, a dozen eggs 12 soles, a kilogramme of bacon 26 soles, a three-room apartment at least 1,500 soles per month.

This shows clearly the poverty-stricken standard of living of Peruvian workers and the lordly life which the representatives of the monopolies who exploit these Peruvian workers reserve for themselves.

EXPLOITERS . . .and SWINDLERS!

But better still . . . if one can call it that, the journal *La Voz de Mexico* for August 1, 1952, publishes the following:

"42,000 Mexican day-labourers have been deported from the United States under the most revolting conditions. After having worked for North American employers who had promised them a good wage, they were reported by the employers to the immigration authorities as illegal immigrants and expelled without being paid their wages."

Need one comment?

Imperialists, exploiters . . . swindlers . . . these yankee capitalists certainly have all the virtues.

L.F.

Soviet Workers Aid Famine-Stricken India

THE General Secretary of the Aid Committee for the victims of famine in the province of Andhra (Madras State), Y. V. Krishna Rao, sent the following appeal to Brother Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions:

"Dear Friend,

"We would like to inform you of the situation in the Andhra Province. The population is undergoing a terrible famine. We are addressing ourselves to you, and through you, to the various national organisations to ask you to send material assistance to our Committee so that we can buy rice and other food products such as milk, preserved foods, etc.

"We are sending you a report on the work which we have done up to now to help those who are starving.

"In conclusion, we ask you to put at our disposal means by which we can organise new free restaurants and medical aid posts.

"Hoping to receive a favourable reply from you as soon as possible.

With very fraternal greetings,

Krishna Rao,

General Secretary."

* * *

The President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions replied to the United Aid Committee with the following telegram:

"The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions has received your letter asking for aid for the starving population of the Andhra Province.

"In the name of all the workers of the Soviet State, the Soviet Trade Unions express their deepest sympathy for the workers of Andhra Province and the regions of Madras State suffering from the terrible disaster which has stricken them. They are placing at the disposal of the United Aid Committee for the famine victims, 10,000 tons of wheat, 5,000 tons of rice and 500,000 tins of condensed milk.

"Further, the Soviet Trade Unions have decided to allocate a sum of 250,000 rupees for aid to the starving victims.

"The workers of the Soviet Union express their sincere wishes to the United Aid Committee together with all the workers of India for success in their fight against famine and for the safeguarding of the millions of human lives from the terrible disaster which has stricken the province of Andhra and other regions.

"Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R.,

Kuznetsov."

* * *

In reply to a Tass correspondent's question, L. Soloviev, Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., indicated that Soviet ships were already on their way to India with foodstuffs, and that the people of India were expressing their deep gratitude to the Soviet people in messages which were being received.

On September 5, the Indian Government had declared that it considered it necessary that the distribution of food and money should be done through the intermediary of the Government or through the Indian Red Cross. The Government of India had also announced through its Charge d'Affaires in Moscow that it would distribute this assistance in the famine-stricken regions in accordance with the desires of the Soviet trade unions.

L. Soloviev declared that, in sending foodstuffs, the Soviet trade unions' sole aim was to help the hungry people and was motivated by no political consideration. It had appeared normal to the Soviet trade unions to send the aid to the organisation which had asked for it, in this case to the United Famine Aid Committee of Andhra. However, the Soviet trade unions were not opposed to a different method of distributing the assistance on condition that this was given to the regions for whose use it was sent.

The Presidium of the A.U.C.C.T.U., considering that the population of the famine areas of India need immediate assistance and that, according to the Government of India this aid will be given to the population of the regions suffering from famine, had taken the decision to send the foodstuffs and money to the Indian Red Cross in order that it might be distributed to the famine-stricken population of Andhra province and other regions of Madras State.

The Soviet trade unions hoped that their assistance would improve the difficult situation of the hungry population of the State of Madras.

GROWING STRIKE MOVEMENT IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

A considerable strike movement is taking place at present in the capitalist countries. The workers are strengthening their unity and are entering into the struggle with determination against the reduction of their living standards, the increase in unemployment and the attacks on their trade union rights resulting from the imperialist governments' policy of war preparation. The following brief resumé of these struggles throughout the world in the past two months gives an idea of the scope of this movement, which shows every sign of extending.

IN ITALY

— There was a railway strike on August 7th in which between 85 and 95 per cent. of the railwaymen took part.

— A general strike in the town and province of Novara on August 2nd against the closing of three textile mills. The strike took place on the initiative of the three trade union organisations (C.G.I.L., C.I.S.L. and U.I.L.) and was followed by the occupation of the three factories by the workers, who continued to work there, supported by the solidarity of the whole population.

— Demonstrations and strikes of share-croppers, peasants and agricultural workers in Ancona, Grosseto and Catania on August 12th for agrarian reform.

IN FRANCE

— 1,200 miners went on strike in Esterelles on August 23rd against petty persecutions and fines to which they are subjected.

— Strike of the workers of the Hispano-Brune automobile factory in Paris against a 7 per cent. wage reduction.

— While the fight for demands is going on in many enterprises, a great campaign for a general wage increase is taking place on the initiative of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.).

IN GREAT BRITAIN

— The 1,600 workers of the Fairey Aviation factory in Stockport have been on strike since June 23rd as a result of the sacking of the chairman and convenor of shop stewards. The strike is supported by hundreds of factories in North-West England and by the Fairey factories in London and Manchester.

— The 1,100 workers of the Park Royal Vehicles factory in London have been on strike since July 3rd to force the reinstatement of 78 dismissed workers.

— 150 employees of the Grand Hotel in Birmingham went on strike for three weeks during August following the dismissal of a number of the hotel employees.

— Strike of 180 electricians employed on the building of a petrol refinery at Coryton in Essex on August 17th for three-pence an hour wage increase.

— Banning of overtime by the shop stewards of the Austin Motor Works, Birmingham, employing 20,000 workers, following the management's announcement that 800 workers are to be dismissed as redundant.

— The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions decides on August 31st to recommend a nation-wide ban on overtime and piecework in the industry in support of the demand for a £2 per week wage increase.

IN EIRE

— Printing workers in Dublin went on strike on July 11th for increased wages, and no newspapers appeared throughout the rest of July and the whole of August.

IN BELGIUM

— General 24-hour strike on August 9th against the two-year period of conscription, involving over a million workers. The government decides to reduce the period of military service from 2 years to 21 months.

— Strikes and work stoppages in the metal factories of Hainaut, Charleroi, Tubize, Haine, St. Pierre, Nivelles and Ougrèe-Marihaye to obtain payment for the August 15th holiday, which had been refused by the employers because of the August 9th strike.

IN DENMARK

— Strike of Copenhagen taxi-drivers from August 12th to 21st to prevent a lengthening of the working day.

IN NORWAY

— Stoppage of work in the Loelvdalen railway shops for better health conditions.

IN ALGERIA

— The Algiers' tobacco workers have been on strike for a month for their demands for increased wages and stabilisation of employment (August 22nd).

— Over 5,000 agricultural workers strike on August 27th for better wages and for collective agreements.

IN TUNISIA

— United strike of 1,200 Tunis dockers belonging to U.S.T.T. and U.G.T.T. unions in protest against the decision to violate the hiring regulations (August 19th).

— Solidarity work stoppages by the dockers of Bizerta, Sousse and Sfax and by the cereal workers of Sfax and the workers of the Cap Bon flour-mill (August 22nd).

— Civil aviation and meteorological personnel refuse to accept the conscription order issued by the police and continue their strike (August 4th).

IN EGYPT

— Strike of 10,000 Misr cotton-mill workers in Kapr el Dassar in protest against the sacking of a number of workers for political reasons, and for higher wages. On August 14th violent police attacks are made on the strikers, six of whom are killed and scores wounded.

— Solidarity strike by the workers of Moharrem Bey, near Alexandria. The army opens fire and kills six strikers, wounding many others. The 20-year old worker Mustapha Kamis is condemned to death on August 19th.

IN IRAN

— Successful strike by the Seman textile factory workers (August 10-15th).

IN IRAQ

— Strike of Basra port workers for increased wages. The police open fire, killing 4 and wounding 30. Solidarity strike by the workers of the British base in Shaiba on August 25th.

IN NIGERIA

— After a week of "go slow" working in the Enugu mines and railways, the Nigeria Coal Company agrees to an increase of 30% in the miners' special allowances (August 15th).

IN KOREA

— Strike of 30,000 workers in Pusan on August 3rd in protest against Syngman Rhee's "elections."

UNITED STATES

— The strike of 650,000 steelworkers ended on July 25th (after nearly two months) with wage increases and other gains.

— Stoppage of work by 475,000 miners from August 23rd to September 1st in memory of workers killed and injured in the mines and to force observance of the safety regulations.

— Ten-week strike of the Bigelow-Sandford carpet factory workers results in a ten cents an hour wage increase, which will be applicable to the majority of the 20,000 workers in the industry.

— Strike of 30,000 workers of the Goodrich Rubber Company on August 17th in support of demands for wage increases and the union shop in the collective agreement. They win their demands after a ten-day strike.

IN JAPAN

— Successful strike of 35,000 seamen on August 7th and 8th, and on August 20th, 21st and 22nd, tying up 400 ships belonging to 180 companies, and winning increased retirement bonuses.

— Workers of the Oppama Arsenal, controlled by the American authorities, hold a 24-hour strike on August 15th to win a wage increase.

IN INDIA

— United strike on August 1st of the 35,000 textile workers of Madhya Pradesh State, who put forward a list of demands.

IN INDONESIA

— Strike of 30,000 sugar industry workers from July 24th to 26th for increased bonuses.

IN BRAZIL

— Strike of 5,000 Sao Paolo busworkers on July 16th, affecting 21 lines belonging to 12 enterprises, for a wage increase.

— Workers of the Bona Vista textile factory refuse to work overtime and threaten to strike for a new working agreement (July 17th).

— General strike on August 12th-13th in Rio Grande. Complete stoppage of public services, transport, industry and commerce. The movement spreads throughout the province and the town in protest against high prices of articles of prime necessity.

IN CHILE

— Strike of 8,000 workers of a shoe factory in solidarity with the workers of another factory (July 6th).

— 1,200 nitrate workers employed by the Alcorta enterprise in Antofagasta win satisfaction after six weeks strike.

— Strike of 30,000 nitrate workers on July 12th in Pedro Valdivia, Maria Helena, Tocopilla and other centres for wage increases

— Strike of 10,000 municipal employees on July 24th for higher wages and better conditions.

— Strike of 350 sulphur workers in Arica for economic demands.

— 4,000 National Savings Bank employees threaten to strike for 24 hours on July 25th for wage increases.

IN URUGUAY

— Strike of 3,000 bank employees for higher wages (August 21).

— Mobilisation of workers of refrigerating plants in July for higher wages.

— The radio workers' strike, which began on June 28th for higher wages ends successfully on July 11th.

CUBA

— Demonstration by Havana metal workers on July 31st in front of the Ministry of Labour demanding that measures be taken to prevent the closure of metal factories.

— Strike of 7,000 paper workers (printing industry) in July for wage increases.

— Occupation of the "Lamero" metal factory in Rosario by the workers, who demand the payment of a month's wages due them.

IN MEXICO

— The metal workers of the "Artefacto Metalicos Monterrey" factory in Nuevo Leon demand a new work agreement (August 15).

— Strike of the workers of the Monterrey paper factory for a wage increase (August 15).

IN GUATEMALA

— Workers employed by Pan-American Airways and the T.A.C.A. have been on strike for 33 days for a new collective agreement.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

TURKEY

American Imperialist War Base in the Near East

THE American imperialists in agreement with Turkish reaction, are striving to turn Turkey into a base for aggression for the war against the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies, and into a base for crushing the national liberation movements of the peoples of the Near East. The American Ambassador in Turkey, George MacGhee, the head of the "Marshall Plan" mission, Russel Dorr, and the head of the U.S. Military Mission, General Arnold, control and direct the internal life of Turkey.

The U.S.A. was already using Turkey during the last war, as a springboard for its expansion into the countries of the Near and Middle East and into the Balkans. In 1941, they were giving Turkey arms and munitions on lend-lease, while the Turkish government was supplying Hitler Germany with foodstuffs and raw materials. They granted Turkey large sums for the reconstruction of aerodromes, for the purchase of warships and other war material.

With the application of the Truman doctrine (March 12, 1947), Turkey has become a United States colony. On order of the American imperialists the ruling circles are constantly increasing military expenditure. Armament supplies in 1951 reached more than a thousand million dollars.

The ports are turned into American military bases and shelter the U.S. naval fleet. Aerodromes as well as strategic roads are being constructed, mainly on the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

The army is in fact under the orders of the Pentagon (U.S. war headquarters). Turkey has a large number of experts, instructors and military missions from the U.S.A. The American missions direct military instruction and draw up plans for the construction of roads and strategic objectives. The Americans would like to use the Turkish army to smash the national liberation movement of the peoples of the Near and Middle East. Only recently Turkey was officially included in the North Atlantic aggressive bloc.

The military expansion of American imperialism in Turkey is closely linked to its economic expansion. The credits granted by the Americans as Marshall Plan "Aid" and "technical aid" are aimed not only at war preparation, but also at transforming the country into an economic appendage of the U.S.A. The Americans are developing their capital investments in Turkish economy. They have seized the Turkish market, this being made possible by the anti-popular policy of the Turkish government. The United States thus obtained the devaluation of the Turkish pound in relation to the dollar, and the reduction of customs duty for goods imported from the U.S.A.

The British monopolies are trying to take advantage of Turkey's lack of dollars to capture the Turkish market. In 1948 and 1951 they occupied first place in that country's imports. Nevertheless the American monopolies for the last six years (1946-51) have controlled from 25 to 30 per cent of imports. Western Germany's share has also increased. Turkey's trade is that of an under-developed dependent country, with the export of raw materials and agricultural products and the import of machines, clothing material and manufactured products, and war material, principally from the U.S.A. As a result of American expansion and the anti-national policy of the ruling circles, the country's economy is in a state of the most complete disorganisation. The situation of the working people is becoming increasingly difficult. The budget deficit for 1951-52 reached 235,500,000 Turkish pounds. Inflation is increasing out of all bounds.

The Americans have dealt a serious blow to Turkish industry. Many factories have had to close down. The workers who are veritable slaves are reduced to the utmost poverty. The wage of a skilled worker is one-fifth or one-sixth of the basic minimum required to live. Prices are continually rising. A worker earns 2 Turkish pounds for 19 hours' work. Women and children of from 8 to 10 years working under extremely difficult conditions receive even less.

The peasants live under the most shocking conditions, 77 per cent of the land belonging to the big landowners. Most of the peasants are forced to rent this land on conditions that prove disastrous for them, reducing them to poverty, famine and sickness . . . .

The transformation of Turkey into an American military base in the Near and Middle East is accompanied by a redoubling of the fascist terror in the country. The Democratic Party which came into power following the May 14, 1950 elections, is carrying on and intensifying the policy of the National Republican Party.

The Communist Party has been banned for 30 years. Democratic organisations are persecuted. In 1951 the death sentence was introduced against Communists. The suppression of newspapers is a common occurrence. Peace supporters have been given heavy prison sentences. The prisons are not large enough to accommodate all the patriots who have been sentenced. The Minister of Justice has drawn up a 10 year plan for the construction of prisons, and in the meantime he is turning stores, theatres and Mosques into prisons. But there is no repression which can stifle the people's growing discontent with the anti-national policy of the government.

Strikes, though banned, are developing and the peasant movement, often spontaneous, is taking on organised forms of struggle in the fight for land. In April-May 1951 there were veritable insurrections of starving peasants.

The protest movement against the treasonable policy of the government is spreading to intellectuals, students, and to the small and middle bourgeoisie affected by American competition. Professors and students are arrested for distributing leaflets in favour of peace. Peace fighters work under illegal conditions. Their paper "The Road to Peace" appears illegally. There were demonstrations in 22 cities against sending Turkish troops to Korea.

The movement of broad sections of the Turkish people for the defence of peace is impeding the criminal plans

of the American warmongers. This struggle is developing as part of the world-wide fight for peace.

Vóprosi Ekonomiki (Problems of Economics), Moscow, No. 6, 1952.

ITALY

Children For Sale in Benevento

CHILDREN'S faces, gestures and smiles, and all around, in the din and confusion, a packed crowd. The Cathedral Square wears the guise of a peasant fair, but goods for sale are children of 8 years of age, boys of 13 to 15. "They are hiring themselves out as farmhands," as they say in the country. In reality, they are sold for a year, sold for the labour of their arms which are still too young and for the sweat of their brows which should not yet know such troubles. Their childhood is being sold, and they will be abruptly thrust into the bitter reality of life.

The "farmboys market," a veritable "children's fair" is one of the social traditions of a mediaeval character which is maintained in this province, still dominated by the most backward system of the large landed properties of thousands and thousands of acres. The parents themselves, poor landless peasants, sell their sons. This is not a gruesome fairy-tale but a reality which is repeated every year.

North of Benevento there are hundreds and hundreds of acres without a single tree, but on which here and there appears a "farm" as large as a castle where the big landowners or their rich farmers live. That is where the "farmboys" will work for a whole year far from their families, far from their mothers to whom they call out while weeping in their sleep. The little ones of eight hired out for the first time will drive the pigs and sheep of the "farm" to pasture. Others employed in ploughing, will bend to the plough and cut deep furrows in their employers' land. Still others will chop wood, work in the dung pits, the stables, barns and cellars to enrich and fatten the employer.

In their families there will be one less mouth to feed. Those who are left will have an extra piece of bread. Six sacks of grain and 3,000 lira was the price paid for a boy of 14. Two brothers were sold en bloc for 2,000 lira and two sacks of grain! The parents, sometimes it is the mothers themselves who deal with the proprietors or their agents, cannot do otherwise than accept these terms.

When poverty becomes so desperate that one cannot live, then the sale of sons becomes a lesser evil. These children, however, no matter who they may be, also have the right to a happy childhood, to education, to games, to a future which will be something other than condemnation to the most thankless and badly paid work.

Only when the system of large landed estates will have disappeared from the province of Benevento, will the sons of poor agricultural workers and landless peasants know the meaning of a happy life. In the Cathedral Square on August 15th we again saw this ignoble buying and selling of human flesh. One day, it will be looked back on with shame.

Noi Donne, 24.8.52.

SWEDEN

No Defeatism!

THE preliminary skirmishes preceding the negotiation of collective agreements have begun. Symptomatic sounds of defeatism are already being heard among the right-wing Social Democratic trade union leaders. These sounds must act as a signal for the utmost vigilance on the part of the workers and get them to express their demands forcefully for substantial wage increases.

In its latest issue, the journal of the Clothing Workers Union, under the heading "Firm Attitude," expresses some points of view to which attention should be drawn. One of these is an attempt to frighten us with the threat that certain employers will demand wage reductions in the next collective agreements! The journal evidently considers that this is going a little too far, but further on we find the explanation of what are, on the whole, rather strange statements for a trade union organ.

"It is, moreover, certain that the situation during the discussion on collective agreements, is such, that it does not seem possible to hope for any considerable leaps in the wages curve."

They could not be clearer. They are trying here to persuade the workers that the reduction in real wages which became effective during the existence of the present collective agreement must, in fact, be endorsed by the new agreement. That is why there are these pretended threats that the employers intend to reduce wages, even before the employers have openly suggested it. It is difficult to consider such reasoning as an isolated point of view; rather must it be considered as emanating from the right-wing trade union leaders as a whole and the government economists apropos the discussion on this year's collective agreements.

To justify this defeatist argument, the pretext of economic difficulties is resorted to, felt especially since the beginning of this year on the labour market. Obviously there is an attempt to substantiate the fable of the "poor" capitalist. In other words, we have already arrived at the stage to which Mr. Erlander alluded in Parliament, when he was forced to admit that the government considered the existence of a certain reserve of unemployed, under present conditions, "opportune," in order to create "economic equilibrium."

But things are not as simple as that. The contraction of the market is a fact, but it is also a fact that the capitalist companies during the boom period and the heyday due to the circumstances of the war, amassed huge profits which gave the shareholders unprecedented dividends and enabled the companies to create large reserves. There is enough wealth there for the companies to draw on without counting the tremendous profits which they are still making, profits running into millions of crowns such as they scarcely dared dream of before the war.

There is no reason for the workers to allow themselves to be drawn into the defeatism propagated by the right-wing trade union pontiffs before the negotiations for the new collective agreements. They must firmly put forward their legitimate demand for full compensation for the reduction in real wages resulting from the rise in prices and rents, at the same time that they demand an increase in real wages. This increase can be won, as the millions in profits pocketed by the companies eloquently prove.

Let us add that we must expect further big price increases which makes clear to the workers the necessity for winning a compensation agreement (sliding scale), effectively guaranteeing real wages against the rise in prices. But the workers will have to be on their guard against compensation agreements based on the present cost of living index which, according to our experience, is systematically falsified by means of various statistical manipulations, so that the increase required to meet the real rise in the cost of living is *never* achieved. This index mocks the workers. The workers are in a position to win a more favourable compensation agreement than the one concluded last time between the trade union centre and the Swedish Employers' Federation.

This year the workers also hold all the trumps. Nevertheless, they will have to send to the conference table people who wish to and can use these trumps. Those who preach defeatism before the commencement of negotiations should stay at home!

Arbetar—Tidningen
(Göteburg), 11.8.52.

UNITED STATES

Funeral Business

THE law of the jungle says: "The jackals and other small flesh eating animals feast on the leftovers of the lions and tigers."

This law is now observed in the American business world. As is well-known, the basis of American businessmen's activity is the armaments race and the preparation for a new war. To finance this war preparation, Congress and the United States government are squeezing tens of thousands of millions of dollars from the American workers. And though the lion's share of these fabulous sums is pocketed by the Wall Street magnates, thanks to the manufacture of atomic bombs, epidemic bacteria and guns, the substantial leftovers from the feast of the high priests of the Golden Calf are devoured by the lesser businessmen, that is, by the dollar jackals.

Only recently, the very reactionary *New York Herald Tribune* exposed the curious variety of the jackals' business in an article with the promising title: "Possibilities of Mass Burial are being studied by the Defence Chiefs" (Retranslation). And it announced, full of optimism, that the so-called Federal Civil Defence Administration had demanded from the U.S. Congress the sum of 2,100,000 dollars from last year's budget for the mass production of shrouds for American citizens.

This then, is the very pressing "problem" occupying the minds of the officials of the United States federal administration. They prefer to spend millions on shouds for future corpses rather than on the construction of schools and houses. It is clear that the originators of this provocative enterprise for the mass production of shrouds want to kill two birds with one stone.

In the first place, they hope to terrorise as many Americans as possible. With this aim, these "civil defence" gentlemen are discussing with the aplomb of scientists, the question of why shrouds are preferable to coffins. The *New York Herald Tribune* reports that the federal administration has calculated that in the event of an "atomic attack" in every American city it will be necessary to bury an average of 40,000 corpses in the two days following the dropping of the atomic bomb. The specialists of the civil defence department authoritatively state that it will be impossible to find 40,000 wooden coffins or of any other material immediately after an atomic disaster! That is why it will be necessary to resort to shrouds.

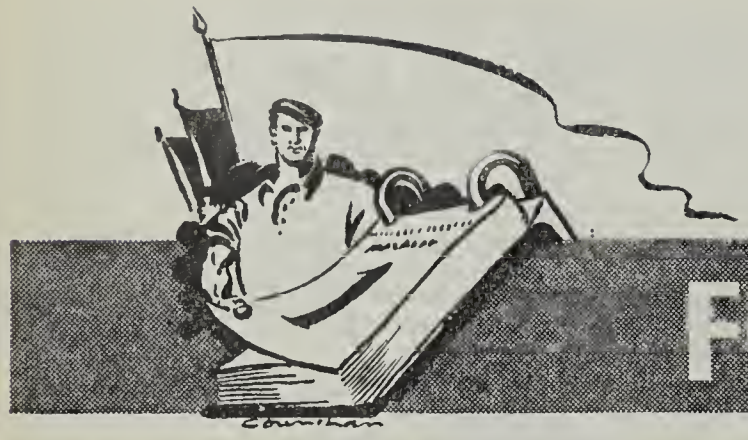
However, the manufacture of shrouds *en masse* is still not sufficient precaution. The American authorities go still further in their solicitude for the ordinary citizen. The *New York Herald Tribune* is pleased to report that the Pentagon is also concerned with expanding cemeteries. From now on, writes this newspaper, it is planned to lay out new cemeteries near cities. In many cities plans are being drawn up for the transformation of existing parks into temporary cemeteries. In New York it is planned to pack the bodies into barges which will travel up the Hudson and to use the piers as mortuaries.

Thus the transformation of men into corpses, of parks into cemeteries and of piers into mortuaries, is the future forecast by the rulers of the U.S.A. for millions of Americans. But a characteristic feature in all its provocative discussions is the fact that the *New York Herald Tribune* forgets a certain important detail: Who is preparing to drop the atom bomb on American cities?

It is evident that these sinister articles, and in particular that of the *New York Herald Tribune,* are designed to confuse American readers and to hide from them the fact, well-known to all, that the United States is not threatened by any attack.

The other aim of this unhealthy insistence on the mass-production of shrouds is revealed by the *New York Herald Tribune* itself. The mass production of shrouds and the enlargement of cemeteries besides arousing war hysteria, will ensure far from negligible profits for certain "business circles." Shrouds costing about 2 million dollars are not bad business even though they cannot be compared with the lucrative business of Dupont who turns out atom bombs for the extermination of peaceful peoples. Nevertheless, the jackals in the funeral business in the United States, count on getting their share of the spoils, thanks to shrouds . . .

Literaturnaya Gazeta, 7.8.52.



FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

August 14

EGYPT.—Ten thousand workers of the Misr cotton mill, the most important in the Near and Middle East, strike for higher wages and against the dismissal of a number of their workmates for political reasons. Several thousand workers in Moharrem Bey, near Alexandria, go on a solidarity strike.

August 15

CHINA.—A new housing plan for 100,000 homes is undertaken in Shanghai, to be completed in May 1953. It plans for kindergartens, nurseries, health centres, co-operative shops, cinemas and sports' grounds.

MEXICO.—Metalworkers of the "Artefacto Metallicos Monterrey" factory in Nuevo Leon strike for revision of their collective agreements.

— Workers of the Monterrey paper factory strike for wage increases.

JAPAN.—Workers of the Oppama Arsenal, controlled by the American authorities, go on a 24-hour strike for better wages and conditions.

IRAN.—The textile workers of Semnan win increased wages after several days on strike.

August 17

UNITED STATES.—Thirty thousand Goodrich Rubber Company workers go on strike after a hold-up in negotiations for a new collective agreement.

NIGERIA.—A meeting of 5,000 workers of the Yaba locomotive depot rejects the new sliding scale wage proposed by the government.

CANADA.—Two thousand five hundred shipbuilding workers strike near Quebec for a reduction of the working week from 48 to 45 hours and for a wage increase of 15 cents an hour.

August 19

EGYPT.—Mustafa Khamis, one of the Misr factory strikers, 20 years of age, is condemned to death by court marital.

GREECE.—An Athens military court confirms the sentence of life imprisonment on Tony Ambatielos, President of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, and other trade union militants.

BELGIUM.—The workers of the Nivelles metal factory stop work and occupy the factory to obtain payment for the August 15th holiday. The employers had refused this using as a pretext the August 9th general strike.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA.—Two thousand five hundred railwaymen of the Abidjan-Niger line stop work in complete unity from 8 to 11 o'clock as a warning strike for their wage claims.

August 20

SOVIET UNION.—The draft directives for the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and on the 5th Five Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. from 1951-1955 are published.

TUNISIA.—Twelve hundred Tunis dockers go on strike in defence of their hiring regulations.

ALBANIA.—The 3rd Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions opens.

JAPAN.—On strike again, the 35,000 seamen win their demand. Seamen with more than 30 years' service will receive a retirement bonus equal to 37 months and 12 days wages.

FINLAND.—The reactionary leaders of the Finnish trade union centre decide to organise a breakaway textile trade union, following the victory of the unity leaders in the latest union elections.

— Doctors' assistants in hospitals walk out after a mass resignation for higher salaries.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Seven hundred and fifty supervisory employees in the South Wales coal mines strike for wage increases. Work stops in 40 pits.

August 21

URUGUAY.—Thirty-three hundred private bank employees strike for wage increases.

DENMARK.—The railway strike ends.

August 22

TUNISIA.—The dockers of Bizerta, Sousse and Sfax stop work in solidarity with the Tunis dockers. The Tunis grain workers and the workers of the Cap Bon flour mill also stop work.

JAPAN.—Hajime Sato, one of the workers imprisoned in the Matsukawa railwaymen's trial, is freed after a widespread campaign.

ICELAND.—The inhabitants of the village of Hafor refuse to evacuate their village, declared a military zone by the American authorities.

DENMARK.—Official statistics state that 51.3 per cent of boot and shoe workers are unemployed.

August 23

UNITED STATES.—Four hundred and seventy-five thousand miners stop work for ten days in memory of miners killed or injured in work accidents, and to force the employers to observe safety regulations.

August 24

NORWAY.—There is a strike in the main carpentry shops in Oslo for wage increases.

August 25

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—Two hundred and fifty-seven African strikers from a King Williams Town textile factory are arrested for having demonstrated for the release of their arrested workmates.

August 26

IRAQ.—The police open fire on Basra portworkers on strike for wage increases, killing 4 and wounding 30. The employees of the British base in Shaiba declare a solidarity strike.

TOGOLAND.—Five thousand Africans demonstrate for the independence and unification of Togoland. The police open fire, killing 2 and wounding 10.

FRANCE.—Twelve hundred Courrières miners strike in unity to protest against increasing petty persecution.

ITALY.—Ninety-one per cent. of the textile workers of Goritzia province go on a 24-hour strike in protest against mass dismissals.

August 27

NORWAY.—In Oslo, trade union leaders of the five Scandinavian countries issue an appeal to the workers of those countries for a trade union peace conference for the Nordic countries to be held in Oslo on November 15th and 16th.

SWEDEN.—The 500 workers of the Bolinders metal factory stop work in protest against punitive measures against two trade union delegates.

GREAT BRITAIN.—A thousand building workers at Boreham Wood housing estate prevent efforts by the London County Council to stop work on the site, and force the Council to abandon their intention to dismiss forty trade union militants.

— A million shop employees obtain weekly pay increases of from two shillings to ten shillings.

— Following a strike threat, 100,000 furniture workers win a wage increase of a penny an hour.

— Two thousand Durham miners decide not to work an extra shift this winter.

August 29

GREAT BRITAIN.—Two thousand engineering workers from 24 factories in Kingston, Surrey, demonstrate in the streets of the town in support of the £2 per week wage claim.

August 31

SOVIET UNION.—The Soviet people enthusiastically celebrate the traditional "Miner's Day."

BULGARIA.—Further reductions in the price of foodstuffs and industrial products are announced. The price of bread is reduced by 25 per cent., wheat 30 per cent., dairy products from 10 to 18 per cent., and meat 5 to 8 per cent.

HUNGARY.—Prices of cereal products are reduced by 18 to 30 per cent.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

OCTOBER 1—15, 1952 ★ No. 19

The International Character of the Wages Fight . . . Louis Saillant

T.U.C. Shows Growing Rank and File Revolt . . . . T. F. McWhinnie

U.S. "Productivity"—An Example . . . . . Regine Lacazette

People's Berlin Rebuilds . . . . . Rudolf Beyer

Joliot-Curie Writes to all Peace Committees and Friends of Peace

W.F.T.U. Seventh Anniversary Appeal

Department of Labour

OCT

Land Robbery in Tanganyika • Spotlight on China • Soviet Pavilion at Vienna Fair • Japan
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The uniting and bringing together of the mass of working people throughout the world is at present more than ever necessary in the conditions of the growing offensive by reaction against the interests and basic rights of workers of the capitalist and colonial countries, and because of the imperialist preparations for a new world war.

(Appeal by the W.F.T.U. on its Seventh Anniversary—Vienna, September 18, 1952.)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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The International Character of the Wages Fight

THE variety of actions undertaken by the workers to protect the purchasing power of their wages is evidence of a rise in the level of social ferment in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries. In all these countries, the workers are presenting wage demands.

They are supporting their demands by strike movements which have recently taken on a new impetus. There are processions before or following mass meetings, and slogans for demands are taken up among the people who are solidly behind them. Petitions are circulating in the factories and lists of signatures fill pages underneath texts which express the immediate needs of working men and women. From factory and trade union headquarters workers' delegations go to the public authorities, who, with the employers, are responsible for their poverty, demanding immediate measures to improve their living conditions. Leaflets pass from hand to hand. Their readers are being made more acutely aware of the scandalous conditions of capitalist exploitation which is increasing the gap between the exploiters' profits and the poverty-stricken life of the mass of the workers.

Articles by working class leaders and interviews with workers are published in the working class political and trade union Press, in which more pungent, demonstrative and convincing arguments are put forward, explaining the why and wherefore of this social action of the working class of the world.

The Press and radio in the hands of the capitalist governments and in the grip of the large industrial and financial companies can no longer keep silent about the struggles being waged by the workers. However, they distort the

truth, they falsify reports and slander the fighting working class organisations. They are thus exposing the state of nerves and confusion of the ruling classes in these countries.

But social discontent lies so deep, mass movements arise so often, social injustice cries out so loudly, and the workers' demands are so justified, that here and there bourgeois newspapers are forced to recognise that the workers' demands are well-founded. In this way, they try not to lose favour among those of their readers who are wage-earners.

And that is as true for continental Western Europe as for Latin America, for South-East Asia as the Near and Middle East, for North and South Africa, as well as for the other African territories, for Scandinavia, Australia and New Zealand, for Great Britain as well as for Japan, the U.S.A. and Canada.

The struggle of the working masses to improve their standard of life, to defend the purchasing power of wages, and to oppose capitalist exploitation has taken on an international character. In many cases, governments and employers are being put on the defensive, while the contradictions of their political and economic system are growing.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE W.F.T.U. delegation to the 14th session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, held in New York last July, was able very opportunely to reveal the depth of the present social regression in the capitalist countries, showing it to be the concrete result of the political and economic grip on these countries by North American imperialism. The delegation was able to show that this was not the result of a political miracle, or of a social accident, but the inevitable effect of the policy pursued after the end of the second world war by the governments which betrayed the promises of justice and social progress which they had publicly made to the working people during the war.

The people are perfectly aware of the enormous difference existing between the wonderful promises which were made to them and the outrageous poverty into which they are now plunged and maintained.

Among the various causes of this poverty, the general rise in prices and the cost of living is felt most directly by working men and women. For them, this is something about which there can be no question.

They have heard opinions on the causes of this rise in prices which have not convinced them of the transitory and limited character of these increases. Propagandists have tried to convince them of an inevitable reduction of prices after the increases. These "free" leaders of a trade unionism clinging to government programmes opposed to the workers' trade unions' programmes of demands, desired and drawn up by the workers themselves, make sententious

statements about the inevitability of sunshine after rain. The workers quite rightly are not against the principle of price reductions. But they have no confidence at all in those who always talk about price reductions and never do anything about it.

These same "free" trade union leaders are the champions of a policy of "equality of sacrifice." As far as sacrifices are concerned, the workers have learned to their cost that they are the only ones who bear them. Every solution ever invented, imagined or proposed which does not call on the workers to act for wage increases has the approval of these "free" trade union leaders because it makes it easier to keep the trade unions passive. When they feel the need to defend their policy, these same "free" trade union leaders associate themselves quite openly with government and employers' repression against the working men and women who are acting in defence of their wages—an essential element of their living conditions.

But facts are obstinate and reality is demonstrative. The facts show continuous, successive and large-scale rises in prices and in the cost of living. The reality is that there is a rising intensity in the struggles of the working masses which is sweeping over the recommendations and earnest requests of these so-called "free" trade union leaders. They are being contradicted by events and disowned by the members of their own organisations.

☆ ☆ ☆

BECAUSE the W.F.T.U. has given its fullest support to the workers' struggles, whether they are members of our organisation or not, our delegation to the 14th Session of the Economic and Social Council was the complete opposite of the I.C.F.T.U. delegation in the ease with which it was able to present the observations of the trade union movement on the social situation throughout the world.

We had already pointed out in a report submitted to the Economic and Social Council in January 1951 that the armaments race at that time constituted the principal reason for the debasement in the living and working conditions of the working peoples.

Consequently, we proposed a reduction of war budgets and the transfer of the sums thus released to the financing of a bold social policy on a national and international scale.

The governments of the capitalist countries—inevitably followed by the I.C.F.T.U. delegation—fought against the W.F.T.U. proposals.

The situation since then has become still worse. The workers' struggles are becoming more numerous. The imperialist policy in most countries where

it operates has increased the conflicts and social disorders which capitalism engenders.

Solely by giving government indices published by the United Nations *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* we can show that between the year 1950 and the first quarter of 1952, the general rise in prices and the cost of living throws considerable light on the origin of the strikes and struggles of workers of all industries, strikes and struggles which were the object of a careful analysis during the sessions of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau in July 1951 and June 1952.

For some countries, the extent of these increases according to the official United Nations figures in the period under consideration, are as follows :

Argentine	66.1%		Jamaica		26.6%
Australia	36.0%		Japan		28.9%
Austria	44.3%		Malaya		31.5%
Bolivia	26.8%		Mexico		25.0%
Chile	35.8%		Norway		23.8%
U.S.A.	10.0%		Great Britain		17.0%
Finland	25.2%		Sweden		23.3%
France	32.4%		Uruguay		22.7%
Israel	46.7%				

Is it astonishing then, that in these same countries and during the same period, we can show that there were either a great number of strikes or a great many demonstrations of working men and women, not for wage increases but simply to restore their purchasing power?

In many cases, the workers won significant victories as a result of their tenacious and courageous fight against their exploiters. But the wage increases won by these struggles have never been able to fill the gap between the cost of living and wage indices.

From the first quarter of this year to the end of September, the percentages of increases quoted above have in general gone up. This also aroused varied protests from the working masses. The number and extent of the struggles undertaken by an ever-growing number of trade unions which take into account the needs and the will of all wage-earners, is constantly on the increase.

☆ ☆ ☆

WE are not now in a period in which these struggles are likely to diminish. On the contrary, the mass movement is broadening.

The reactionary governments can do less and less to weaken these movements and the trade union leaders who constitute the I.C.F.T.U. general staff, where

they still exercise influence, can less and less stifle it because they are less and less listened to and followed by their own members. They can no longer oppose the workers' demands with the same audacity as yesterday. They seek new positions in order to avoid losing face completely.

The W.F.T.U., its affiliated trade unions and the trade unionists who are fighting on the basis of the W.F.T.U.'s economic and social programme without being members of it, must, under these conditions, stimulate mass action still further and make clear to the workers the way to success in their struggles.

Although the I.C.F.T.U. and its agents in various countries cannot carry out their policy of stifling the workers' demands, particularly on the wage issue, as they formerly did, it must be made impossible for them to divert the present struggles into deadlock or towards capitulation to government and employer demands.

To achieve this, *united action* of the basic trade union organisations for their demands must be *mass united action.*

Naturally and objectively, all workers think in the same way about this question of wages. This is a favourable question on which to bring together, on the widest possible scale, working men and women of all occupations. This is true for all countries and territories where social conditions make the necessity for action by the trade unions for wage increases of prime importance.

United action by the workers is not something that is won by magic. It is generally the result of persevering and convincing work on the part of the most militant elements, and also by the most experienced and most informed among the workers in the enterprises and localities.

Unity work is not a tactic to be adopted for a time and then dropped. There can be no slack periods in which there is no initiative. The job of building unity is a permanent and essential one which cannot wait for a "more favourable period."

To carry out a manœuvre or an operation at a given moment is not the way to pursue unity aims among the workers. It is a fundamental policy which must be carried out permanently during all kinds of periods and circumstances, whatever intensity or level working class struggles may have reached.

When we fail to recognise, or even forget, these elementary principles which are the basis of our activity, we are heading for disappointments and are making it easier for the manœuvres and operations of the enemies of unity, whoever they are.

The W.F.T.U. recommends to the workers firmness in their activity and in their organisations and clarity in their trade union programme in order to rally all workers around it. It recommends particularly continuity in carrying out the policy of uniting and bringing the working masses together.

THIS month of October 1952 is the seventh anniversary of the foundation of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Since the foundation what has our programme—unanimously adopted—said, and which must always be borne in mind?

Among the obligations placed upon us at that time by our programme was that of organising " the common struggle of trade unions of all countries:

- *for the progressive improvement of wages,* hours and working and living conditions;
- for full and adequate social legislation to protect workers and their families against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accident and old age;
- for the adoption of all other measures furthering the social and economic well-being of the workers;
- against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties;
- for the satisfaction of the needs of the workers and for the security of full employment."

And as the underlying cause of the continuous increase of the workers' poverty is the war policy of governments which resort to fascist measures in order to impose that policy, our programme at that time added that it was necessary:

- " to carry on the struggle for the extermination of all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism, under whatever form it operates and by whatever name it may be known;
- to combat war and the causes of war and work for a stable and enduring peace."

It is because the W.F.T.U. has remained and will remain faithful to this programme, which offers a wide basis for united action among all trade union organisations of all countries, that it is ranged alongside the struggling workers of all the capitalist countries, whether or not they are affiliated to its organisations.

These workers adopt the standpoint of the W.F.T.U. in their united activity, particularly when they fight to win wage increases and improved living conditions from exploiting employers and reactionary governments.

On this seventh anniversary of the foundation of the W.F.T.U., we can show our loyalty and attachment to its programme in no better way than to improve all forms of mass trade union work by paying more attention than ever to unity.

That is true for all members of the W.F.T.U., from the bottom to the top of our international working class movement.

LOUIS SAILLANT

Joliot-Curie Writes to All Peace Committees and Friends of Peace

The letter from Frédéric Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, calling for the preparation of the great Congress of Peoples for Peace, which is to open in Vienna on December 5, is a document the importance of which it is necessary to stress.

It will be a valuable guide to trade union organisations and workers of all countries who, regardless of differences of opinion, religion or race, are carrying on the most varied activities, especially in the factories and enterprises, in order to ensure "the widest popular discussion" and the broadest exchange of ideas.

Thus the Congress will "make possible a decisive step in the unification of all forces which are acting, or which can act, for peace."

Dear Friends,

On the 5th of December 1952, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna.

The Appeal for the Convocation of this Congress was launched on July 6th at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace. It comes at a time when millions of men and women, united in the vast World Peace Movement, are carrying on an effective struggle to prevent a new war. These millions of men and women have already gained successes as a result of day to day, persevering work.

VICTORIES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

By collecting millions of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, we have so far prevented the use of the atomic weapon. The campaign for a Pact of Peace, the response it has called forth in the world, has shown that over 600 million men and women wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

The results of our activity for general disarmament of the Great Powers have been felt even in the United Nations.

The news of the use of the bacteriological weapon in Korea and in China roused the indignation of a large section of world public opinion.

But more must be done. Each of us is firmly convinced that peace can be saved. Therefore we must not be satisfied by restraining those who are preparing for war. We must prevent them from doing harm.

NEW GROUPS ARE BECOMING AWARE OF THE PERIL

In all countries new sections of the population are becoming aware of the danger; men and women of all backgrounds and all opinions see more clearly the necessity to struggle for peace. By bringing them into action, we can make peace triumph. Today our task is to convince these millions of men who are disturbed by the perpetually strained international situation and who understand that it is necessary to unite all forces for more effective action. A new rallying of forces and a new spur to action can impose the signing of a Pact between the Great Powers—vital condition for saving peace.

The preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be made the opportunity for taking a decisive step forward in uniting all the forces who are working or can work for peace.

SOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Appeal of the World Council of Peace states that this Congress should be prepared for "by discussions on the widest possible scale." It recommends us to speak to all men and women who are uneasy and uncertain. Let us go to them, let us acquaint them

with the solutions proposed by the World Council of Peace:

- By the peaceful settlement of the German problem and the conclusion of a genuine Peace Treaty with Japan signed by all the interested States, it will be possible to prevent the reconstitution of the armies which spread death and terror over whole continents.

- By the immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea on a fair and equitable basis, it will be possible to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and remove the danger of an extension of the conflict to all Asia.

- By strictly controlled reduction of all armaments and the outlawing of atomic, chemical and biological weapons, it will be possible to devote to the well-being of the people and to works of life, the considerable sums of money now being directed to works of death and which at the same time weigh so heavily on the budget of each family.

- The signing of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, open to all States, will free men from the constant fear of war, ensure the security of the peoples and will open up a long period of economic co-operation between the countries.

But let us also listen to the suggestions of those with whom we shall speak and without whom our efforts would be in vain. Let us discuss with them the best way to ensure general disarmament, to guarantee the security and national independence of each people, to give each the opportunity of freely choosing his way of life and to achieve a genuine relaxation of international tension.

Friends, in making known the Appeal of the World Council of Peace through the spoken and written word, let us do it in such a way that everyone, from the most remote village to the largest city, knows that the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will take place.

Let us closely unite the activity for safeguarding peace with the interests of peoples in each country. Let us show the men and women in every town and village that the difficulties of their daily lives and the obstacles preventing the opening out of a happier and freer life for all, result from the policy of war preparations being imposed upon them. In this way, everyone will be better able to understand the need for acting to remove the dangers of war.

A BROAD EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

Every meeting, assembly, conference, every local or national Congress must be the occasion and the place for a broad exchange of ideas between people from organisations or associations of every kind, between men of all professions, between personalities of all opinions and all backgrounds who desire to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force. There, they will learn to know one another, to understand one another and to gather together in order to achieve solutions defined in common and answering the needs of all.

Thus will these men and these women, these organisations, strive with all their force to help in developing a vast campaign in favour of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, because the Congress of the Peoples will be their own Congress. They will elect their representatives and will collect the material means to send their delegates to the Congress.

In am confident that your work, your persevering efforts and your resolute action will give exceptional scope to the preparation of this Congress. The Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be an imposing demonstration which will forcefully express the determination of the peoples to safeguard peace.

With warmest wishes for success in the carrying out of your great task.

President of the World Council
of Peace,

F. JOLIOT-CURIE.

Note : Sub-titles added by the editor of **World Trade Union Movement.**

Trade Union Congress Shows Growing Rank and File Revolt

By

T. F. McWHINNIE

NO understanding of the real situation in the British trade union movement following the decisions of the 84th Congress of the T.U.C., which ended a five-day session in Margate on September 5, is possible unless there is fully taken into account the growing gap between the demands of the ordinary trade unionist and the General Council policy of support for the Tory government. It is this fact, supplemented by division within the General Council itself (reflecting pressure from below) which will govern the future of the resolutions adopted.

The Fight for a Peace Policy

OVERSHADOWING all other questions and recurring as a constant theme in the discussions was the issue of war or peace. In the preliminary agenda, expression was given to the widespread fear of war and the demand for new policies, in the form of 14 resolutions presented by different unions, which either demanded peace by negotiations, opposed rearmament, condemned atomic and bacteriological warfare or took a stand against German and Japanese rearmament. Not one of these resolutions coming from the rank and file supported the present policy of the British and U.S. governments.

These issues finally came before Congress in the form of a General Council statement on rearmament which argued for the need "to negotiate from strength," recognised that "this policy would add to the burdens of the British people," and declared for a rearmament policy "within the limits of our power to find the means." Ranged against this policy was a composite motion supported by five unions, which expressed alarm at the present international position and called upon the General Council to oppose the preparation for war and to mobilise the labour movement to demand a policy which would include a meeting between the Five Great Powers for the signing of a Peace Treaty, the stopping of German and Japanese rearmament, the reduction of arms by all nations, and freedom and self-government for all oppressed peoples.

A second composite resolution, supported by three unions, including the 800,000-strong Amalgamated Engineering Union, requested the General Council "to continue to advocate and support all measures genuinely designed to lessen international tension and bring about peace." The resolution went on to enumerate the necessary measures as being : to reduce armaments with control

While Sir Vincent Tewson lectures the delegates Chairman Arthur Deakin keeps his blood pressure down.

and inspection; to prohibit atomic and bacteriological warfare; and to assist the development of backward areas without infringement on the right of the people to self-determination. To this resolution, the Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers proposed a Bevanite amendment which recognised the necessity for rearmament, but requested the General Council "to press for a revision of the rearmament programme," on the grounds that "failure to do so would increase economic and political instability."

In the debate which followed, Sir Vincent Tewson, for the General Council, made a full-blooded defence of Anglo-American policy and lectured the delegates, saying that there must be "no wobbling, no trimming' no reservations." This fear of Sir Vincent's had been generated by the fact that, at a meeting of the General Council held prior to the debate, eleven of its members had voted for acceptance of the second resolution mentioned above. In fact, it was only at the last moment that Mr. Arthur Deakin finally managed to get his delegation, which controls 1,300,000 votes, to reverse its previous decision to support the second composite resolution and to throw their vote behind the General Council's statement.

In these circumstances, the two resolutions and the amendment were swamped by the block vote, but with the first resolution winning 1,887,000 votes and the second 1,801,000. But for the diversion caused by the Bevanite amendment, this resolution would have won well over 2 million votes.

The feature of the very wide, and at times confused, discussion which took place on all four documents simultaneously, was the tremendously telling attack on Anglo-American policy made by the supporters of the two resolutions. John Horner, General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, in a striking speech, reminded Sir Vincent Tewson that last year he had stated that there was no question of re-arming Germany in order to restore the military, financial and economic interests which had supported Hitler. "The release of Krupp, the return of his great fortune and the work he is now undertaking in re-organising the great arms monopoly, puts this assurance of last year in its proper perspective," he added. Referring to Eisenhower's recent speech, in which he threatened to "liberate" half the countries in the world, Horner concluded: "That, my friends, is a clear, but I would say mad, bombastic suicidal declaration of war. It is for this that the platitudinous statement of the General Council would ask us to prepare."

J. R. Scott' of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, in moving the second resolution, dealt with the allegation that the Soviet Union was preparing for war and brought forth an approving response from Congress when he said: "You cannot plan to increase consumers goods by 60%, to decrease prices and raise real wages by 35%, and prepare for war at the same time. If Mr. Churchill and Mr. Butler think this is possible, I suggest they should put Military Intelligence on the job of finding out this Russian secret weapon. It would be very useful for the British Chancellor to know how to rearm and at the same time to raise the standard of living of the British people."

Finlay Hart of the Boilermakers and Shipbuilders put the position of the General Council clearly when he said: "Once you agree to the production of these arms, you must in the final analysis, if there is failure to agree, permit their use and condone it. And you won't decide when and how it is to be done. The decision is not in your hands."

He concluded by pointing out that, although Korea had been burned, bombed and blasted for two years and although things had been done in Malaya which were a disgrace to the nation, the only result had been to raise the hatred of millions of people throughout the world and to bring about opposition among rank and file trade unionists who were now beginning to reflect their understanding of what was happening in their conference decisions.

Bacteriological Warfare Condemned

IMMEDIATELY following the debate on these omnibus resolutions, Congress was called upon to consider a motion from the Association of Scientific Workers

which stated: "This Congress is opposed to the use of bacteriological weapons and urges Her Majesty's Government, through the United Nations Organisation, to secure a new international agreement prohibiting their use."

Despite all the attempts of the General Council to persuade Congress that this resolution had already been disposed of by previous decisions and should not be considered, the delegates overwhelmingly voted to discuss it and went on to pass the resolution by 3,797,000 votes to 3,528,000, in the teeth of a violent attack by Sir Vincent Tewson on Dr. P. W. Brian, the mover of the motion, and the Association of Scientific Workers.

Dr. P. W. Brian dealt in simple terms with the need to see that the discoveries of science, made in eliminating plague and disease, should not be distorted to propagate them. He rejected the innuendoes of Sir Vincent Tewson that there were hidden implications in the motion. He was supported by E. Corrigan of the Plumbers' Union, who said that steel was bad enough in a war without enlisting the support of germs. Turning to the platform as he spoke, he asked, to the confusion of the General Secretary and the President: "Are you, Sir Vincent, in favour of bacteriological warfare? Are you, Mr. Deakin, not opposed to the use of bacteriological weapons in any shape or form?"

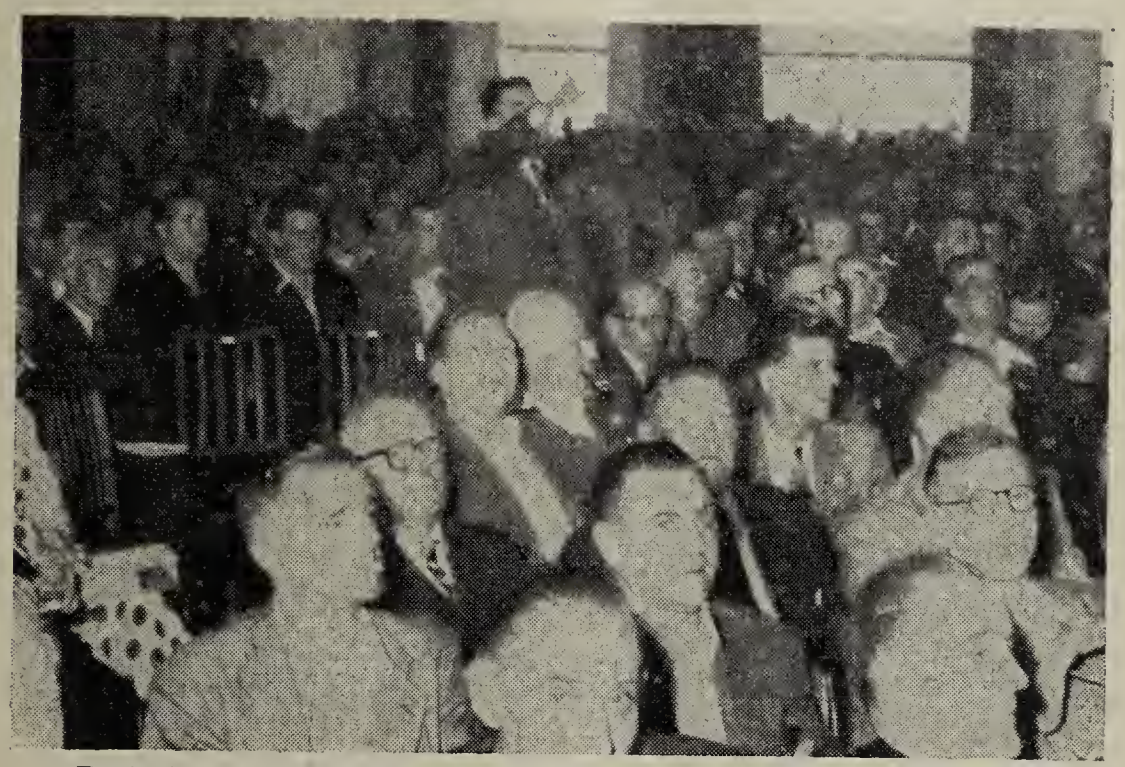
Congress was left in the dark as to the position of the General Secretary and President but went on to make its own attitude clear.

The Wages Question, or the General Council to the Rescue of Churchill

WITH the big battalions of the right-wing unions and their block-vote supporting the General Council policy of "wage restraint" and "moderation" in wage claims, there could be little doubt of its adoption. The General Council Report on the wages question sought to persuade the delegates that such was the economic position of Great Britain that the unions should show "responsibility" and limit their wage demands. Lincoln Evans, for the General Council, declared that only in this way could the country avoid the danger of so increasing the price of export goods, particularly in the metal and engineering trades, that it would price itself out of the world markets and intensify the economic crisis at home.

tutes "moderation" and "justifiable wage increases."

With about 7 million British workers demanding wage increases of 10%, 30 shillings per week and £2 per week, no attempt was made to try and tell the delegates which of these claims (if any) did not come within the terms of the wage restraint policy.



Protests come from delegates against Chairman Arthur Deakin's attempt to prevent the Congress from voting for or against the resolution on the extension of social ownership of industries.

In order to put this policy across and to rally sufficient votes for it, the General Council was forced to take over and treat as complementary to its report a composite resolution which expressed "determined opposition to the present government's economic policy" and urged the General Council "to reject attempts to restrict justifiable wage increases necessary to ease the burden of rising living costs." This resolution, in fact, made nonsense of the General Council's statement.

The plain fact is that so widespread are the demands for substantial wage increases that the right-wing General Council leaders dared not come out openly and ask Congress to endorse a wage freeze. They therefore took refuge in a tortuous formulation which left undefined what constitutes "moderation" and "justifiable wage increases."

H. J. Bradley, General Secretary of the National Union of Journalists, exposed the real meaning of the General Council's policy when he reminded Congress of the fulsome praise lavished on the report by the Press barons. It had been treated as a "responsible, realistic and encouraging document," which was what the big Press proprietors wanted the delegates to think. While the cost of living had risen since 1938 by 120%, the wages of journalists had only risen by 38%. His union was asking a wage increase of £2.2 per week. Would the General Council tell him whether this was excessive, or was it moderation? No one ventured to reply.

The sharpest comment on the General Council report was made by Walter Stevens, General Secretary of the Electrical Trades

Union, who moved an opposition resolution which stated in clear terms the responsibility of the trade union movement "to safeguard and improve the wages and living standards of the workers," and asked Congress to reject "the Tory government's policy of so-called restraint or moderation designed to secure the withholding of wage claims." Walter Stevens said: "You don't have to worry about moderation or restraint. When you go along and make the wage claims—which the General Council now says we can—the employers will inject a sufficient modicum of moderation and restraint, so that you won't have to bother about it."

Despite the massed support of the big right-wing unions and the red-baiting innuendoes of the General Council spokesman, this call for an unequivocal policy in defence of the working class mustered 2,626,000 votes.

A full comprehension of the position in which the General Council have got themselves can be reached, when it is realised that some of its members who voted for wage restraint have at this moment wage claims in for increases of 30 shillings and £2 per week. Ted Hill, General Secretary of the Boilermakers' Association and himself a member of the General Council, was honest enough to face facts. He spotlighted the situation when he turned to the platform and told them that to come forward with their policy of moderation and restraint was, in these circumstances, "immoral."

The situation is that, since the decision of the Congress is not binding on the affiliated unions, each individual union will go forward with its own wage claims, arguing that they are showing "moderation and restraint"; but the employers and the government will throw the Trades Union Congress decision in their face, dig their heels in, and attempt to operate a wage freeze.

As far back as August 19, when the General Council's statement on wages was made public, the *New York Times* headlined its report: "Union Chiefs Back Churchill against General Wage Rise." If there is any doubt that this is in fact the interpretation which will be put on the Congress decision, it is only necessary to examine the speech made by Winston Churchill to his constituents the day after Congress ended. In it he congratulated the T.U.C. on its "wise statesmanship." On the same day, Mr. Clement Attlee found himself in agreement with Mr. Churchill when, in almost the same words, he praised the T.U.C.s "judgment and statesmanship."

Reality, however, will in the coming period sweep away this decision on wages which, as far as the rank-and-file of the unions is concerned, is already outdated in practice and will not affect by one penny any demands being put forward by the men and women in the workshops. The future will bring a mounting clash between the rank and file and the right-wing officials. And despite the machine which these officials control and the widespread lack of democracy in many unions, this movement from below cannot but affect their position. The Deakins and the Lawthers are sitting on a banked-down volcano. The preliminary agenda illustrated this. Reflecting the desires of the rank and file, 9 resolutions on wages and the cost of living were presented by affiliated unions, not one of which was in favour of wage restraint.

Shocks for the Right-wing Leaders

THE day following its condemnation of germ warfare, Congress went on to infuriate the General Council by adopting a resolution which may well have deep repercussions within the labour movement in Britain.

This re-affirmed faith in the principle of social ownership, called upon the General Council to draw up a plan for the extension of it to other fields and to make proposals for the democratisation of the nationalised industries and services, these proposals to be submitted to the 1953 Congress and then forwarded to the Labour Party for inclusion in its programme.

"Bouquets from the Bosses."

Walter Stevens, General Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union: 'You don't have to bother about restraint or moderation. The employers will do that for you!" (Cartoon by Gabriel).

Congress was soon left in no doubt by C. J. Geddes, of the Union of Post Office Workers, that the General Council considered the resolution as completely unacceptable, although he suggested that the movers should agree to remit it to the General Council for investigation. But, on behalf of the National Union of Public Employees, Bryn Roberts refused to accede to this request. In an attempt to conceal the opposition of himself and his colleagues to the whole proposal, Arthur Deakin tried to give it a decent burial by insisting on taking a vote on referring it to the General Council. In a scene of uproar, with protests coming in from all parts of the hall, the delegates made it clear by 4,542,000 votes to 3,210,000 that whatever might be the attitude of the General Council and of the Labour Party leadership, they were for more nationalised industries—and democratically operated.

On the question of East-West trade, the General Council suffered a signal defeat. Unable to oppose a resolution which was down on the agenda with the support of unions already mustering two and a half million votes, the General Council was forced to accept with extremely bad grace a demand for "extensive trading relations with China, the U.S.S.R. and other eastern countries." The resolution also called upon governments "regardless of their political systems" to get together and discuss ways of extending trade and removing artificial barriers. The motion was unanimously adopted.

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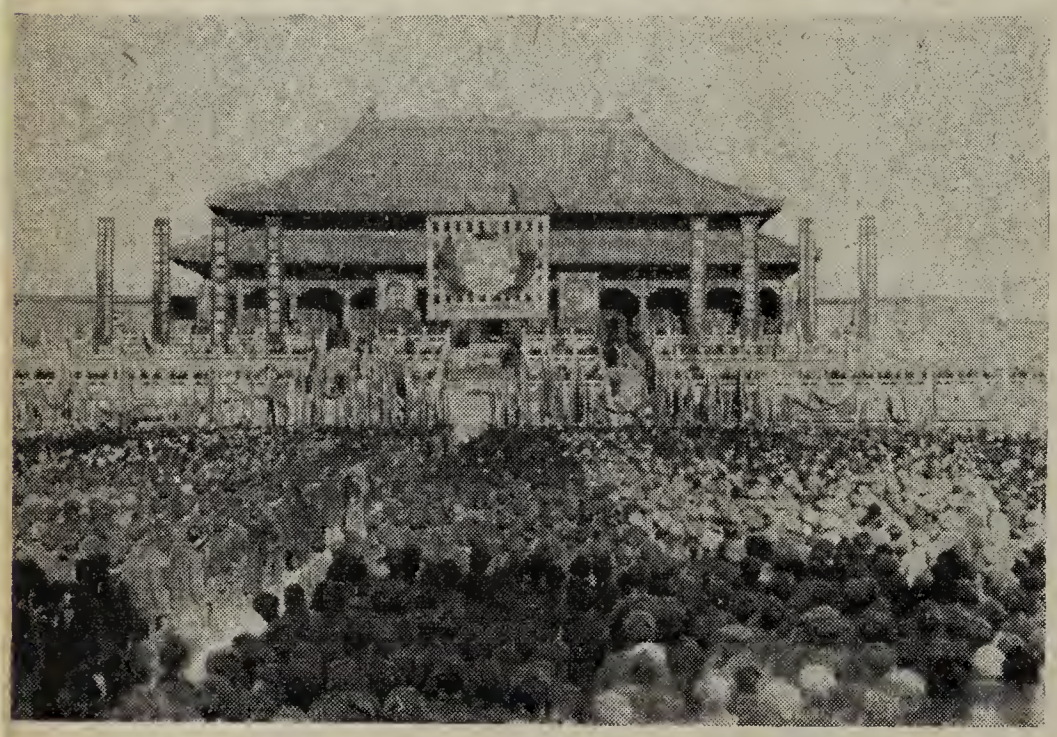
THE Eighty-fourth Congress of the Trades Union Congress has come and gone. To some the meaning of the debates and decisions may seem as if the right-wing leaders put across their policy and have won the day. But Congress decisions must be seen in their proper perspective against the background of a gathering largely controlled by the block votes of three or four big unions. Events show that even this line-up can be defeated when the pressure from the rank and file makes their position untenable. From this point of view the 84th Congress registered a significant advance over last year and is indicative of the growing understanding of British trade unionists.

The highlights of this year's T.U.C. are as follows:

- The growing contradictions and divisions between the rank and file and the right-wing leadership. The General Council's inability to put across a straight wage-freeze policy and their presentation of an illogical, confused statement on wages is a result of the operation of this factor in the movement. The right-wing leadership dared not present their policy in an open and frank manner.
- The reflection of the struggles of the trade union membership for progressive policies showed itself in disagreements between right-wing members of the General Council themselves.
- The adoption by Congress of progressive resolutions where these came before Congress in a simple, direct way as in the case of the condemnation of bacteriological warfare and approval of East-West trade.

No British trade unionist, after this year's T.U.C., need face the coming period in a pessimistic frame of mind. On the contrary, the indications are that the future will bring about radical changes in favour of the progressive policies which were put before the Congress with such force and clarity. The General Council will find itself increasingly exposed and isolated as the realisation more and more penetrates the British working class that its policy is, in fact, the Tory one of war and poverty for the people of Britain.

E. Corrigan of the Plumbing Trades Union: "Are you, Sir Vincent, in favour of bacteriological warfare?" "Are you, Mr. Deakin, not opposed to the use of bacteriological weapons?" (Cartoon by Gabriel).



Appeal by t
Anniversary
Workers of

Working men and women!

Seven years ago, on October 3rd 1945, the World Federation of Trade Unions was created by the will of the workers of the whole world. Its creation was an historic victory for the working class, the expression of the workers' desire for unity, without any distinctions as to race, nationality, religious convictions or political opinions.

From its very onset, the W.F.T.U. has set itself the task of fighting:

- for improvements in the living and working conditions of the workers;
- against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties;
- for the extermination of all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism;
- against war and its causes;
- for a stable and lasting peace.

The Federation proclaimed as the essential principle of its activity the unity of the working class, the decisive condition for achieving its aims.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is fulfilling its obligations to the workers of the world. It is the faithful and stalwart champion of their desires and their aspirations. The W.F.T.U. is fighting for the economic and social demands of the working class, against the dangers of a new war, against attacks on trade unions and democratic rights, against racial discrimination, for the liberation of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries and for national independence.

By its consistent policy in the interests of the workers, the World Federation of Trade Unions has become the object of the spite and savage hatred of reactionary forces, who are seeking, with the help of their agents in the trade union movement, to divide the ranks of the working class.

In spite of reactionary activities of a fascist character—terror, police repression, arrest and persecution of many trade union leaders—the W.F.T.U. is continually winning greater respect and confidence among the workers. It is extending its activities and maintains permanent contact with the great mass of working men and women of the whole world. There is a continual increase in the number of workers of all industries affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

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From top to bottom: **A view of the speakers' stand at the second World Trade Union Congress in Milan, June-July 1949. A huge meeting during the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries in Peking, November-December 1949. The enthusiastic celebration of the 5th anniversary of the W.F.T.U., Paris, October 8, 1950.**

★

The WFTU on its Seventh to the Men and Women the World

The uniting and bringing together of the mass of working people throughout the world is at present more than ever necessary in the conditions of the growing offensive by reaction against the interests and basic rights of workers in the capitalist and colonial countries, and because of imperialist preparations for a new world war.

United action, which remains the basic principle of the policy and action of the World Federation of Trade Unions, is the guarantee of victory for the workers in their fight against reaction and the instigators of war.

At a time of growing impoverishment of the workers in the capitalist and colonial countries, the peoples in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic are devoting themselves to peaceful and creative work, and their living standards are continuously rising.

Working men and women of the world!

The World Federation of Trade Unions sends you its fraternal greetings on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of its foundation.

The World Federation of Trade Unions assures you that it will always remain faithful to the cause of defending the interests of workers throughout the world.

The World Federation of Trade Unions calls upon you:

- to strengthen and extend the unity of the working class, rallying around your international organisation, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and carry out mass recruitments of unorganised workers to your trade unions.
- to expose those who provoke divisions among the ranks of the workers, those who help the forces of reaction to carry on their offensive against the interests and basic rights of the workers.
- to strengthen international solidarity.

Working men and women—

Fight for increased wages, against unemployment and for full employment, for the extension and improvement of social insurance and social security systems!

Defend trade union rights and democratic liberties!

Fight against racial discrimination and for your national independence!

Increase your efforts against the imperialist aggressors and fomentors of a new world war, and safeguard and consolidate peace everywhere in the world.

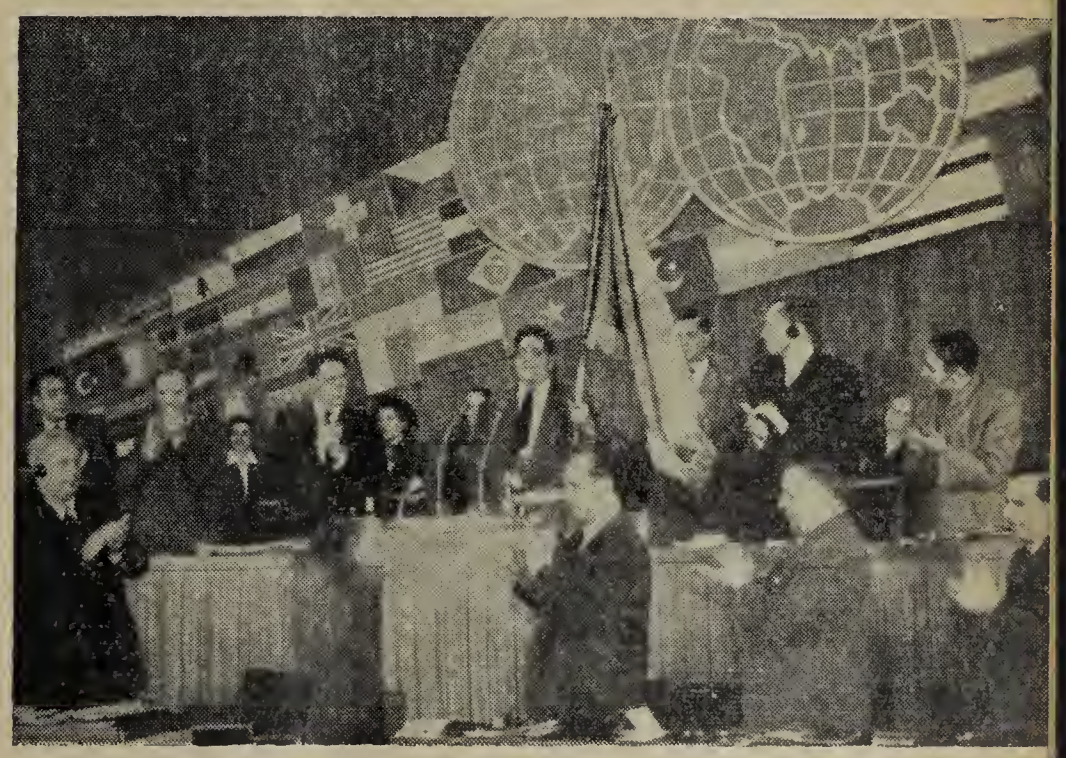
Take an active part in the preparations for the World Congress of the Peoples for Peace!

Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions, the champion and defender of the interests and unity of the workers!

Long live a stable and lasting peace throughout the world!

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
Vienna, 18th September, 1952.

From top to bottom: **Some of the delegates to the Conference of Latin-American Transport Workers (May 1951) surrounding W.F.T.U. General Secretary, Louis Saillant, and Lombardo Toledano, President of the Confederation of Latin-American workers. The Korean delegation has just presented a banner to G. di Vittorio at the W.F.T.U. General Council in Berlin, November 1951.**



AN EXAMPLE OF U.S. "PRODUCTIVITY"

By REGINE LACAZETTE

IT is not a new thing for the workers of the capitalist countries to have to fight against intensification of work, currently camouflaged under the name of "productivity." This aspect of super-exploitation means added poverty for one section of society and an increase in capitalist profits for another section.

But in order to grasp fully the meaning of the "productivity" crusade, it must be seen in relation to the preparations of the American imperialists and their satellites for war against the camp of socialism, peace and democracy.

It is, in fact, both in order to swell the gigantic war budgets and to make bigger profits for the capitalist monopolies that these "productivity" operations are being carried on to extort the maximum surplus value from the working class. This operation is an integral part of the Atlantic policy, and will also contribute to helping the Americans in their seizure of the economic potential of the satellite countries, hasten the liquidation of peaceful production in favour of war production, strengthen the trusts to the detriment of less important enterprises and increase unemployment, which encourages super-exploitation.

But how is it possible to gain acceptance of the idea that "productivity" will increase the living standards of the working class in view of the growing resistance of the workers to American "benefits"?

The promoters of "productivity" are trying to achieve their aims by spreading ideas of class collaboration in the factories, by means of frantic propaganda supported by a wage system adapted to the situation by hiding exploitation and the most brutal repression under the cover of fascist-inspired demagogy. They hope in this way to break the workers' fighting spirit and to destroy their representative trade union organisations.

The disruptive trade unions leaders, together with other right-wing leaders, supporters of the rulers and the employers, and thus faithful to the line recently confirmed by the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions[1], are taking an active part in this vast attempt at ideological corruption of the working class, this monumental swindle.

But the workers are providing some rude awakenings to all these people. Already the truth is becoming clear to many, and there are examples to prove that the fight against the evils of "productivity" is a reality filled with promises of victory.

A Trust Under American Domination

AMONG the enterprises chosen by the former American Marshall Plan Administration (E.C.A.) with a view to trying out "productivity" is the SIMCA factory[2] at Nanterre on the outskirts of Paris, which employs 8,500 workers and is the fourth largest automobile factory in France, after Renault, Citroen and Peugeot. It is one of the hundred multi-millionaire trusts in France, is linked with the Italian Fiat firm and the largest American automobile trust, General Motors, and to the powerful American Morgan financial group. SIMCA has several times received credits from Marshall "Aid," amounting to several million dollars since 1948.

SIMCA's increase in production and profits have been:

	Cars produced	*Declared profits*
1947	11,784	19 million francs
1949	26,806	85 " "
1951	52,500	214 " "

Real profits are well above the declared profits. In 1950, for example, the reserves amounted to 1,363 million francs.

1See editorial by Henri Jourdain in *W.T.U.M.* No. 16, August 16-31, 1952, article on Productivity by the same author in No. 1, Jan. 1-15, 1952, and the report presented to the International Conference of European Metal and Engineering Workers in Vienna, February, 1952.

2Société Industrielle de la Mécanique et de la Construction Automobile (Engineering and Automobile Manufacturing Company).

The turnover increased from 2,100 million francs in 1947 to 26,000 million in 1951, and amounted to 28,800 million for the first seven months of 1952. Last year, the SIMCA trust absorbed the important M.A.P. ("Manufacture d'Armes de Paris") tractor factory.

It can be stated that the shareholders of the SIMCA company—seven of whom owned 78% of the capital in 1950—have done well out of Marshall Plan dollars and "productivity." They can well support the plans to put the French automobile industry into American hands, plans to which the French rulers are accomplices. These consist of favouring enterprises under their control and jeopardising others which impede them, such as the Hotchkiss factory, makers of an old-established French model, which has been closed down, together with the Talbot and Salmson factories. Could it be possible that some people are concerned with closing these factories with a view to reopening them one day for arms manufacture? The French automobile workers, who are fighting against the closing of factories and for peaceful manufacture, have good reason to be on the watch for this.

Speed-Up

THE SIMCA factory has the reputation of being a prison where the intensity of work is pushed to the maximum, and where speed-up causes frequent and serious accidents.

"Many workers are taken on every day," wrote the employers' factory journal *Les Echos de la SIMCA* last year, being careful not to say that this is to replace workers who leave. In fact, about 1,600 workers left the plant in a few months in 1951, unable to stand the atmosphere and the pace.

Workers of different shops and departments have quoted to us cases of speed-up of hourly rates by 25 to 30 per cent within a few months, or even a few weeks. When workers are absent through illness or accidents, or the personnel is reduced, the assembly line or the team are kept to the same rate of output. The pace of work is also increased when extra operations are demanded for a specific time or a particular job.

To the overwork is added frequent extensions of the working time, and only the opposition of the workers prevented the management's attempt to introduce a 55-hour week.

In certain departments the workers have no time, in the half-hour allowed, to make use of the canteen. Last year, the management had the bright idea of serving everybody on the job with sandwiches and snacks wrapped in cellophane. This astute move would have saved the time needed for washing hands, and would have reduced the rest period from 30 to 20 minutes. The outraged workers unanimously defeated this plan.

It is these conditions which have caused an outbreak of accidents and illness in the factory, of which we give a few examples.

Within a few months last year, in the upholstery shop crew, four workers were taken to hospital for serious stomach operations and eight were taken ill with nervous complaints.

In the press shops, within a three-month period there were six serious accidents with hands and a fore-arm cut off and feet crushed. A young 24-year-old worker had a lung perforated, and a woman, mother of a family, had three fingers sliced off one hand. Deep cuts in the hand or arm are a daily occurence, for the workers are obliged to leave off their protective gloves in order to keep up the pace imposed on them.

Often, in order not to hold up production, the management does not have tools repaired in time, and the legal safety provisions are not enforced, thus giving rise to an additional source of illness and accidents.

As a result of a fire which took place in one shop due to lack of safety measures, several workers were injured, one of whom died eight days later after terrible suffering.

The sick, victims of accidents and weaker workers are dismissed, the management speculating on unemployment and difficult living conditions to replace them easily and cheaply.

As a consequence, there is a continual increase in the daily output, which increased from 240 cars at the end of 1951 to 264 in April 1952. The management planned to increase it to 300 by the end of 1952, but this was driving exploitation too far, and the resistance of the workers, which the management had not counted upon, defeated these plans.

It Is Not A Matter of Perfecting Technique

WITH the evident intention of denying that their methods are those of super-exploitation, the management is trying to modernise its equipment. But we should recall that less hypocritical apologists of the "productivity" crusade such as Mr. Joyce, assistant administrator of the former Marshall Plan, do not attempt to hide that it is a matter of obtaining higher productivity with the same labour power, factory space, equipment and plants. This clearly means that the increased "productivity" is not expected to come from technical progress, but very much from increased effort by the workers through speed-up. Even in a factory equipped like SIMCA (thanks to American dollars) new machinery serves only to increase super-exploitation.

And it is very characteristic that in this factory which is an inferno of speed-up, the most popular demands are for reduced tempo of work and for increased wages. For under a capitalist regime, the machine is an instrument for the enslavement of the workers in the service of profits and imperialist wars. Capitalism has always tended to make use of technical improvements in order to increase the degree of exploitation of the workers by forcing greater intensity of work, by lengthening the work period and increasing unemployment.

The American Ford Automobile Company, one of the most modernised, is notorious for its methods of "rationalisation," introduced after the first world war. Every year it hires 100,000 new workers to replace those who leave, worn out by the exhausting pace of the work. Today speed-up is one of the main issues in the trade union battle in the Ford plants. It is precisely in the United States, the capitalist country with the most ad-

Productivity—American style (cartoon by Mitelberg).

vanced technique, that there is at present a great wave of strikes against speed-up. It is also in the United States, the country of high "productivity," that unemployment is becoming widespread in the automobile industry as a result of intensification of work and the slowing down of peace-time production.

Only a socialist regime, in which exploitation of man by man has been abolished, where all the means of production belong to the people, can pride itself on having machines at the service of the workers and on having real productivity which is based essentially on technical improvements, freeing man, restoring his dignity and bringing him well-being and the development of his creative faculties.

* * *

IT is necessary to stress, further, that neither the French rulers nor their American masters intend to modernise and equip French national economy as a whole, but only certain sectors of military importance. On the contrary, the economy is being ruined, de-industrialised and pillaged for war. It is to the credit of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) that it is demanding a policy of modernisation and equipment for peace in an independent France, freed from American bondage. The Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) is perfectly correct in stating that, in the event of the introduction of new machines, there is still more reason why the workers must unite to demand a reduction in the tempo of work and production for peace, to fight against dismissals and transfers involving loss of wages, and to demand higher wages and a reduction in the number of hours worked, without reduction in wages, to meet the increase in prices and the rise in the indices of "productivity."

Wages Linked to "Productivity"

THE plans of the former Marshall Plan Administration (E.C.A.) envisages contracts signed in selected "sample factories" between the E.C.A., the employers and the so-called free trade unions, with the intention of creating an "interest" among the personnel in raising productivity and profits, on condition that wages be more and more closely linked with productivity.

To make wages dependent on "productivity" means that the workers should take no account of variations in the cost of living at a time when it is continually rising steeply as a result of the development of war economy. It also means a threat to the very principle of the guaranteed minimum wage.

The first attack of the employers on the workers' interests is to juggle the wage structure. There is an increasing tendency to divide wages into various bonuses, increasing the proportion of the bonuses to the total wage, and reducing the proportion of the basic wage. The employers tend to expand those bonuses which are most directly linked to productivity, and to introduce the system of a collective bonus assessed on the overall production of the enterprise and divided among the workers.

The system of wages based on output, with a complicated method of computing bonuses, deliberately designed to make it difficult, if not impossible, to figure out and compare pay slips, is a standing robbery of the workers.

In SIMCA, whenever a crew seems able to make the pace too easily, the time-study man reduces the minimum time right away, and thus reduces the price paid per piece. When a machine breaks down, regardless of who tends the machine, the worker is robbed outright of payment for the time lost. He is, in fact, doubly robbed, for he is obliged to make up the unpaid lost time, thus reducing his output and his hourly wage. In the event of a technical breakdown or a change of service, wages are arbitrarily reduced by calculating them on the basis of an hourly rate below the established norm.

Threat to Workers' Trade Union Rights and Human Dignity

THE most important bonus added to the basic wage at SIMCA is the quarterly bonus. Calculated on the basis of 200 hours wages, it is paid at the rate of 20% of this figure at the end of three months and rises to 60% after two years in the factory. For workers who have been in the factory for at least a year, this quarterly bonus represents a relatively important part of their wages. However, the bonus is not paid to everyone, and the conditions under which it is paid are an outrage to the most elementary rights and dignity of the workers. The management defines the bonus as "a re-

compense for application to work, good observation of the factory rules and continuity at work," which means stepping up production to the maximum by means of a relentless discipline. The workers are subjected to "warnings." When a worker receives his first warning he loses a third of his bonus, on the second warning he loses two-thirds, and the third time the bonus is stopped altogether.

It is easy to imagine the grounds for warnings in this capitalist jail, if the worker is lucky enough not to be punished by being sacked—absence through illness or any other justifiable absence or lateness, failure to observe the iron discipline established by the management, refusal to work overtime, distribution of C.G.T. trade union material, stoppage of work, action against speed-up, any agitation, signing petitions or taking part in a strike.

The whole of this system of traps and snares, of attempts to corrupt the workers by means of a sum of money which the employers intend to recover later is a veritable return to the vile system of fines and penalties against which the workers of the capitalist countries have fought bitter battles.

To complete these measures, a productivity bonus, as such, was introduced by the management last April, which is based exclusively on the effective overall production of the enterprise, that is, on the number of cars delivered for sale without need of overhaul.

This bonus is not paid on overtime, nor on payment due for paid holidays, nor on the basic wages upon which the quarterly bonus is calculated, though overtime working is taken into account for the calculation of the co-efficient of productivity. Further, the new bonus is paid pro rata on the effective working time, that is, after deduction of absences and lateness, even when justifiable. By means of this bonus, which begins at 3% of the basic wage, the management aims to speed-up work so as to attain a record daily rate, which they are trying to achieve with a considerably reduced personnel, or at the price of unemployment for some and increased exhaustion for others.

Besides being an excellent means of super-exploitation and added profits for the employers, this collective bonus system tends to inculcate into the personnel the idea of a so-called community of interests between employers and workers, and to disarm them morally with a view to worse things.

Paternalism

THE SIMCA management, taking their cue for these plans from American suggestions, are past-masters in the art of paternalism, so much detested by the workers.

Slogans on class collaboration are profusely distributed in the factory by the management's journal *Les Echos de la SIMCA,* which is printed in a luxurious make-up and intended for the staff.

Here are a few of the ideas which are constantly repeated in different forms, taken at random from recent issues.

"In truth we are all united, one to the other, and only our good understanding and our team spirit can bring each one of us a better life now and security in the future."

Or again, "to increase productivity and thus to lower the cost of living is the secret of higher purchasing power and thus of a better life."

Aware of the great feeling of friendship which the French workers have for the Soviet Union, the management resorts to a systematic campaign of lies and slander. In this they receive plentiful help from the American agency *France-Etats-Unis* and from *Paix et Liberté,* a den of fascist propaganda serving the new occupiers and their agents. Large quantities of their anti-working class publications are spread around the factory, including the reactionary speeches of Reuther, President of the C.I.O. union, United Automobile Workers' of America, and the man who has presented the 470,000 workers of the American General Motors with a contract linking their wages to "productivity."

Following a splendid campaign of explanation of American "productivity" in SIMCA, carried on by Gaston Monmousseau, Secretary of the C.G.T., in the great trade union newspaper *La Vie Ouvrière,* these two anti-working class agencies flooded the factory with their leaflets in order to "refute the lies of the Red rag." Unfortunately for the authors of these leaflets, the "refutation" succeeded in showing the workers more clearly how well-founded were the arguments which Monmousseau put forward in such clear working-class style.

However, the management takes every precaution to hire only those without "subversive" ideas. The factory gates are wide open only to those recommended by reactionary individuals or organisations and to those belonging to fascist groups. Those who have no such recommendations are asked to produce all sorts of certificates, and the SIMCA private police inquiries into the political "morality" of the applicant. It is too bad for anyone whom the inquiry reveals to have progressive opinions or to be engaged in progressive activity—such as belonging to the C.G.T., for instance.

Backing for the Company Union

THE SIMCA management is applying American instructions to the letter in hunting out members of the C.G.T., encouraging the two "free" trade unions (a company union and the recently-formed "independent" union which follows the line of the neo-fascist De Gaulle).

When united pressure and action by the C.G.T. in the factory force the management to meet the workers' demands, they present it as a victory achieved by the efforts of the breakaway trade unions. For example, the C.G.T. trade union section demanded 3,000 francs holiday bonus in 1948. The management refused, but a few days later the company union notice board announced the granting of a bonus of 3,000 francs for the introduction of a new car model. The same procedure was applied in 1949 with the end-of-year bonus, which was refused to some and granted to others. To prevent any action in the factory at the time of the March 1951 strikes, the management decided to double

and extend the quarterly bonus and to increase hourly wage rates, presenting it as a gain achieved by the leaders of the company union.

The management is thus trying to promote the idea that it is possible for the workers, divided and without taking any action, to improve their situation through a policy of labour-capital association, without the C.G.T.

Action and Unity of the Workers

OF course, trade union activity is more difficult under these conditions than elsewhere. But obstacles are overcome and snares avoided when the workers are shown the source of, and the reason for, their difficulties by clear and patient explanation; and particularly when united action is organised on even the smallest of common demands, when an immediate reply is made to the management's lies and manœuvres and when traitors and provocateurs are isolated and exposed.

It is because the C.G.T. trade union section has adopted this line of action that, in spite of its difficulties, it has the support of more than half the staff—a personnel carefully selected by the management, let us not forget. It is because of this that the C.G.T. still represents a force with which the management and the "independent" and company union leaders have to reckon.

Thanks to their united action and to that of the French working class, the SIMCA workers won increased bonuses and higher wages in 1951, with special gains for particular shops and teams. C.G.T. members work continually to unite all the workers without regard to their opinions, thus remaining faithful to the aspirations of all the workers in the factory.

The fight is on against speed-up. There are frequent stoppages on various assembly lines or by different teams. Sometimes twenty minutes to an hour of united action are sufficient to force the management to give way. All the workers' delegates unanimously refused to agree to an increase of working time to 110 hours a fortnight.

Following a united strike against speed-up by 250 workers in the large press shop in November 1951, the management sacked six workers, five of whom were non-unionists, and they later sacked a C.G.T. delegate. These measures, intended to smash the will for unity and struggle, did not have the effect desired by the management. The workers understood even better the hypocrisy of the employers' slogan about the "SIMCA family."

Despite all the efforts by the management to counteract C.G.T. action, the printed paper of the trade union section, *Le Pilote de la SIMCA,* appears regularly, expressing the unity standpoint of the C.G.T., striving to banish all sectarianism and paying attention to all the workers' demands. Besides the general points, this paper raises a whole series of specific demands relating to health, safety, the rights of youth, women and North African workers, of the sick and injured, demands expressed in each shop and team and on each assembly line on the basis of friendly discussion. The main general demands put forward in the factory are: a 25 francs an hour wage increase and a sliding scale, reduced tempo of work, trade union freedom, the abolition of warnings and other forms of punishment, the incorporation of the quarterly bonus in the wage, seniority bonus, three weeks' paid holiday and payment for legal holidays.

Distribution of leaflets is frequently carried out at the factory gate, and the workers rescue the leaflet-distributors from the hands of the police. A few months ago, while leaflets were being distributed, new members were won for the C.G.T. in a shop where the C.G.T. delegate had recently been sacked. This was a tremendous blow and a lesson for the management. In fact, the management has changed its attitude, and lost its feeling of assurance now that the workers have become aware of their own strength. Thanks to the workers' action, it is easier to breathe now in SIMCA. The workers are more confident. They are discussing, they are improving their trade union organisations which the management wanted to isolate, and they are taking part in the actions of all metalworkers for their demands. They took part in the International Week against Speed-up organised by the Metalworkers' Trade Unions International and sent a delegation to the National Automobile Conference against Speed-up and for the Defence of the Industry; they forced the management to allow a representative of the workers to go to the International Metalworkers' Conference in Vienna.

The result of the elections for delegates to the factory committee and staff delegates last April are a further striking illustration of the opposition of the workers to American "productivity" methods and to labour-capital association. In this factory, under American control and with American propaganda methods implanted, where the C.G.T. is hunted down, the workers subjected to supervision, the trade union press banned, the majority of the personnel voted in secret ballot for the C.G.T. against the management. The C.G.T. candidates in the factory obtained 56.2 per cent. of the votes, with 22 places as compared with 16 the previous year; 20.4 per cent. of the votes went to the company union candidates and 18.7 per cent. to the "independent" union. A third of the members of the company and "independent" unions voted against the candidates of their own unions and for those of the C.G.T.

Following the elections, the C.G.T. has already made new members, and is preparing an intensive recruiting campaign.

This fine victory must not make us forget that the difficulties are still great and that the battle will be hard. The SIMCA employers and their agents in the working class movement have more than one ace up their sleeves. The factory trade union organisation needs to be strengthened, broadened at the base, and made more democratic. It needs to get still closer to the mass of the workers with a policy of unity between members of all the different unions and of the unorganised workers.

The road to victory is the road of unity and action, and the SIMCA example enables us to state that the working class will have the last word in the struggle against American "productivity," an important sector of the fight for freedom, well-being and peace.

People's Berlin Rebuilds as a Symbol of the Will to Independence

By RUDOLF BEYER

of the Building and Woodworkers' Trade Union.

IN a Germany which has been artificially divided by the Western imperialists, we are carrying on a determined struggle to unify our country and to achieve a just and lasting peace. This is part of the struggle for increased production in all branches of economy, the source of continually increasing well-being for the whole population. "By our own strength towards a better life in peace and freedom" is the slogan which we are out to achieve.

Our successes in the sphere of peaceful construction are more and more inspiring our brothers and sisters in the Western part of our country in their own fight against the economy of war and poverty imposed upon them by Anglo-American imperialism. Every success which we win is an unanswerable argument against the adventurous policy of aggression and national surrender carried on by the Bonn government, a convincing appeal for the unity of the country. Thus to succeed in our economic task is a national duty for us.

We are now in the second year of our Five-Year Plan. Aware of the magnitude of what is at stake, and emboldened by a great spirit of emulation, the workers of the German Democratic Republic have decided to complete the Plan, and even to exceed it, in four years.

In addition, outside the scope of the Plan, they are carrying out the 1952 national programme for the rebuilding of the capital. This programme sets out to build a capital city which will meet the needs and desires of the people, with beautiful streets and spacious squares and, at the same time, to rebuild those buildings which are of artistic or historic interest.

In November 1951, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party submitted to all citizens a programme of vast conception for reconstruction work to be carried out in 1952, calling for a mobilisation of all national forces. The programme envisages the building of a whole city district consisting of apartment houses and public buildings of seven to ten storeys in height centring on the magnificent four-mile artery of the Stalin Allee.

The clearing away of rubble, which is being done on building sites as well as throughout the whole of the democratic sector of Berlin, is making it possible to salvage basic material such as bricks and steel girders. An original form of lottery contributes towards financing the work. Payment of 3 per cent. of wages for a year gives the right to a ticket without consideration of the total sum contributed. A ticket is also given to anyone who works 100 three-hour shifts at clearing rubble. The capital payment plus 3 per cent. interest will be made in annual instalments over a period of three years from July 1956. Besides this, on December 31, 1952, 1,000 two- and three-room apartments, as well as money prizes, will be drawn for. Those who win apartments will immediately receive reimbursement of capital in order to be able to buy furniture.

The reconstruction programme will result in the disappearance of these wrecked buildings.

THE Berlin reconstruction programme has aroused an enthusiastic emulation spirit everywhere. In factories there is eager rivalry to produce the necessary materials and machinery, over and above the tasks set for the Five-Year Plan. Challenges are issued on the building sites to find improvements in methods of work, to reduce waste of materials and to increase norms. Throughout the whole of Germany, including Western Germany, architects, engineers, technicians and specialists of all kinds are engaged in drawing up plans and making suggestions.

On January 2, 1952, Berlin witnessed a far from ordinary demonstration. Forty thousand citizens armed with picks and shovels made their way to the site of the future Stalin Allee to start the job of clearing the rubble. The head of the government, young pioneers, men and women of all trades and professions, were all there to start clearing the site of the ruins which covered it.

Then, while the clearance work went on, the plans to be achieved in 1952 were submitted to the public. The population invaded the halls in which the plans and models were exhibited. Workers, housewives and young people approved, criticised, called for modifications, thus making use of their rights as future occupants of the buildings.

The architects were still poring over the plans and counter-plans, the general discussion still went on while the engineers, technicians and foremen had started operations on the site and were drawing up plans for work, for the supply of material and the use of labour.

The organisation of the work went ahead rapidly. Railway lines criss-crossed the site, canteens and temporary housing for 4,000 workers were erected, the building material started to pile up, the loud-speakers began to relay music and at night-time floodlights lit up the sites.

So great was the spirit of emulation throughout the whole German Democratic Republic, on the sites as in the factories, that a few weeks sufficed for the creation of the necessary system to co-ordinate the production of material, transport, the work of the architects (often obliged to modify their initial plans in line with the wishes of the population) and the building work. At the same time, it was necessary to observe strict vigilance to expose enemy propagandists and saboteurs which the American C.I.C. (Military Intelligence) rushed to the site.

A view of a construction site on the Stalin Allee. In the background is a building already completed.

ONE of the decisive factors in the achievement of the reconstruction programme, as on a much wider scale for the building of Socialism, is the elaboration and standardisation of new methods of work side by side with large-scale mechanisation of the various operations.

Delegations of architects, engineers, builders and other types of workers were invited to visit the Soviet Union, where they studied the creative initiative developed on Soviet building sites. They were given full facilities to make a detailed analysis of the new methods of work which are the basis of, and the reason for, the tremendous tempo at which the Soviet people have cleared away the ruins and are now building thousands of homes, palaces of culture and factories. German builders made full use of what they learned from the Soviet example, but they did not apply it mechanically; they adapted these methods to the concrete conditions in Germany. Thus Soviet experience enabled us to find the way to a German national architecture.

Soviet architects and Stakhanovite building workers visited us in Berlin and worked alongside our architects, engineers and workers on the Stalin Allee site. Representatives of the renowned building teams of the Polish capital, initiators of the famous "Warsaw tempo," came to visit us. We were presented with new machines and new methods. Better still was the fact that this fraternal aid demonstrated the confidence in the workers of the German Democratic Republic felt by the Soviet and Polish peoples, whose cities, villages and farms were destroyed by the Nazi hordes, and who are today helping us to rebuild our own capital. We can only repay them by our efforts and our creative initiative in the building of a German economy entirely devoted to the cause of peace.

Competitions were organised on all the individual sites, which were brought together in a general competition for the "Red Banner of the Stalin Allee." Under the direction of the Building and Woodworkers Trade Union, more than 4,000 workers took part in an emulation campaign to decide on the site achieving the highest quality of work, the best bricklayers' brigade and the best individual bricklayer. The competition period was set for three months, and twice a month provisional title holders were announced. The winners of these provisional titles received money prizes ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 marks and a certificate. The site attaining the highest quality of work was presented with the circulating "Red Banner of the Stalin Allee."

The criteria set for assessment of the results were established in such a way as to increase the productivity of labour, to reduce production costs and to obtain high quality work. Following the experience gained in the Soviet Union and Poland, work in teams of three or five was adopted as a general rule.

The high quantity and quality of output sought for, presupposes both an improvement in the technical means put at the disposal of the workers and also first-class organisation at all stages of the labour process, with close co-operation between workers, engineers and architects. These two factors make it possible to avoid any unnecessary expenditure of human labour power.

While formerly a bricklayer laid from 1,000 to 1,200 bricks in an eight-hour day for walls of from ten to

ABOVE: **One of the large buildings being cleared of its scaffolding.**

BELOW: **The apprentices' construction site.**

twenty inches thick, the winner of the emulation competition last May was a bricklayer who, with his mate, laid 7,000 bricks in eight hours. Quite recently another team laid 8,400 bricks for walls of from 10 to 25 inches thick.

A new apparatus has been put into operation which enables the bricklayer to be rapidly supplied with bricks and mortar. The method of the celebrated Soviet bricklayer Kovaliev, which creates a closer and more effective co-operation between the bricklayer and his mate, has been widely introduced. The trowel has been replaced by a specially designed mortar shovel, and as a result of other improvements the use of the level has been largely done away with.

In order to make the improvements generally effective, courses and technical consultation have been organised on the site in order to train all building workers in these methods. The new methods have been widely introduced, not only on Berlin sites, but on all building jobs throughout the German Democratic Republic.

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THE new homes will be equipped with all the benefits of modern technique: lifts, running water and drainage, electric water-heater in the kitchen, tiled bathroom with gas water-heater, central heating for a whole district, built-in cupboards, etc.

At present, the site extends for just over a mile along both sides of the Stalin Allee, the height of the apartment houses varying from 7 to 9 storeys. The width of the Allee is about 80 yards, and a strip of grass marks the sidewalk.

The first section of the building work consists of 2,034 apartments, 5.6% of which will be one-room apartments with an area of about 50 square yards; 56.9% two-room apartments of about 80 square yards; 28.6% three-room apartments of about 90 square yards; 8.4% four-room apartments of about 126 square yards and 0.5% of five-room apartments. In addition, there will be schools, kindergartens, houses of culture, cinemas, theatres, sports grounds, a laundry centre, garages and a central heating plant for the district. On the ground floors there will be restaurants, cafes, offices and the first large children's store.

The competition for the "Red Banner of the Stalin Allee" closed on July 12, 1952. On that day, the work was four weeks ahead on three blocks, on one of which the work had been entirely carried out by apprentices.

The experiences gained on the Stalin Allee site during this first year of building will produce results throughout the entire German Democratic Republic. In 1953 the building workers will undertake reconstruction work in 53 towns heavily damaged by indiscriminate bombardment.

The tempo of work will increase still further on the Stalin Allee in 1953. The rebuilding of the capital is for all Germans a symbol of the fight for peace and for the unity of the country.

Volunteers come from all parts of the German Democratic Republic. Here are some having a discussion with their foreman.

IN TANGANYIKA . . .

Africans Robbed of Their Lands by Colonialists

● By MARGARET PARTRIDGE

TANGANYIKA, East Africa, which has a population of seven and a half million Africans, 71,000 Asians and Arabs, and 14,000 Europeans, and covers an area of some 360,000 square miles, is a Trust Territory administered by the British government. The Administering Authority has given an undertaking to carry out the administration in accordance with Article 76 of the United Nations Charter, which lays down, among other things, the objectives

> " . . . to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants . . . and to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

The recent forcible evictions of 3,000 Africans from their land in Meru Land in the Arusha District of Northern Tanganyika, and the subsequent handling of the matter by the Trusteeship Council in New York, has laid bare all the cant and hypocrisy about the so-called system of "Trusteeship," and spotlighted the evil effects of British imperialist administration in its trust territories.

The 3,000 evicted persons are members of the Wameru tribe who live on the slopes of the Meru Mountain from which they derive their name. The Wameru people have occupied Meru Land from time immemorial, where they have peacefully cultivated their crops and reared their cattle. In 1905 much of their land was taken from them by the German imperialists, but not without a struggle, for love of their land has always inspired the Wameru people in its passionate defence. The great Maji Maji uprising of 1905/6 in Southern Tanganyika bears eloquent testimony to the courage and heroism of the Tanganyika Africans in defence of their land.

In 1923, after the German imperialists had been driven out of Tanganyika during the 1914-18 war, the British government offered the land for sale, and the Wameru people applied to buy back their own land. By 1939 they had completed payment, and were happy that the land once more belonged to them. But their happiness was short-lived. In June 1946, the Tanganyika government set up a commission, the Arusha-Moshi Land Commission, under the chairmanship of Judge Mark Wilson, to formulate a plan for the redistribution of land in the Moshi and Arusha Districts of Northern Tanganyika. In the words of the Commission itself, this "land in the Arusha and Moshi Districts is literally more precious than gold." The terms of reference of the Commission were, briefly:

> " . . . to make comprehensive plans and recommendations for the redistribution of such lands, and to advise Government as to the availability or otherwise of land in the areas in question for further non-Native settlement."

In a nutshell—to preserve the best and most fertile land for the colonialists, and to drive the Africans on to the arid, tsetse-ridden lands, where their chances of wresting a living are slender, and as a consequence many of them will be driven to work as cheap labour on the colonialists' farms and large sisal estates. Sisal is a big dollar earner, and accounts for over half of Tanganyika's total exports, but labour is short due to the extremely bad conditions of work.

In 1950, the government proceeded to implement the recommendations of the commission, and the forcible ejection of the Wameru people from their land was commenced.

On December 10, 1950, about 20 policemen arrived

in Singisi, the heart of Meru Land, set fire to houses and cut down bahan trees belonging to the Wameru. Six houses were burnt without any regard to their contents. On July 2, 1951, the Wameru people living in Leganga were forcibly ejected from their land which was given to a Mr. Deardon who already owned a large amount of land in that area. This land at Leganga is of very great importance to the Wameru people because it is here that they hold their market. Since they were driven off this land they have to pay duty to Mr. Deardon on all goods sold there in the market. On July 12, 1951, all 31 Wameru families living in Daluti were forcibly ejected from their land, four people were arrested and imprisoned. On November 17, 1951, more than 200 police and mercenaries arrived in Engare-Nanyuki and proceeded to set fire to the homes of the Wameru, burn their crops, and drive their cattle away, some of which they killed for their own consumption. In many cases goats, sheep, cats and chickens were burnt along with their homes. Twenty people were arrested and imprisoned, one baby who was born during this forcible ejection died as a result, one sick man died and seven pregnant women had miscarriages.

Alternative land was offered to the Wameru people in the Kingori and Ongatongoshu area, which is arid and tsetse-ridden and which in any case is their own tribal land not used by them because of its unsuitability for cultivation or for grazing. The people are refusing to move on to this alternative land, and are carrying on the struggle for the right to remain on land which is their traditional home.

Tanganyika People Resist

IN August 1951 they addressed a petition to the United Nations, and in June 1952 decided to send their own representative to the Trusteeship Council in New York. The Wameru people immediately proceeded to raise money to finance their delegation, and within 3 days a sum of £800 had already been collected. Financial support was immediately forthcoming from the whole African population of the Arusha District. The Tanganyika Authorities, greatly alarmed at this development, confiscated all the receipts and records of monies collected and ordered the collecting to cease. Mr. Kirilo Japhet, secretary of the Umoja wa Raia Wameru (Meru Citizens' Union) demanded an interview with the Provincial Commissioner and requested the return of the books and receipts. This was refused, whereupon Mr. Japhet threatened to send a cable to the United Nations. The Provincial Commissioner promptly returned the receipts and issued instructions that the collection could continue until the end of the month.

Further obstacles were put in the way, and Mr. Japhet experienced great difficulty in obtaining his passport, while the authorities tried by threats and persuation to dissuade him from making his trip to the Trusteeship Council. Kirilo Japhet, however, stubbornly refused to be put off, and on July 21 made his first appearance before the Trusteeship Council, where, in a very moving speech delivered in Swahili, he described the great sufferings of his people.

The Soviet delegate, Mr. Soldatov, gave wholehearted support to the petition of the Wameru people, and denounced the Administering Authority for carrying out an anti-democratic policy violating the rights and interests of the indigenous inhabitants of Tanganyika. He moved a resolution that the Administering Authority should immediately return the alienated land to the Wameru people, and that in future it should prohibit the alienation of these lands. He also recommended that the Wameru tribe should be compensated in full for the losses suffered during the forcible evictions. The Soviet proposals were very coldly received by the Western Powers, and when put to the vote were completely defeated. Instead, the Trusteeship Council recognised the need for the removal of the Wameru people but regretted "that a process of forcible eviction was found necessary." The Wameru people are not prepared to leave the matter there and on their behalf Mr. Japhet will attend the General Assembly of the United Nations in October.

China Cuts Prices Twice Within Six Months

State shops and co-operatives throughout China recently announced a general cut in consumer goods prices—the second within six months, and of a wider scope both as regards actual price reduction and types of commodities affected.

In Peking, for instance, the price for cloth was reduced 3.65 per cent; that of flour 8.8 per cent; pork became 7.2 per cent and eggs even 13.6 per cent cheaper in this second price reduction. Soap cost 10-20 per cent less; but shirts were reduced a mere 5 per cent.

Price cuts ranged from 2-40 per cent, the average reduction being 8 per cent. In Shanghai, this second price cut affected over 10,000 items, in Peking and Wuhan 4,000. Following the lead of state stores and co-operatives, privately owned stores also had to lower prices, although their range was not so wide.

On the very first day after the price reduction had been announced, huge crowds queued up outside state stores in Shanghai long before they opened. The turnover for the day exceeded other days by 40 per cent, while some co-operative stores even doubled their sales! High-grade cloth, shirts, watches, biscuits, cakes sold very fast. Like so many others, the wife of a Peking worker, Mrs. Yuan Chi-hsing, took the opportunity of this second price reduction to buy Sunday clothes for all her family. Smiling broadly, she said: "Next time my husband takes me to a party at the factory club, both he and I will be able to spruce up."

Commenting on the April price reduction, the Peking *People's Daily* had this to say in its April 15 editorial: "The ordinary people, especially wage-earners and peasants, are, as a result of the general reduction of commodity prices, able to enjoy great material benefits... Their real wages and incomes have gone up about 5 per cent. With the people's purchasing power increasing, national production can further develop so that our economy will flourish."

In more simple terms, Hsiang Chien-hua, who has been a salesman for thirty years, said to a colleague in one of the state stores: "In the years before liberation, commodity prices always went up in vicious spirals. In consequence, my family all became hungrier and hungrier. After Liberation, things looked up at once. Under the People's Government, inflation was halted and commodity prices were stabilised. Now—prices have been dropping continuously for two years. Our life becomes happier and healthier all the time."

Nor are the people in any doubt as to where these material benefits spring from. Thanks to the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements during the first half of 1952, costs of production were greatly cut. The "San Fan" or, literally translated, "Three-Anti," movement was directed against corruption, waste and bureaucracy, especially in government organisations. The "Wu Fan," or "Five-Anti," was a parallel movement directed against private businessmen who had made a practice of bribery, tax evasion, cheating on government contracts, theft of state property, and theft of economic information for private speculation.

With the enthusiastic support of the masses, age-old vices like corruption and waste were ferreted out relentlessly and eliminated. How was it possible to reduce the costs of production and therefore, commodity prices? Business management, after these two cleansing movements, is now put on a more efficient, more economical basis, so that all enterprises function in accordance with the interests and needs of the masses. Besides, all overhead costs like bribes and various types of graft—which were regular features of business under the Kuomintang—are now cut out; private enterprise is confined to reasonable, but not excessive, profits; and the people who have learned great lessons from the extensive campaigns against these evils are eager to go ahead and produce energetically, enthusiastically all that will make their own lives richer and better.

Kao Shan.

People packed department stores when retail prices were cut for the second time within six months—a contrast to what is happening in the Marshallised countries.

At the Vienna Fair—Soviet Pavilion Shows Advance to Communism

Red marble, grey marble, glass mosaic, gracious architecture, like filigree thrusting towards the sky, such is the Soviet pavilion at the Vienna Autumn Fair, undoubtedly the centre of the fair because of the lively interest which it arouses among the public.

The public is quite rightly enthusiastic. Here the Soviet people are replying in their own way to the American military camps, firing ranges and poison gas depots which have been openly and blatantly installed in the most beautiful regions of Austria, in the Salzburg Alps and the Tyrol. The truth is here revealed to Austrians who have been blinded by the unsurpassed anti-Soviet propaganda issued by the Western occupants. Page upon page of the "Golden Book" is covered with inscriptions written in simple and often moving words expressing amazement at a truth which has just been discovered.

The Soviet pavilion at the Vienna Fair shows in a striking way that Soviet economy is an economy of prosperity and peace.

Reading the text of the Fifth Five-Year Plan published at the end of August, one is thrilled by the scope of the tasks set. They will bring "an increase of at least 35% in the real wages of manual and non-manual workers, taking into account the reduction in retail prices."

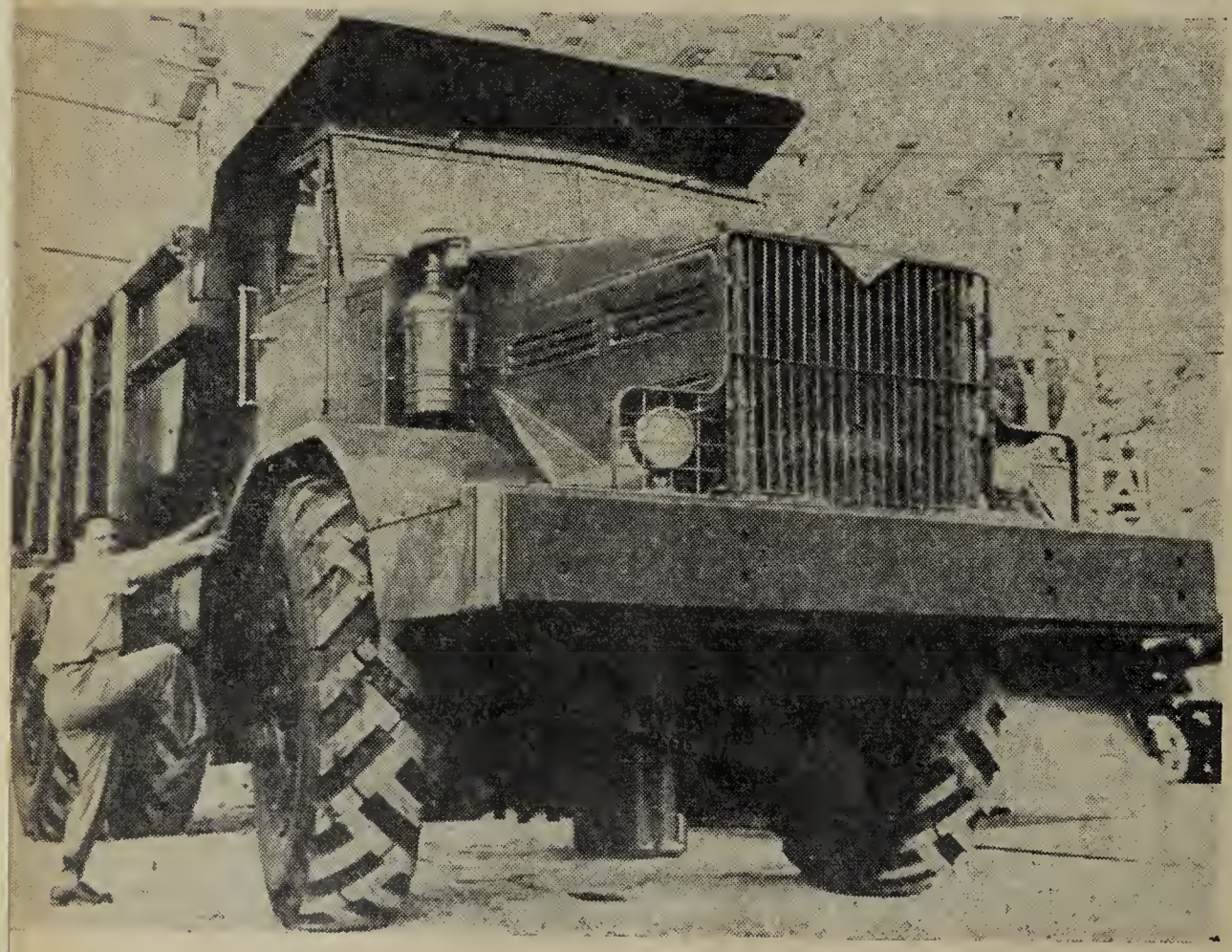
At least thirty-five per cent! And this after five price reductions since the end of the war! This is a dream for the workers of the capitalist countries, who can remember only price increases. At least thirty-five per cent! How is it possible?

There is no mystery in socialist economy, which is planned at all levels. Its functioning is clear and understandable to all. The text of the new Five-Year Plan sets out in detail the methods which make it possible to attain the tremendous increase in production which will find its expression in a further increase in real wages.

The means for the achievement of the Plan are fundamentally the mass introduction of ever more ingenious and more powerful machines able to free an increasingly greater number of men for new tasks, both in the factories and in the fields.

It is essentially to equip man, the most precious capital, by placing veritable robots at his disposal, by replacing hard physical labour and by developing at the same time the cultural basis making it possible to train the army of engineers who will create and operate the new machines—this is the means by which the Soviet people will increase their well-being during the new Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet pavilion bears irrefutable witness to this.



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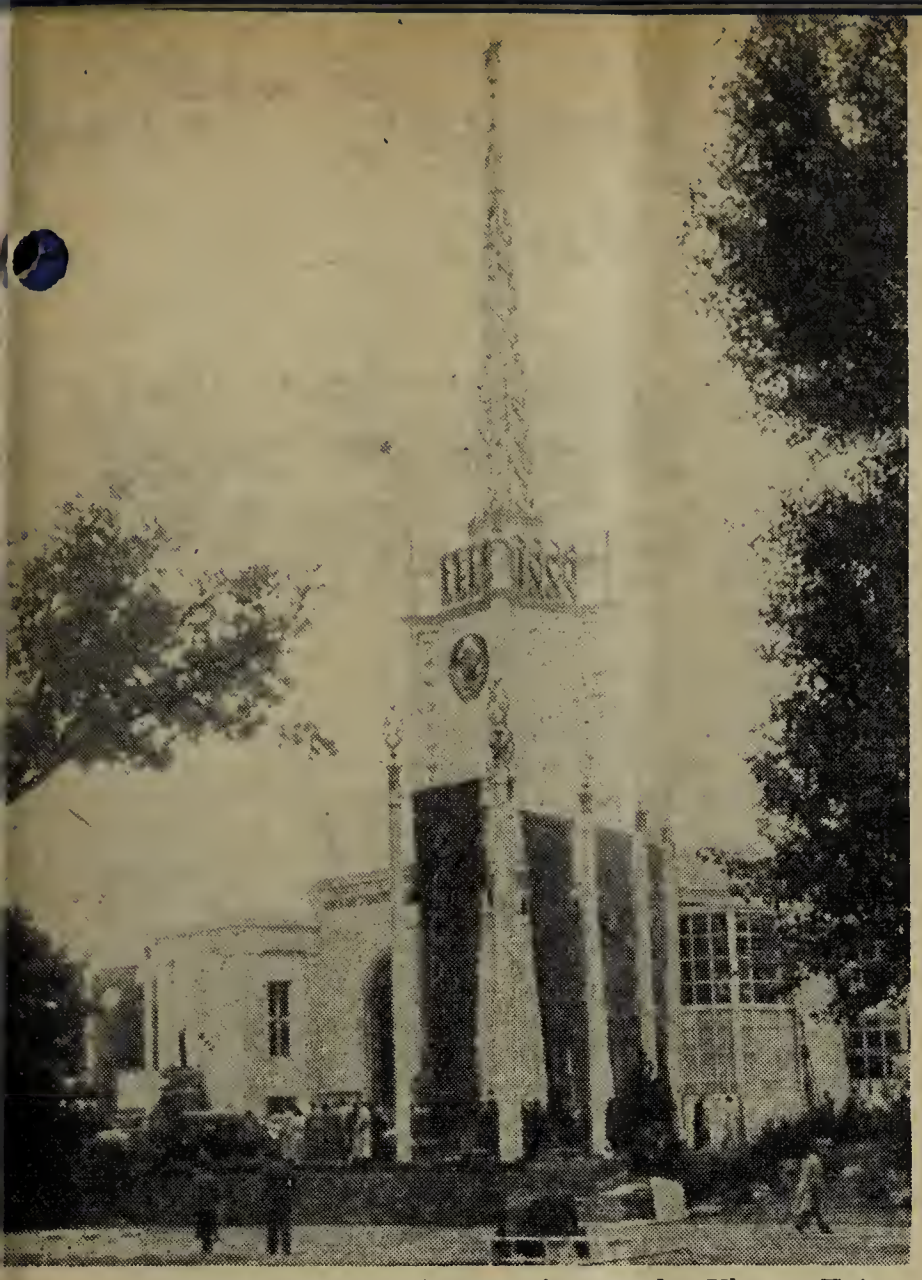
The machine in the service of man: this giant lorry is for use in the great work sites of Communism.

★



A view of the Soviet pavilion at the Vienna Fair.

Here is a high-speed lathe—3,000 revolutions a minute; an automatic machine for harvesting flax; a combine which breaks up and fertilises the ground in the vineyards; another which lifts beetroots, cuts off the leaves and deposits the beetroots on one side and the leaves on the other, another for harvesting potatoes, etc. . . .

Thus we find everywhere this process of replacing the work of man by that of machines, in the factories and laboratories, in the mines and the fields.

The Soviet pavilion at the Vienna Fair gives a cross-section of Soviet economy. Alongside the machines are the goods which they produce: weaving looms together with cotton fabrics, printing machines together with books, etc. There are also cameras, television sets, microscopes, samples of alloys, gears, carpets, furs and foodstuffs. But we shall resist the temptation to mention everything.

The Soviet exhibition in the Austrian capital is a mighty demonstration of the will to peace of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. It is an illustration of the prosperity of the land of Socialism, and of the tremendous perspectives which are opened for it by the new Five-Year Plan, a further stage in the advance to Communism.

It is also an appeal for economic co-operation between all nations, without any discrimination, in the spirit of peace and fraternity among the peoples.

J.W.

In the area in front of the pavilion is the "Donbas I" mining combine. Worked by one man and his mate, it hews up to 150 tons of coal an hour, breaks up the coal and loads it on to the conveyor belt which takes it away. This is a characteristic example of the lightening of human labour linked to a prodigious increase in productivity.

Here is a mammoth, a 25-ton lorry with wheels as high as a man. It has a capacity of 505 cubic feet and dumps its load. Is it a mere coincidence that the scoop of the "walking excavator" used on the great construction sites has exactly the same capacity? Obviously not! These giant excavators with their 73 to 85-foot crane beams which dig about 353,000 cubic feet of earth in eight hours, filling 180 railway cars, and each of which does the work of 7,000 to 10,000 workers, are teamed up with the mammoth lorries. Each scoop of the excavator fills a lorry with 25 tons of earth. Here is another example of lightening human labour linked to increased productivity.

And here, carefully protected behind a glass screen, is, not a giant machine, but a curious little completely automatic high precision machine for histological examinations—that is, for the examination of animal tissues. The piece of tissue passes automatically from one chemical bath to another until it is ready for the microscope, a process which, without this machine, would mean many hours of work for the laboratory assistant.

For histological examinations this completely automatic apparatus relieves laboratory assistants of all manual labour.

Japanese Workers Reject I.C.F.T.U.

The I.C.F.T.U. has taken a beating in Japan. The decided cold shoulder given them by the Sohyo National Convention last July was only the most eye-catching of a whole series of *Not Wanted* signs put out by a number of leading Japanese unions.

This evidently came as quite a shock to those I.C.F.T.U. sleuths who allegedly have their ears to the ground on labour matters in the Far East. Otherwise, Willard Townsend would certainly have anticipated, and attempted to have the Japanese police remove those decorations in the Sohyo conference hall which said (in English) 'Down with the breakaway I.C.F.T.U.!' and 'Go home Townsend—imperialist agent!' He would have brought in the strong-arm boys to remove the many and noisy delegates who cat-called throughout his I.C.F.T.U. recruiting speech causing undignified and flustered lapses.

Many unions have gone on record against affiliation to the I.C.F.T.U. These include the Shipbuilding Workers' Union of Japan, which voted against the affiliation proposal of its right-wing leadership. The All-Japan Miners' Union, although itself affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U., at its national convention voted down an executive proposal that Sohyo affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U. Here we have the voice of experience. The Land Transport Workers' Union refused support for its leaders' proposal for affiliation to the I.C.F.T.U. at their national convention and the Amalgamated Chemistry Workers' Union of Japan did the same by 99 votes to 3 with 52 abstentions.

The large and powerful All-Japan Teachers' Union had a motion at their national convention that the union disaffiliate from the I.C.F.T.U. To the surprise of the leadership, 127 delegates voted in favour to 297 against, showing that one-third of the delegates were openly hostile to I.C.F.T.U. policy.

The workers at the Osaka district office of the Electric Communications Ministry voted unanimously against a proposal to affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U. The Ubari Mining Clerical Workers' Union decided to disaffiliate from the I.C.F.T.U., while the Mitsubishi Miners decided to seek affiliation with the W.F.T.U. The Shinagawa train overhaul section of the State Railway Workers' Union has passed a resolution in favour of affiliating to the W.F.T.U.

Against this background, the repeated refusal of the Sohyo national convention to have anything to do with the I.C.F.T.U. was to be expected. The main unions to vote against affiliation were the Electric Power Workers, Coal Miners, Teachers, State and Private Railway Workers, Communications Workers and Chemical Industry Workers. Their excellent reason was that I.C.F.T.U. policy is quite contrary to Sohyo's policy today.

The fact that the I.C.F.T.U. could not pick up the plate on which MacArthur had done his best to place the Japanese trade union movement by outlawing the progressive unions and imprisoning or otherwise harrassing their militants, by banning strikes and demonstrations and closing down practically all genuine working class publications and by starting up a series of minor Reichstag fires, is proof of the spirit of determination abroad among the workers today to stand up to those splitters who are in the trade union movement to betray the workers' interests.

For decades the Japanese working class and their organisations have suffered repression. Today, they live in extreme poverty: about 45 per cent of the working population are totally or partially unemployed; wages, always notoriously low in Japan, are at about half their pre-war value; working hours are lengthened to 12 and 14 a day, frequently with no overtime payment; child labour and the selling of children into slavery is common and in Tokyo alone there are 300,000 prostitutes. Sohyo, the main trade union federation with 3 million members, was actually founded by Japanese individuals who, against the interests of the working class, under American tutelage, took on the task of disrupting the growing trade union movement and leading the greatest possible proportion into the I.C.F.T.U. But they have failed.

One of the reasons why they have failed is because the Japanese workers have, under right-wing leadership, seen a steady worsening of their living and working conditions. Certainly another factor is the strong feeling against the American occupation common to many classes of Japanese (up to the end of 1951 the Japanese had paid out 5 billion dollars in U.S. occupation charges; the ban on China trade has caused hardship to the country and therefore to the workers;) and they are consequently extremely wary of all things American—including the I.C.F.T.U.

Mary Wolfard.

Justice—American Style

One measure of the fidelity of a trade union leader to the interests of the working class is the hatred he inspires in the bosses, their Press and other propaganda organs, and government agencies serving the bosses' interests. By this test, Harry Bridges, militant President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.), rates very high. Ever since his leadership of the great victorious maritime strike on the United States Pacific Coast in 1934, Bridges has been the butt of red-baiting attacks aimed at destroying his leadership of the I.L.W.U. by deporting him from the United States.

He and the I.L.W.U. successfully combatted this scurrilous campaign with the support of broad sections

of the American and world labour movement and won three court trials. However, the fourth frame-up trial convicted him in 1950 of perjury when he swore that he was not a member of the Communist Party at the time of his naturalization as an American citizen in 1945.

A few days ago, the Court of Appeals upheld the conviction which sentenced Bridges to a five year prison term, a heavy fine, cancelled his U.S. citizenship and opened the way to his deportation. The conviction of two fellow-union officers was also upheld. The case will undoubtedly be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In recent years, the courts of the United States have become increasingly subservient to the demands of the witch-hunters that all militant trade union and progressive leaders against whom "subversive" charges can be fabricated be convicted in complete disregard for justice, constitutional rights or fair play.

In this deliberate and systematic attempt to ride rough-shod over traditional American liberties, certain techniques have become standard operating procedure. Among these are:

1. The increasing use of stoolpigeons to give perjured evidence. In many instances, the government secures the services of these dubious characters by bribery or threats of persecution. (One measure of the decadence of American ruling class morality in recent years is the elevation of stoolpigeons and informers to public acclaim and honour.);
2. The open bias of the judge against the defendant to intimidate the defence;
3. The attempt to intimidate defence lawyers by imprisoning them for "contempt of court" because they were "over-zealous" in defending their clients. In addition, these lawyers are likely to be subjected to disbarment proceedings and are publicly red-baited;
4. Rigged selection of juries whereby workers, Negroes and members of other racial minorities are not frequently called for jury service;
5. Judges who retain old-fashioned notions of justice are themselves subjected to campaigns of intimidation and threats that they will be denied reappointment.

In the Bridges trial of 1950 most of the above techniques were employed in a frame-up against the defendants. The Immigration and Naturalization Service dredged the bottom of the barrel to find stoolpigeons who would lie under oath—the type of persons whose "testimony" a judge in an earlier trial had contemptuously rejected as not credible. But times have changed and the witch-hunt and thought-control are the order of the day. The federal judge openly supported the prosecution and sentenced the defence attorneys to prison sentences. Vincent Hallinan, the chief defence counsel, has just been released from a federal penitentiary and is now the presidential candidate for the Progressive Party.

And now the Court of Appeals, also knuckling under to the forces of repression, has upheld the conviction, ignoring the decision of late Supreme Court Justice Murphy that the "record in this case will stand forever as a monument to man's intolerance to man."

The picture is by no means all black. The American people are stirring—workers and trade unions, the Negro people, progressive organizations and professional people—and as they understand more fully the implications of the war drive, hysteria and repression, are organising opposition in ever more specific and effective ways.

John Wolfard.

International Teachers Meet in Vienna During Holidays

Over one hundred teachers of various political opinions from France, Italy and Great Britain took part in a summer-school in Vienna organised in two stages in July and August by the World Federation of Teachers' Unions (F.I.S.E.), Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.

The Vienna meeting, as well as the international camp which was organised at the same time under the patronage of F.I.S.E. in the south of France for young teachers from Western European countries, took place under the slogan "The Teachers in the Fight for Peace."

This stay abroad enabled the teachers of different countries to get to know the natural and cultural wealth of a foreign land and the life and struggles of another people. The programme included excursions and visits to various enterprises and institutions. The teachers were very much impressed by their meeting with workers of the Brunn glassworks in their rest-home in Durenstein. The workers invited them to visit the factory itself. In return, the workers accepted the teachers' invitation to come to their farewell social at the end of the stay, at which entertainment was provided by an amateur group from the Free Austrian Youth.

The visit also aimed at giving teachers of the various countries the opportunity to compare ideas and experiences on problems with which they are conecrned both in the teaching sphere and in relation to their professional status. Subjects put forward for discussion among the delegates included: "The role of the educator in the cause of peace and democracy," "Teachers and social security," "The trade union movement and international teachers' unity," and "The present status of the schools." This fruitful discussion

brought out the increasingly critical position of schools and members of the teaching profession in the capitalist and colonial countries resulting from war economy, with the continual reduction of educational budgets. The discussion established certain essential ideas for united action by the teachers with a view to changing this state of affairs.

During a lecture given at their request in the Soviet Information Centre by Professor Kirsanov, the teachers followed with enthusiastic interest the tremendous development of education in the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies and learned of the large sums allocated in the budgets of these countries for education and the cultural development of the population.

Thus the World Federation of Teachers' Unions contributes even during the holiday period to strengthening the bonds of international solidarity and friendship among the teachers of different countries. Many exchanges of delegations of teachers have also occurred between different countries during the holidays. A delegation of eleven British teachers, invited by the Teachers' Trade Union of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic went to the Soviet Union in August on a study tour. An Italian delegation, which included Professor Francesco Flora, visited the U.S.S.R. in September. The Polish Union of Educational Workers invited delegations of teachers from Denmark, Norway and France to spend their holidays in Poland, and the Bulgarian trade unions offered a stay in their country to delegates from the German Democratic Republic and France.

The experience gained in the organisation of these summer-schools and international exchanges will be used by the World Federation of Teachers' Unions to improve the development of its activities in order better to serve the cause of truth among teachers and the cause of peace.

O.S.

SPAIN

A Good Example

THE workers of a large factory in Valencia some months ago successfully carried out two actions against the employer and the Falangist authorities. They thus demonstrated that, even under the Franco terror, the workers can win demands, and can force the employers to give way. In order to do that, however, it is necessary to act in unity for demands which are desired by all the workers.

The workers of this factory held a mass meeting at the place of work and decided to approach the management to demand that a co-operative shop be opened where they could buy things at a more favourable price than in ordinary shops. They nominated a committee charged with placing their demands before the factory management and fighting for them. When the committee put the question, the manager, not wanting to give way, sought by every means to put the matter off indefinitely. The workers, however, were not in a mood to let him do this, and learning that the manager did not agree to their demands, they switched off their machines, unanimously stopped work and crowded round the offices of the management, demanding the immediate opening of the co-operative. Seeing the turn of events and the energetic and united attitude of the workers, the management did not dare oppose the workers' demand again, and a few days later the co-operative began to function.

Following this first victory, the workers again met in the main shop of the factory. Going into the question of the extremely bad housing conditions of all the workers, many of whom were living with their families in veritable pigsties on the banks of the Turia river, the workers unanimously decided to ask the management to buy up some vacant land near the factory and to build houses on it for the workers to be let at rents calculated in proportion to wages. A new committee was elected by the meeting and charged with presenting this new demand to the management. When this committee informed the manager of the workers' unanimous wish, he threw up his hands, declaring that it was absolutely impossible, that it was madness and that the workers wanted to ruin him. On hearing of the manager's refusal to consider their demand, the workers, strengthened by their recent experience, laid down their tools, stopped their machines and went *en masse* to the management's offices demanding immediate satisfaction of their justified claims. The manager then placed the matter in the hands of the Governor of the Province, a notorious Falangist. Frightened by the powerful protest movement in the factory, the Governor sought to calm the workers with empty promises, but they were not allowing themselves to be hoaxed. They returned to the factory manager, refusing to have anything to do with the Provincial Governor, who was not their employer. The manager then pretended that he was willing to buy the land, but that it was the landlord who refused to sell. The workers, through the intermediary of their committee, then informed the manager of their decision to take strike action until their demand was satisfied. Knowing that a strike would be fatal for him, the manager bought the land. The work of constructing the dwellings is now going on.

This is a good example, which proves the value of united action by the workers in the fight for their demands. It proves how essential it is to take advantage of every legal possibility, even the smallest, to bring the workers in the factories together to discuss their demands, to elect true representatives to negotiate with the employers and to support these representatives by united mass action until the demands are won.

Mundo Obrero (underground workers' paper published in Spain), 15.6.52.

FRANCE

What Unites Us?

OUR brothers of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) in a village in the Aude Department had the good idea of inviting their workmates in *Force Ouvrière* (F.O.) to a meeting which was going to be addressed by Brother Denat.

There was only one question on the agenda: *The demands of the agricultural workers.*

When the invitation was extended to the F.O. members, they made the following reply to their C.G.T. workmates:

"We shall come along, but if Denat or any other person brings up politics, we shall leave the meeting."

The meeting took place, Denat spoke, and those present took part in discussion.

At the conclusion of the meeting, a commission charged with both presenting and organising the fight for their demands was appointed and the two F.O. members present agreed to take part in this commission.

* * *

WE should be very pleased with this result. Denat and the others were quite right in confining themselves to common demands with the *Force Ouvrière* members.

What would have happened if, on the contrary, the C.G.T. members had wanted to force a discussion on other problems such as, for example, the fight for peace, or the C.G.T. programme?

This is what would have happened. The F.O. members would have left, slamming the door, the fight for peace would not have been advanced an inch, and united action for demands would not have been achieved. The gap between the workers would have been widened, instead of which it has been partly bridged.

Does that mean that we have to renounce putting forward our programme, the fight for peace and freedom? Certainly not. Still more has to be done in this sphere. The F.O. and C.F.T.C. (Christian) workers can see nothing wrong when in our propaganda meetings and in our own internal meetings, we state our position on all questions. It is our right, and even our duty. Just as it is the right of the F.O. and C.F.T.C. unions to put forward their own ideas in their own internal and propaganda meetings.

* * *

BUT, when we hold a joint meeting, we must confine ourselves to the items on the agenda. We must avoid subjects which would divide us and only speak of that which unites us. What unites us is poverty, low wages, the desire to get out of our situation and to obtain wage increases. We must achieve unity around our common demands and win them.

In the course of the struggle all the other problems will become clear, especially if everyone redoubles his activity in recruiting hundreds of new trade unionists. To act in any other way is to be sectarian and sectarianism is the employers' best ally.

Michel Rius, in *Le Paysan* (Paris), 31.8.52.

GUATEMALA

The First Land Share-Out

IN fulfilment of the Agrarian Reform Law, the first plots of land from the Barcenas estate have been handed over to the peasants. Their hands trembled as they held the title-deeds granting them perpetual use of these plots. Hundreds of years of miserable feudal exploitation came to an end at that moment.

This act of land-sharing is of great importance. The lies of the feudal landowners and their political agents, the anti-Communist gangs, have suffered a heavy blow. They spread the most vile and outrageous lies with a view, first, to preventing the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law, and then to hindering its enforcement. They tried to turn the peasants against the revolutionary government of President Arbenz, saying that the government intended to "steal their sons, to take away their land, even the cemeteries where they bury their dead, and to leave them with only a small plot of earth." These miserable and hateful specimens of humanity had never before invented such lying tales as they did against the Agrarian Reform Law.

There is no denying that in some cases they achieved partial successes. Some peasants hesitated. The idea of possessing land led them to support the law which was going to give them land; but they thought it impossible that peasant ownership of the land would one day become a reality, and they listened fearfully to the lies of the feudal landowners. Even the peasants of the Barcenas estate, to go no further, had been told that the land reform was intended to steal away their children. At first they looked with frightened eyes at the militants who came to develop the fight for the land. But now no one could dare to spread such false stories among them, since they have been able to prove by facts that the land has been given to them and that their children and families have been scrupulously respected.

Sooner or later the truth comes out. The democratic elements, the trade union militants of the National Peasants' Confederation and the members of the political parties which support the Guatemalan revolution must take considerable encouragement from the Barcenas events. "Peasants, the land has been shared out. What can the feudal landowners do about that?"

Octubre, 14.8.52.

MALAYA

327,000 Rubber Workers Victimised by New Wage Terms

An example of the ingenious way in which British rubber planters and factory owners use Malayan workers to cushion their profits against the adverse market and falling price of rubber has been disclosed by the so-called terms of settlement imposed by the Malayan Planting Industries Employers' Association on July 25th.

Taking advantage of the "Emergency Regulations" and the ban on genuine workers' unions, the Employers' Association manoeuvred the Committee of the government-sponsored Rubber Workers' Union into accepting the terms, shown below, based on the fluctuating price of rubber.

Price of Rubber per lb.	Wage rate per day	Category of workers
Between 90 cents and $1 (Malayan)*	$2.20	Field workers
	$2.90	Checkroll tappers
	$3.40	Contract tappers
Figures for previous rate (Jan.-July 1952)		
Between $1 and $1.50 (Malayan)	$2.30	Field workers
	$3.00	Checkroll tappers
	$3.80	Contract tappers

* $1 (Malayan)=2 shillings and 4 pence sterling.

It can be seen from the foregoing comparison that for every 10 cent drop in the price of rubber per lb., the employers are able to take off 10 cents per day from each worker among the two largest categories, as well as 40 cents per day from each of the contract tappers. On top of that, the worker must go on producing his normal quota or more (but not less), or else he is not paid his full rate. No wonder the British bosses in Malaya still manage to pile up their profits despite the adverse market.

This system of swindle does not end with the ignominous "settlement" previously mentioned. Already, the Employers' Association have stipulated that should the price of rubber drop to between 50-90 cents per lb., "new settlements" would have to be made. That drop took place before the ink on the previous "settlement" was dry; for, by the first week of August, the price had dropped to below 90 cents (average 88 cents), so that, even while this report is being written, a further wage-clash may have already taken place.

Needless to say, the whole basis of such "settlement" is unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of the 327,000 rubber workers—the largest section of workers in the country. There is only one true test of the validity of wages, and that is, by relating them to the overall cost of living. If this were done, it would be found that the above wage-rate would correspond to approximately twice pre-war (1939) whilst even the official price index of rice and other basic necessaries shows an approximate increase of six times that of 1939.

The workers will undoubtedly fight hard and unitedly to reject the employers' manipulations and for a wage rate based on all-round cost of necessaries.

Malayan Monitor (London) August 1952.

PUERTO RICO

"Free" Puerto Rico

A foreign ship was approaching Puerto Rico, and on entering the harbour of San Juan, she hoisted the Puerto-Rican flag in the accepted gesture of courtesy. This impressed the American authorities ashore as nothing short of an outrage, and a boat was sent out to tell the vessel to haul the flag down and raise the Stars and Stripes instead.

The San Juan *El Pueblo,* which described the incident, added that the foreign captain was much surprised, for he had learned from Voice of America broadcasts that Puerto Rico was now a free State.

The American press has had much to say about the Constitution granted Puerto Rico, which supposedly guarantees it sovereign rights. The colonial authorities proclaimed July 25 the Day of the Free Associated State of Puerto Rico, and elaborate ceremonies were arranged to demonstrate that Puerto Rico was no longer a colony. What they did not emphasise was that July 25 is a black day in the island's history; on that day, 54 years ago, the United States annexed Puerto Rico.

American monopolies own most of the sugar plantations and control the whole sugar industry, around which the island's life centres. They make enormous profits out of exploiting the cheap labour of the Puerto Rican workers, who are little better than slaves. The appalling conditions in which these workers live are described in a report published in the American *Packinghouse Worker* by President Helstein of the C.I.O. United Packinghouse Workers Union. Helstein writes:

"Rice and beans are staple in diet. If a family is able to get meat once a week it is considered fortunate. Fresh milk for children is as much a luxury as meat. Housing conditions, particularly in workers' areas connected with the sugar mills, defy adequate description..."

The new Constitution was restricted enough to begin with, and was further curtailed by the U.S. Congress, which deleted the section on "human rights" and introduced a number of amendments emphasising Puerto Rico's slave status. The Constitution may not be modified in any way without the sanction of the U.S. Congress. All but the most minor legislation is subject to Washington's approval. Trade arrangements with the United States are likewise decided by Washington, and the Taft-Hartley Act and other reactionary U.S. laws operate in Puerto Rico as before.

In fact, the U.S. sugar monopolies' rule over Puerto Rico has simply been dressed up in "constitutional" trimmings, and for all the "freedom" granted it by those monopolies, Puerto Rico is no nearer to becoming a free State.

New Times, No. 32, 6.8.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

August 31

SOVIET UNION.—Responding to the call for assistance from the Aid Committee for the victims of famine in the Andhra province (Southern India), the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions decides to send immediate and considerable aid in foodstuffs and money.

INDIA.—A large meeting for peace takes place in Bombay. Among the speakers are S. G. Patkar, Secretary of the Bombay Mill Workers' Union, and S. Mirajkar, vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

DENMARK.—The Congress of the Typographical Federation is held in Copenhagen. During the discussion, several delegates stress the importance of the fight against rearmament and for the improvement of living conditions.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Workers' Committee Against Remilitarisation invites all German workers to demonstrate by every means possible their desire to prevent the ratification of the General Treaty. For this purpose, it calls on them to set up action committees in all work places, on as broad a basis as possible.

September 1

MOROCCO.—The Secretary of the State Employees'

Trade Union, Mohamed Hamdaoui, and other working class leaders, arrested on August 12 for their anti-colonialist activities, are provisionally released. This represents an important victory for the Moroccan patriots.

FRANCE.—In response to the appeal by the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) (progressive centre), the C.F.T.C. (Christian centre) and F.O. (Social Democratic breakaway centre), the agricultural and vineyard workers of Herault, whose demands for wage increases have been systematically rejected by the big employers and the public authorities, decide to take strike action. The strike is effective in a great many localities.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.) meets in Margate (see article on T.U.C.).

INDIA.—The strike of 2,300 workers in the central armoured vehicles depot of the army, in Poona, is being carried on firmly.

ITALY.—Ten thousand fishermen in the Chioggia region, near Venice, draw up their programme of demands under the leadership of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.), after broad discussions at meetings of the people in dozens of communes and villages. This programme has the support of all sections of the population.

FINLAND.—The meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Building, Wood and Building Materials Workers' Unions International ends in Helsinki. The Finnish trade union leader, Aarne Saarinen, is elected General Secretary.

ITALY.—The Modena metalworkers unanimously strike in solidarity with the workers of the Riunite Foundry who have been arbitrarily dismissed.

DENMARK.—A great many factory peace committees express their support of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. In several Copenhagen enterprises, such as the Central Tram Workshops and the shipyards, the workers begin collections for the Congress.

PUERTO RICO.—A big demonstration organised by the General Workers' Union of Puerto Rico takes place against the rise in prices and the low wages, for workers' unity, national independence and the withdrawal of the Puerto Rican contingent in Korea.

September 2

CHILE.—Thirty-five thousand workers from fifty-six spinning mills in the Lima region stop work in protest against the arbitrary dismissal of one of their workmates.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The British Trades Union Congress adopts a resolution demanding the banning of bacteriological weapons. This important victory for the peace forces in Great Britain was won in spite of the frenzied opposition of the General Council and the reactionary leaders of several unions.

ITALY.—At Frattamaggiore (Naples), the workers in a cotton mill strike for 24 hours to prevent the management from closing the mill. The whole population, including shopkeepers, artisans and small industrialists, are solidly behind the strikers.

NORWAY.—There is active discontent throughout the country among the 15,000 workers and municipal employees whose union has accepted a plan for government arbitration against the workers' interests. At places of work petitions are going round exhorting the workers to oppose this plan.

September 3

MALAYA.—The President of the Rubber Workers' Union, Cheug-Kit-Ming, who was a member of the Liberation Army, is killed by the British invaders. The authorities had officially placed a price of 75,000 Malayan dollars on his head.

IRAN.—Groups of fascist terrorists, supported by the police, attack a cloth mill in the town of Semnem, Khorassan province, where most of the workers are members of the progressive Tudeh party. The terrorists kill five workers and injure several others.

DENMARK.—In spite of fierce opposition by the representative of the National Centre, the Congress of the Typographical Union passes a resolution by a very large majority protesting against the large military expenditure and demanding their reduction.

September 4

FRANCE.—Four hundred and two workers in the big Ford factory at Poissy (Seine et Oise) are dismissed. The General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) trade union branch calls on the workers to unite and demand their reinstatement, the return to the 40-hour week without wage reductions and trade with all countries without discrimination.

INDIA.—About 2,000 peasants in the Panganur region go on a hunger strike in front of the offices of the Regional Administration to demand that measures be taken to fight against the famine sweeping the region.

ITALY.—Sixty-thousand Milan building workers stop work on the various building sites in the town and mass in front of the Labour Office in a powerful demonstration demanding a new work agreement.

EGYPT.—The Executive Committee of the Arab Trade Union Congress of Israel sends a message to the United Nations Human Rights Commission protesting against the violation of trade union rights by the Egyptian government and asks that it intervene to obtain the immediate release of the arrested workers.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—The Presidium of the Confederal Bureau of the F.D.G.B. (trade union centre of the German Democratic Republic) issues a statement supporting the recent note of the Soviet government on the German problem. The Presidium particularly calls on the workers of Western Germany to redouble their efforts in their fight against the ratification of the separate treaty.

September 5

FRANCE.—Addressing one thousand trade union cadres of the civil service, public services and State employees in the Paris region, General Secretary Alain Le Léap of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) calls on civil servants to unite to win increased salaries and pensions.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The British Trades Union Congress passes a resolution demanding extensive increases in trade with the Soviet Union, China and the Peoples' Democracies.

INDIA.—The Bombay gas workers' strike continues. The management, which locked-out the strikers, refuses to negotiate with the trade union which has the confidence of the workers. The management is doing its utmost to hire scabs with which to set up a new union.

ITALY.—As a result of contracts signed at the Moscow Economic Conference, the Marzoto textile factory of Pisa has begun to produce for the Soviet Union. The establishment, which was threatened with closure, is now working at full capacity.

September 6

FRANCE.—The General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour, Benoit Frachon, makes an important speech at Lyons, calling for unity of all workers to win a general increase in wages.

DENMARK.—The crisis in the shipbuilding industry gets worse every day. In the Fridrikshaven shipyards, 300 workers out of 550 are dismissed.

EGYPT.—W.F.T.U. President Di Vittorio sends a second telegram to the Prime Minister of the Egyptian government, Ali Maher, protesting against the death sentence on the two leaders of the strike at Kafr-el-Dawar.

September 7

ITALY.—Dozens of delegations from the provinces of Apulia take part in a meeting of young anti-fascist peasants which is held at the Labour Office of Andria with G. Di Vittorio, the General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour, present.

JAPAN.—The government's decision to raise the price paid to rice growers is denounced by Sohyo (principal trade union centre) as an electoral manoeuvre. The small peasants do not possess sufficient stocks to benefit by it and this increase will, in fact, affect the selling price of rice to the disadvantage of the consumers.

CHINA.—A Five-Year Irrigation Plan has been adopted for Southern Central China which will transform 2,000,000 acres of barren land into rice fields. The annual rice crop will be increased by a million tons.

EGYPT.—Mustapha Kamis and Mohamed el Bakri, the two workers condemned to death following the incidents at Kafr-el-Dawar last August, are hanged in prison at Alexandria.

September 8

FRANCE.—After a fortnight's united strike, the miners of the 24 pits in Estevelles-Courrières in the mining area in the north of France, win their demands and go back to work carrying banners.

HUNGARY.—The Minister of the Mining Industry announces that coal production in Hungary has increased by 18 per cent during the last twelve months.

ITALY.—Workers in the city and province of Genoa stop work for two hours in solidarity with dockers in the port of Genoa and to support their own demands.

— Peasants and the general population of Istrana and Vedelago in the province of Treviso prevent the building of a N.A.T.O. airport which was to have been constructed in the region and which would have resulted in the destruction of 400 fields, most of which were still cultivated. The population comes out en masse in front of the American tractors and excavators forcing them to turn back.

September 9

ITALY.—All industrial workers in the town of Lecco in Northern Italy strike for two hours in protest against the arbitrary dismissals carried out in the Faini factory in this locality. The workers of this factory carry out a rotating strike under the leadership of a co-ordination committee including leaders of the C.G.I.L. (progressive) and C.I.S.L. (Christian) unions.

September 10

FRANCE.—The representatives of the Regional Metalworkers' Federation of the Loire, belonging to the four national centres, C.G.T., C.F.T.C., F.O. and C.G.C.[1] send a joint letter to the Minister of Labour demanding the establishment of a new guaranteed minimum wage.

ITALY.—The representatives of the three trade union organisations and the agricultural employers' organisations sign an agreement for the application of the sliding scale to agricultural workers. This agreement, which comes into force on October 1, affects two million peasants and agricultural workers.

UNITED STATES.—California dockers strike for 24 hours in protest against the recent decision of the Court of Appeals upholding the conviction on Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.). (See Spotlight on World Labour on this subject.)

September 12

SOUTH AFRICA.—Powerful demonstrations take place in the streets of Johannesburg to protest against the fascist racial discrimination laws of the Malan government.

MALAYA.—The negotiations in course between the planters and the government trade union leaders are broken off, the latter being afraid that their acceptance of the reduction in wages demanded by the planters would make them lose the little influence they still have among the workers. In spite of this, it is probable that wages will be reduced by 15%.

September 13

ITALY.—At Casena in the Emilia district, the Arrigoni works is paralysed by a 24-hour strike provoked by the obstinacy of the employers who refuse to renew the collective agreement.

— The 900 workers in the Montecatini firm in Bussi (Pascara) go on strike in support of the demands of 125 workers injured or suffering from industrial disease.

UNITED STATES.—Twenty-five thousand workers in one of the largest military aircraft manufacturing enterprises, the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Burbank, California, strike for wages and other demands which had been rejected after ten weeks of unsuccessful negotiation.

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1 C.G.T.—General Confederation of Labour.
C.F.T.C.—French Confederation of Christian Workers (linked to the Vatican.
F.O.—Force Ouvrière (breakaway centre under right-wing socialist leadership).
C.G.C.—General Confederation of Managerial and Supervisory Staffs (reactionary leadership).

IRAN.—Big peasants' demonstrations, supported by the workers and students, take place in Sanandaj in Kurdistan (Iran), to demand agrarian reform. Shots are fired and the police charge the demonstrators who are marching past the provincial governor's residence.

INDIA.—One thousand two hundred workers in the Best transport works (autobus) of Bombay decide to go-slow to support their demands for an improvement in their working conditions.

September 14

CHINA.—A modern eight-storey hotel designed to house the delegates to the Peace Conference in Peking is completed in the record time of 17 weeks. Normally, the construction of such a building would have taken at least 11 months.

September 15

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Executive Committee of the Association of Scientific Workers, trade union organisation with 13,000 members, publishes a resolution deploring the participation of the British government in the atomic weapons race and demanding that the government concentrate its attention on the peaceful utilisation of atomic energy.

FRANCE.—The Metalworkers' Trade Union Federations of the General Confederation of Labour and the Christian trade union centre of Haut-Rhin Department take joint action to obtain the immediate setting up of a Joint Commission and the discussion of their wage demands.

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United action, which remains the basic principle of the policy and action of the World Federation of Trade Unions, is the guarantee of victory for the workers in their fight against reaction and the instigators of war.

(Appeal by the W.F.T.U. on its Seventh Anniversary—Vienna, September 18, 1952.)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor :
T. F. McWHINNIE

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No. 5, OCTOBER, 1952

Information Bulletin

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

for the

Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security

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Preparing for the International Conference

Meeting of the Preparatory Committee

DATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SET FOR 2nd—6th MARCH, 1953

THE Preparatory Committee for the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security, met for the second time in Vienna on September 15th and 16th.

Taking into account the wishes of a number of countries, the Committee decided to postpone the Conference, originally planned for December 1952, in order to allow more time for preparatory activities in various countries. **The date has been set for the 2nd—6th March, 1953.** Thus, the various preparatory committees and trade union organisations are now in a position to finalise their plans for the Conference and to prepare their delegations and reports.

The Committee has confirmed the agenda for the Conference, previously adopted in June 1952, namely:

1) **Adoption of the agenda and rules of the Conference**
2) **The defence, improvement and extension of Social Insurance and Social Security and their introduction in countries where they do not exist.**
3) **Adoption of the Conference recommendations.**

After hearing a report on the latest developments in the field of social security, the Committee noted that the attacks against the social achievements of the workers are increasing in severity in a large number of countries, being directed particularly (although by no means exclusively) against the existing level of health services, unemployment insurance and retirement pensions.

The Committee then examined a number of questions concerning the organisation of the International Conference and the preparatory activities in various countries. Confirming its previous intention to keep this Conference open to all working class organisations and to all other organisations or personalities who, by virtue of their functions or activities, have competence in the field of social security, the Committee recommended that the election of delegates should take place primarily at National Conferences called by interested organisations in each country.

The Committee underlined the importance of a completely free discussion at the Conference, open to all points of view, in order to arrive at a concrete analysis of the world situation in this respect and at a general programme which can be supported by all who are of good will.

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* *

Towards the International Conference

ITALY : A Series of Conferences in Preparation

The Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) is preparing a series of broad conferences on social security problems this autumn and winter. There will be a number of **regional conferences** devoted to the special problems of the agricultural workers, who, in Italy, are carrying on a determined struggle for juridical and practical equality with the industrial workers in the field of social security. Further in the agricultural section, there will be a **National Congress of the Small Farmers' Association** to examine in particular the question of the extension of the field of application of social insurance in Italy. At the same time, the C.G.I.L.'s Institute of National Assistance will hold a Conference devoted to **safety at work** and enforcement of industrial legislation, thus following up the work of various local and trade conferences already held on these problems. One of these was the Caltanisetta Conference of Sicilian sulphur miners. The resolution adopted by this Conference was printed in the last issue of our Bulletin.

Finally, there will be an **Italian National Social Security Conference,** probably in October or November of this year, which will elect the delegation to the International Conference.

A number of Italian **youth organisations** have started a petition campaign demanding unemployment benefit for young people who have left school but are unable to find work.

Two eminent Italians—Giuseppe Alberti, professor of Social Science at the University of Rome and vice-president of the Senate Commission on Health and Hygiene; and Giovanni Lo Ettore, Professor of Physiology and Medical Statistics, Rome University, and General Secretary of the Anti-Tuberculosis Federation—have announced their support for the International Conference.

GERMANY : Conference at Berlin

From the Free German Trade Union Federation (F.D.G.B.) we hear that a preliminary conference of trade union delegates, social insurance administrators, members of factory and district social insurance commissions and physicians was held on September 5th in Berlin. The 180 participants heard a report by Brother Adolf Deter, who is a member of the international preparatory committee, on the objectives of the International Conference and the tasks of the trade unions in ensuring further progress of social security in the German Democratic Republic.

The draft social security programme of the W.F.T.U. was endorsed, and plans for an all-German National Conference were further advanced by the election of delegates from the German Democratic Republic.

URUGUAY : Constitution of National Preparatory Committee

A National Preparatory Committee for the International Conference has been established in Uruguay, on the initiative of the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.). A number of trade union organisations have already expressed their desire to participate in the organisation of the Uruguayan delegation and the Committee is now engaged in extending its work among women's, teachers', students' and agrarian organisations.

New Publications on Social Security

GERMANY

The Central Social Insurance Council of the German Democratic Republic has issued a short pamphlet (30 pages) on Social Security in Germany (Soziale Sicherheit in Deutschland) which contains a survey of the administrative systems and the benefits granted by social insurance in the Democratic Republic as well as in Western Germany.

SOVIET UNION

The Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. has published two pamphlets, "Social Insurance in the Soviet Union" and "The Protection of the Worker in Soviet Enterprises" (Moscow 1952). The pamphlets are available in English, Russian, French, Spanish and German. The first gives an account of the legislative provisions in force in the field of social insurance and the actual working of the system through trade union administrators. The second surveys the field of accident prevention, medical and technical control of work conditions, factory inspection, sanitary provisions in the factories and protective labour legislation, bringing to light the paramount role of the trade unions in all phases of this work.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A new brochure on the Czechoslovakian system of National Insurance is in preparation and will appear shortly.

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All publications mentioned can be obtained by writing to the Editors of the Social Security Information Bulletin, Wien 1, Seilerstätte 3, Austria.

Struggles for Social Security

Social Services in Britain and the Trades Union Congress

THE action of the British T.U.C., held in September 1952, reflects a very significant development in the struggle of the British people for the maintenance of the social service structure as designed in 1948, and especially for the principle of a free public health service.

This principle was first violated by Labour Minister Gaitskell who introduced charges for certain dental and other appliances, thus causing a profound split in the Labour Party. The public health service was further attacked through the action of the Tory Government which, early in 1952, introduced certain charges for dental services and prescriptions.

The results of this policy are now becoming evident. Fifteen million fewer prescriptions have been issued by British physicians since the introduction of the charges, with the largest decrease in areas of economic hardship, and an estimated £45 million will be collected from the British people this year for the new charges.

The trade union leadership until now has been opposed only to the charges imposed by the Tory Government, while trying to gloss over those previously imposed by Gaitskell. But the unanimous desire of the workers for a return to a completely free health service has now forced a reversal of policy, as embodied in one of the three important resolutions of the Congress dealing with social security.

The second of these resolutions was also concerned with the problem of safeguarding the health of the workers. Eloquently presented by Dr. Cardew of the Medical Practitioners' Union it called for an entirely new approach to the organisation of industrial medicine especially in its preventive aspects, through the organisation of a national occupational health service. The necessity for such a service was underlined by the inadequacy of existing provisions for health protection and accident prevention at the place of work. Out of a staff of 400 factory inspectors whose job it is to see to the enforcement of industrial legislation, only 18 are at present medical men. Moreover, there are ten million workers in Great Britain not covered by any industrial legislation. Thousands of preventable deaths result annually from occupational diseases, especially from dreaded "dust" diseases such as silicosis. Twenty to forty tin miners and sandblasters die of tubercular infection for every civil servant or bank employee stricken down by the same disease. Cancer, rheumatism and skin disease rates are also directly linked with working conditions.

In a third resolution, the T.U.C. took note of the plight of old age pensioners who, more than any other group, have been suffering from the effects of inflation. It demanded a general increase in long term social security benefits to meet in full the increased cost of living since 1948.

Thus, the overwhelming majority of British labour has gone squarely on record not only for the defence of social security, but for its further extension in the same spirit which inspired its inception in the years after the war. It will be impossible to deflect them from this purpose if the will to maintain unity in this vital issue continues to prevail.

NOTES IN BRIEF

Disablement Pensions in the Canton of Geneva

An important success was obtained recently by the workers and people of the Canton of Geneva (Switzerland) with the introduction of a new system of disablement pensions. The scheme is financed entirely by public funds and covers all persons having a certified disability of more than 80 per cent, that is to say for all practical purposes the totally disabled only, subject to an income ceiling of 3,000—4,800 Swiss francs a year (according to number of dependents). The basic pension amounts to 2,400 fr. and is increased by 30 per cent where a permanent attendant is required. Family allowances are paid in addition. Since it is not an insurance scheme, there are no requirements connected with length of employment.

Social Security and the Constitution in Puerto Rico

The draft Constitution overwhelmingly endorsed by the Puerto Rican people last March was a living testimony to the importance attached by them to the question of social security. According to the will of the people, the new Constitution contained a whole section embodying such things as the right to work, the right to education, the right to social security and to health, the right of mothers and children to special protection and the right of all to a minimum of social services. However, the people of Puerto Rico are not free to decide for themselves by what laws they wish to be governed. The Constitution had to pass the Congress of the United States in order to become valid, and Congress decided that the entire section dealing with social and economic rights would have to be eliminated because it had a "communistic" tinge. Congress was perhaps not aware of the fact that these same economic and social rights are included in the draft of the Human Rights Covenant currently being discussed by the United Nations. But it is certain that this denial will not hinder the people of Puerto Rico continuing their fight for decent social conditions in their own country.

Success of Paris Dockers

Over 500 Paris dockers have won an appreciable success. After two years' struggle and discussions they have obtained supplementary allowances of 7,000 francs a month, which will be paid in addition to any old age, disablement or other pensions to which they may be entitled.

This allowance is payable to dockers of over 65 years and those unable to work because of ill-health, with 15 consecutive years employment in the industry, and

is financed by the workers and employers on a fifty-fifty basis.

The C.G.T., with 90 per cent of the votes cast, has obtained three seats on the Administrative Council elected by secret ballot, representative of workers and employers.

Campaign for Higher Pensions in Sweden

Old age pensions in Sweden at the present time amount to 1,400 crowns for single persons and to 2,420 crowns for a couple. In addition, a special allocation for rent may be granted to pensioners, varying between 150 and 600 crowns for single persons, and from 200-800 crowns for couples. This should be compared to average wages throughout industry of 8,000-10,000 crowns.

The living standard of the pensioners has suffered greatly through inflation, affecting especially food products and rents. In order to make ends meet, they are often obliged to turn to public assistance.

Realising that only an energetic mass action could force the government to change its niggardly social policy, the **Göteborg Pensioners' Association,** numbering 6,000 members, held an emergency session of its General Assembly on August 20th. A resolution was adopted calling upon the National Association to organise a broad protest campaign all over Sweden to force the government to take their problems into consideration and to increase pensions. They also demanded that the national body should take up the question with the Swedish General Confederation of Labour in order to seek the support of the trade unionists.

Retreat on Social Security Standards at the 35th International Labour Conference

THE most important item on the agenda of this year's International Labour Conference was the question of the minimum and advanced standards of social security. The result of the Conference was the adoption of a new Convention on Minimum Standards and the postponement of action on the Advanced Standards.

If the weaknesses and loopholes of the new Convention on Minimum Standards are viewed in conjunction with the failure to push the question of the Advanced Standards to a conclusion, this result must be called a negative one.

In order to size up the distance between promise and fulfilment in this matter, it should be recalled that the idea of a general Social Security Convention goes back to the progressive principles of the Philadelphia Recommendations on Income Security and Medical Care adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1944. According to these principles, social security was to be built up on a new pattern, covering ever wider sections of the population against all social risks in order to "restore, up to a reasonable level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work." All this demanded the unification and reorganisation of existing social insurance and social assistance schemes and the assumption of increasing financial responsibilities on the part of the governments.

The Philadelphia Recommendations further defined the eight main branches (sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death of the breadwinner, unemployment, emergency expenses and employment injuries) which should form together a unified social security system. From the beginning, it was contemplated to embody these principles in a **single Convention** which would contain minimum and advanced standards for all of these branches. The ratification of the minimum standards would have obliged a country to bring its legislation up to the advanced standards **within a definite period of time.** Thus, the Convention would have been an instrument of progress, even if the minimum standards were set at a low level.

The Philadelphia Recommendations expressed the desire of all peoples for the advancement of Social Security, they represented a positive achievement and a considerable contribution to the ultimate progress of Social Security.

But also from the beginning, an open and covert opposition to the idea of such a Convention developed within the International Labour Organisation. It was not only the members of the Employers' Group who conspired to torpedo the original plan, but also a number of governmental delegates, above all the delegate of the United States Government. These plans were not opposed forcefully enough by the Workers' Group, the majority of which yielded on many important points. The adversaries of the Convention first proposed to replace the new Convention by a mere Recommendation which would have implied no obligations on the part of governments. Besides they aimed principally at two objectives: 1) to separate the Convention on minimum standards from that on advanced standards, 2) to water down the stipulations of the minimum standards convention by all sorts of escape clauses and by making ratification as easy and non-committal as possible, thus depriving this act of any concrete significance.

As it turned out, they carried fully the first point of their programme, succeeding in separating the two questions and in burying the advanced standards for the time being. They also achieved a great deal as regards the second part of their programme.

The present Convention has two fundamental weaknesses in its main conception and a large number of very grave faults in detail.

The first of these fundamental weaknesses consists in the possibility of ratifying the Convention with respect to **only three of the nine branches** of social security which it covers. Thus for example the Convention could be ratified by a country actually having only a system of sickness and accident insurance. In terms of the Convention, this would give three branches, since medical care and cash benefit in case of illness or injury are considered as separate branches. Or the Convention could be ratified by a country having no more than a system of family allocations, maternity care and an accident insurance. In neither of these two cases would there really be "social security" in any sense of the word, and certainly not in the sense of the Philadelphia Recommendation which insisted precisely upon an income security scheme for **all** important contingencies.

If it was necessary to admit the possibility of ratification on the basis of three branches only, it would have been indispensable to set a time limit for the complete application of the entire Convention. Several such time limits were originally proposed, but the actual text contains none. This means that it implies no present or future obligation for a country to introduce a complete social security system.

The second fundamental weakness consists in the possibility of ratifying the Convention by claiming "temporary exception" to certain clauses on the basis of article 3, again without a stated time limit within which these exceptions must be withdrawn and legislation brought up to standard. These exceptions relate mainly to the field of application of social security legislation, that is the number of persons protected, and also in certain cases to the amount, duration and quality of benefits. Since the required field of application throughout the Convention is set at a very low level comprising 50 per cent of the wage earners or 20 per cent of the population only, it is clear that further exceptions to this rule must make a mockery of the very idea of social security. In fact, however,

if a declaration in virtue of article 3 is made, this standard goes down to 50 per cent of industrial workers in enterprises employing 20 or more workers only. This means that a country may ratify the Convention, although only a very small minority of the population is covered by social insurance. According to the conception of the I.L.O., this country would be considered as having a "Social Security system."

Here again, the main objection is not so much to the principle of temporary exceptions in themselves, which could function as an incentive to the under-developed countries to improve their systems, but to the absence of a reasonable time limit for the validity of this exceptional status. Without such a time limit, the "temporary exceptions" render the Convention all but ineffective.

Among other provisions which either set inadmissably low standards or, what is graver, run counter to accepted principles of progressive thinking in social security, we can cite a few outstanding cases: The Convention admits a retirement age higher than 65 years and permits the denial of the pension where a retired worker continues to work; the Convention permits the denial of unemployment insurance to workers on strike or having lost their jobs in consequence of a strike; unemployment insurance may be limited to 13 weeks in each year; medical care may be limited to 26 weeks, and on grounds of article 3 to 13 weeks.

Taking into account the whole picture of these weaknesses, there is a definite danger that the present Convention on Minimum Standards will be more effective as a weapon against the social achievements already won in the more advanced countries than as an instrument of progress in others. In fact, a government which wishes to reduce the level of its social security legislation can easily invoke this Convention, the standards of which are lower than those already achieved in many countries.

Few will deny that the outcome of the 35th Conference in the matter of social security standards represents a serious retreat from the principles of the Philadelphia Recommendations. The majority of the International Labour Conference has undoubtedly taken a reactionary position, not only failing to go a step further than at Philadelphia—which would be necessary—but actually retreating behind positions previously accepted. The International Labour Office has supported this reactionary position by presenting to the Conference a draft which incorporated this retreat. The Workers' Group did not present a united front in face of these attacks. Its majority accepted some of the positions taken by the Employers' Group and many governments.

The denial of the floor to the representative of the W.F.T.U., Henri Raynaud, in the social security debate, was indicative of this attitude and showed the strong pressure to stifle the voice of those who wanted to take a position in favour of real progress in social security in the spirit of previous decisions. This action was the more flagrantly undemocratic as it was justified on grounds of procedure only, in spite of a majority vote in favour of Raynaud's request. This manoeuvre was instigated by the most reactionary elements in the Conference, including its vice-President Delaney, representing the A.F.L.

However, next year's Conference has another chance to force a discussion on the Advanced Standards and to see to it that a new Convention on that subject is adopted. It is a matter of concern for all trade union organisations to prepare for this from now on by taking position on the questions which are still pending and making sure that their point of view is really defended by the workers' delegation of their country.

Information — Correspondence — Discussion

ROLE OF TRADE UNION ADMINISTRATORS IN SOCIAL INSURANCE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

by A.H.

● **The ideas for the following article were drawn from the experiences of the Algerian system of social security administration. In this system the local or industrial "caisses" (insurance funds) are administered by an elected council. Among the members of this council there will be a large number of trade union representatives. The problems raised here are also valid for other systems in which the principle of workers' or trade union representation in the administrative bodies of social insurance is operated on any level.**

Trade union representatives in the administrative bodies of social insurance, whether they are appointed or elected, or whether they take part directly in the administration or simply in the supervision of the administration, owe their responsible post to the confidence placed in them by the working class and the trade union movement, to whom they are accountable for their work. They have a very important part to play.

On the basis of the widest unity with all workers, they must be the most convinced advocates of improvements in the social security system put forward by the trade union movement.

They must fight for the rapid settlement of outstanding claims and the speeding up of formalities by demanding to see the records and calling upon the responsible officers of the Funds, raising pertinent questions in the administrative councils and by leading delegations to these bodies.

They must take up the demands and suggestions of all workers whether organised or not, and regardless of their trade union affiliations. To achieve this aim and establish contact with the workers from whom, by the way, they will learn a great deal, all trade union representatives should, whenever possible, hold regular consultations with the members in the offices of the trade union organisations.

These consultations, to be effective, must not be kept secret, but on the contrary should be made widely known to the workers by all possible means such as notices, leaflets distributed in the factories and workshops, and articles in trade union, factory and other available journals.

Another no less important task of the trade union administrators of social insurance and social security funds, is to organise a report-back of activity.

The reporting back organised under the supervision of the trade union movement and its social security commissions, can be made through the Press, and at meetings.

After the meetings of the administrative councils of the Social Security and Social Insurance funds, the representatives of trade unions should let the workers know what stand they have taken, and expose those who refuse to support them in their fight for working class interests. They should also give full explanations

concerning the use of the funds and the responsibility for administrative deficiencies which are harmful to the workers. The reporting back must be made at meetings in the factories, workshops and the localities. They provide the occasion for the trade union movement to review its action in the Administrative Councils, to discuss difficulties met and to show the possibilities of developing the programme of the trade union movement for the defence, improvement and extension of social insurance and social security.

The few points quoted indicate the important role of the trade union representatives in the administration of social insurance and social security funds. They also show the constant attention which the trade union movement must pay to the training of those whom it sends to represent it in the Administrative Councils of the Funds.

In practice there is a certain amount of hesitation and reluctance on the part of trade union representatives in social insurance funds to hold regular consultations and report back. This attitude must be vigorously combatted. To do this it is necessary to seek out the causes. Amongst these there is one in particular which is almost certainly at the basis of this hesitation and reluctance. That is the fear of the administrators to face the workers. They are afraid because they think or feel that they do not know enough about the technique of social security.

This weakness must be overcome by consistent measures, arrived at after a serious examination of the situation. They can include amongst other things small handbooks which can be produced in simple form, for the use of those concerned with the problems, or the publication of an Information Bulletin for trade union representatives which would deal with their respective experiences and difficulties and how they have been solved. Social Security specialists who are members of the trade union movement can also be found amongst the employees of the financial administration. Certainly they should be willing to help the workers with their regular consultations and in their reports back.

Finally, it would be a good idea to organise a trade union school for the training of social security specialists. This is a method which should claim the attention of the trade union movement. For, if the subject is seriously studied, valuable results can be obtained not only from the point of view of social security, but from that of the trade union movement as a whole.

The purpose of this school would be the study of social legislation and could, in a practical way, be organised as a week's school or in the form of evening courses. The material to be dealt with should be:

- The structure of social security in the country concerned,
- The broad outlines of social legislation, social insurance, family allowances, workmen's compensation, industrial diseases, social legislation in agriculture.
- The plan advocated by the trade union movement for the immediate improvement of the existing system, and its replacement by a genuine system of social security.

The summing up should place emphasis on the progressive character of social security and the reasons why the working class should defend this institution, which unquestionably represents a major conquest of the workers, against all attacks.

The fighting spirit of the working class for the defence and improvement of social insurance and social security depends to a large extent on the training of trade unionists in this field to give them a better understanding of their tasks and of the means to carry them out in the interests of the workers.

1953 Budgets Forecast Social Expenditure Slashes

All during 1952, a whole barrage of speeches and statements counselling a policy of "retrenchment" in social security was released. The application of these policies in terms of national finance is now beginning to take shape.

The **Dutch** government has opened the round of "economy budgets" with a sizable slash in social expenditures. It proposes to reduce expenditure for social services, social assistance and public health from 752 million gilders in 1952 to 632.4 million in 1953, amounting to a cut of 16 per cent. At the same time, price subsidies are to be reduced from 110 to 80 million. While the total budget is also pared down, military expenditure remains at about the same level. The new budget, if accepted by Parliament, will necessarily speed up the application of various restrictive measures concerning sickness insurance, health services and above all unemployment benefits, which have already been adopted in Holland.

The same trends were evident in the financial debate in the **New Zealand** House of Representatives, where the Minister of Labour proposed to cut down expenses for the social security scheme which, he stated, was costing the country £1,000,000 a week. Yet it emerged from the debate that New Zealand social security beneficiaries were now receiving only 60 per cent of their 1949 pensions in terms of purchasing power.

In **Finland,** a government appointed "hatchet committee" is exploring possibilities for further economies in 1953, and has already focussed its attention on family allowances and birth bonuses.

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As the budget-making season gets into swing, further developments along these lines are to expected in a great many countries, albeit not in all of them. The Soviet Union for one, is planning a 6 per cent per annum average increase in social insurance and social service expenditure for the period of the current Five Year Plan.

Only through the united efforts of the trade unions and all organisations concerned with the advancement of social protection will it be possible to ward off the schemes now being hatched, which would deprive many millions of workers throughout the world of their hard won achievements.

Work Accidents in the Mines of the Ruhr

755 fatal accidents, 134,000 work injuries and at least 1,267 deaths from silicosis—that's the record of the West German mining industry for 1951.

In the Ruhr district alone, 37,000 miners lost their capacity to continue work in the mines or to do any work at all.

The high proportion of cases of silicosis as compared with other industrial diseases among miners is shown clearly by the following table, giving figures for current compensation claims on March 31st, 1952:

1.	**Silicosis**	**1,917 cases**
2.	**Silicosis in conjunction with other diseases**	**2,032 „**
3.	**Silicosis plus T.B.**	**288 „**
4.	**Heart disease**	**227 „**
5.	**Disorders due to use of pneumatic pick**	**217 „**
6.	**Bronchitis and related disorders** ...	**321 „**
7.	**Others**	**648 „**
	Total ...	**5,650 cases**

In 1951, one out of two miners in the city of Gelsenkirchen suffered some injury through accidents in the mines. There are approximately 49,882 miners employed in the 17 pits around Gelsenkirchen. Of these, 25,008 were injured, 310 seriously and 49 fatally.

Among the 47,800 miners employed in the pits of Recklinghausen, in 1950 there occurred 12,412 cases of injury, 143 of which were serious. This number rose to 13,939 and 175 respectively in 1951, as a consequence of increased speed-up.

These few examples show how brutally the coal barons of West Germany exploit the workers and how necessary it is for the West German miners to fight against speed-up and for the improvement of their social security system. This will be a good preparation for the International Conference on Social Security.

Social Security for the Soviet Miners

As far as social insurance is concerned, the Soviet miners enjoy a whole series of advantages and facilities compared with the workers in other branches of the national economy.

Thus, the old age pension is awarded to those working underground from the age of 50, after 20 years of service, while to workers in other branches, the pension is granted from the age of 55 to 60 and after 25 years of service.

The old age pension for workers in mining amounts to from 50 to 60 per cent of their wage, and is paid even when the pensioner continues working.

The degree of loss of capacity to work is determined according to three categories of invalidity. The right to an invalidity pension depends on age and length of service. The length of service necessary to receive an invalidity pension is shortest for those working underground. According to category, the disability pension is 35, 49 and 69 per cent of the wage. If disability is due to an accident at work or to an industrial disease, the pension is paid regardless of age or length of service at the rate of 50, 75 and 100 per cent of the wage.

The above-mentioned disability pensions of the 1st and 2nd category increase by 10 to 25 per cent, depending on the period of uninterrupted employment.

In the case of a miner's death, those members of the family unable to work through disability or illness, are granted a pension which amounts for one member of the family to 35 per cent, for two to 49 per cent, and for three members or more, to 69 per cent of the wage of the deceased insured person. These pensions too increase by from 10 to 25 per cent according to the length of uninterrupted service.

In the case of temporary incapacity for work (sickness, or in order to take care of a member of the family who is ill, sanatorium treatment, quarantine, etc.) persons working underground are granted an allowance of 100 per cent of the wage if they have worked in a given mine for more than one year; to those who have worked in the same mine for less than a year, 60 per cent of the wage is granted.

In the case of incapacity to work due to an accident at work or to industrial disease, the allowance is 100 per cent of the wage regardless of the length of service.

Sickness allowances are paid from the first day of sickness until its cure or until retirement.

Medical care is free for the whole population and the above allowances are paid in full during hospital treatment.

In addition to allowances and pensions, workers and office workers have other forms of security as for example the sanatoria-rest homes, night sanatoria, the organisation of pleasure travelling and mountaineering, special diets, pioneer camps and children's sanatoria, etc.

The miners benefit from all these forms of security to a very great extent.

Hundreds of thousands of miners spend their annual paid holidays at the expense of social insurance funds, in the rest homes, on pleasure trips and in the mountain camps.

Night sanatoria attached to the mines have been organised in a great many pits, in which those miners requiring preventive treatment receive, at the expense of the social insurance funds, the necessary special diets and also benefit from various cultural services. Those on special diets eat in special medical dining rooms organised in the enterprises.

Social insurance contributions are entirely paid by the enterprises, in addition to the wages paid to the workers and employees. Nothing is deducted from the workers' pay packet for social insurance. Everything that the insured person receives through social insurance raises his material well-being.

Social Security—Not Necessary in Africa?

In its latest report to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, of 4th August 1952, the British Government states, among other things:

BRITISH SOMALILAND

"Since a large urban population could not be supported without widespread unemployment and poverty, it is not intended to provide formal education on a large scale nor to aim at mass literacy, but to limit the output of schools to those who may reasonably be expected to find employment," . . . . (p. 11). "No attempt is made to produce fully trained workmen." (p. 12).

GOLD COAST

"The demand made by native custom on the members of a family to support one of their members in need of assistance is still keenly felt and, in general, a programme of social security is not considered an immediate requirement." (p. 40).

KENYA

"The responsibility of social welfare is mainly vested in a community Development Organisation, which aims at the educating of the African community to a full appreciation of citizenship and at promoting progress by self-help."

"In rural areas the family welfare of the African is primarily a matter for tribal organisation." (p. 65/66).

NYASALAND

" The financial position of the Protectorate precludes any elaborate social security schemes and the responsibility for the care of the aged and infirm devolves largely on the family." (p. 140).

UGANDA

"Social Security remains a function of the family, clan or tribe. Old age and disability, therefore, do not represent problems since the aged and incapacitated are maintained by their families. In respect of health and maternity, no money benefits are necessary. . . ." (p. 180).

Discussion on the Draft Programme

SOCIAL SECURITY AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

● **A contribution by R. VIDIMARI of the Secretariat of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.TU.).**

The preparation of the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security, which is now developing in a whole number of countries makes it urgently necessary to revise and discuss the existing systems of Social Security for industrial and agricultural workers and to put forward concrete draft programmes of the essential demands of these workers.

The unions' contributions concerning social security demands, which the editors of the Bulletin have received, show that these revisions and discussions are developing in many countries.

I would therefore like to make some remarks on the **Draft Programme** with regard to workers in agriculture.

First of all we must take note that in spite of the urgent need, Social Security for agricultural workers is at present still the most backward sector of social legislation.

It is possible to mention only a few examples of countries such as England and Holland where it can be considered, at least on paper, that agricultural workers have equal rights with industrial workers in this sphere. The general picture of the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries is, however, one of considerable backwardness with regard to Social Security for agricultural workers as compared with those in industry. This backwardness is shown on the one hand by lower rates in the allowances paid and on the other by an extremely rigid system in the description of categories of incapacity for work.

In addition, in a fairly large number of countries agricultural workers either are not covered by social insurance at all or they only benefit from certain branches of it. For example, according to the picture given by the International Labour Office, nine countries out of 42 which have a medical care programme for maternity and sickness do not protect agricultural workers. In 10 countries, including Switzerland, Norway, the United States and Canada, agricultural workers are excluded from the legislative provisions providing compensation in the event of accidents at work. Legislative discrimination is also widespread in the field of unemployment insurance.

The application of social insurance, even in advanced countries, from the point of view of social legislation is inadequate in rural regions; and by reason of the conditions of work it is extremely difficult for the agricultural workers to obtain the necessary periods of covered employment which would entitle them to benefits.

Obviously this problem is much more acute in the economically under-developed countries. Both the agricultural workers and the industrial workers are deprived of all social protection in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In studying the position of the agricultural workers, the following groups can be distinguished:

(a) **"Dependent" workers. Those who belong to this group are all the wage earners including seasonal workers, technical and supervisory staffs, salaried employees, workers paid in kind and share-croppers.**

(b) **Independent workers. To this group belong small landowners and small-scale farmers.**

In general the demands of the industrial workers for Social Security and Social Insurance are applicable to agricultural workers taking account, however, of the particular conditions of the different groups of agricultural workers.

In that section of the programme of demands concerning the "dependent" workers, two main groups can be distinguished:

(a) **Agricultural wage-earners:**

The programme of demands relating to Social Security drawn up by the national trade union centres should apply to the agricultural workers of all countries, taking account, however, of the specific character of their work.

(b) **Share-croppers and similar categories:**

The share-croppers are dependent workers who receive as payment for their work a share of the produce obtained, varying according to the amount of production. The share-croppers should have the right to the forms of social security enjoyed by the "dependent" workers.

If the position of independent workers is now examined, it can be seen that small farmers own a type of property which does not yield any rent on account of its limited size and structure, and which does not permit them to derive a profit from the hiring of labour.

The yield of small peasant farms does not even always suffice to pay for the labour of the peasant family itself in the course of production. This demonstrates the slow but inexorable process of the expropriation of this type of worker. The lack of medical care, the lack of any means of existence in the case of incapacity for work, such as old age or the burden of large families, seriously undermines the standard of living of these workers which is already low enough.

The extension of measures of social security to the broad masses of peasants is a matter of urgency. It corresponds to the general interest and would do a great deal to promote the raising of social and economic well-being.

The Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Unions International affirms the unquestionable right of the peasants to a system of social security equal to that of all agricultural "dependent" workers.

This system will have to cover the peasants against the following contingencies: sickness, maternity, disability, old age, industrial accidents and diseases, family allowances and death. Peasant enterprises are more exposed than any other branch of production to natural and unforseeable risks, such as frost, hail, fire, epidemics, floods, drought, etc. It is therefore also necessary to introduce a system of social insurance, covering the principal categories of these risks.

The question of the financing of social security remains an essential part of the programme. In line with the draft programme on social security drawn up by the W.F.T.U., the major part of the costs of social security should be borne by the State and the employers. The share of the small peasants in the financing of the system must not exceed that of the wage-earners.

The general programme of social security for the agricultural workers corresponds with the deeply felt needs of all categories of agricultural and forestry workers; moreover it is in line with the demands of small peasants and wage-earners, technicians and agricultural salaried employees. Finally, it is in accordance with the demands of all agricultural, forestry and industrial workers and thus strengthens the unity displayed in the action of the broad masses of the workers to obtain an effective system of social security.

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United Action Against the Scourge of Unemployment

AT the beginning of this year, the unemployed in the countries of Western Europe, including Great Britain and Austria, numbered more than seven million, while the number of workers on short time was even higher.

Italy has more than five million completely or partially unemployed.

According to the *Nurnberger Nachrichten* of March 17, 1951, there were from 10 to 12 million dependents of 4½ to 5 million totally or partially unemployed workers in Western Germany.

From what President Truman himself said, there are at present in the United States 13 million totally or partially unemployed, of which nearly 9 million are working less than 35 hours a week.

In Japan, where over 10 million totally or partially unemployed are registered, it can be stated that 45 per cent of the working population is affected by unemployment.

In Sweden, the textile industry and the Volvo automobile factory have just dismissed staff.

Official statistics in Finland acknowledge approximately a 15 per cent reduction in the number of workers in industry.

Last month official Danish figures admitted the existence of 60,000 unemployed (about 85 per cent more than in 1950) out of a population of 4.3 million.

In the under-developed countries of Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Near and Middle East, men and women workers without work amount to tens of millions.

In Turkey, one person out of every four is out of work. Iran has more than a million unemployed.

Agricultural workers in Egypt, Pakistan and Cuba only work on an average for four months in the year, and according to a pamphlet published by the British Labour Party, there are 50 million unemployed among the agricultural workers in India.

Out of 90,000 workers in the territory of Trieste, 20,000 are officially registered as unemployed.

In all these countries mentioned, the immense blot of unemployment is spreading not only to the industrial and agricultural workers, but also to those in land and sea transport, in trade and even to certain categories of civil servants.

In Greece, for example, where there has been an increase of 35,000 in the number of unemployed over a three-month period, 40,000 civil servants are directly threatened with discharge. In countries like Italy, India, Austria, France, the United States, and a great many Latin American countries, there are tens of thousands of teachers without any work at all (100,000 in Italy, including 80,000 university and secondary school teachers and 20,000 primary teachers) or without regular and guaranteed employment.

Those are the broad outlines of the most outstanding quantitative aspects, in terms of humanity, of the picture presented by the capitalist system today with regard to unemployment. Unless the popular forces, united and in action, succeed in removing the main objective causes of unemployment existing at the present time, we venture to say that there is the prospect of still further increases.

In fact, the reality of daily facts confirms that, in general, the dismissals (on a large scale in most cases), the closing down of enterprises and reductions in working hours are extending more and more in all those parts of the world mentioned above, primarily in those industries manufacturing basic consumers' goods for immediate consumption and of a durable nature also.

This applies chiefly to the textile, clothing, footwear, food and household goods industries, and the branch of the construction industry for building houses, schools, hospitals and sanatoria as well as industries already mentioned previously such as the metal, engineering and chemical industries (fertilisers for agriculture).

Young and middle-aged workers, and those least skilled in any trade, are the first categories of men and women workers to be severely affected by unemployment. The most painful lot falls to those millions of young workers of school-leaving age (if they have had the opportunity of attending school) who find themselves in the disheartening position of being unable to make use of their aptitudes or earn their living. Workers over 35 years of age engaged in particularly heavy or in highly mechanised work are often the first to be dismissed or to be driven on to the labour market.

This is one of a number of facts in the present situation which illustrates in the countries under discussion just how little the aim of achieving a high degree of mechanisation serves the interests of the mass of the workers, and how often its immediate consequence is an increase in the number of unemployed. Unemployment from this cause is referred to as "technological" unemployment by big banking and industrial bosses, technocrats and by the I.C.F.T.U. leaders.

The spread of "technological" unemployment directly threatens millions of men and women workers in all trades in the countries of Western Europe to the extent that the provisions of the Schuman Plan and its appendages, the "European" transport and agricultural pools, are applied.

Thus tens of millions of unemployed workers of various nationalities, opinions, religious beliefs and races are totally deprived of the means of providing themselves and their families with even the most indispensable basic requirements. Tens of millions of workers live in daily anxiety, knowing the terrible fate of their brother workers who have been thrown out of work.

In fact, scores of millions of unemployed workers, the countless numbers of workers in the capitalist world on all continents, and affiliated to every kind of trade union, are tasting the bitter fruits of the "Western way of life." They are suffering both in body and spirit, the tragic consequences of the Marshall policy in the name of which the I.C.F.T.U. leaders carried out the split in world trade unionism represented by the W.F.T.U.

It is not surprising if, under these conditions, the masses of the working people see their common salvation only in the unification of their forces in resolute and often heroic struggles against unemployment, its causes and its appalling consequences.

Their desire to work is all the more justified, as hundreds of millions of men and women in a great many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (70 per cent of the population in these countries) are suffering from a chronic state of famine; enormous stretches of cultivable land remain uncultivated for lack of agricultural machinery, fertiliser, and irrigation; Western Europe needs to construct more than 20 million dwellings. And almost 150 million families, in the towns and countryside of South and South-East Asia live in places considerably below the minimum level for the maintenance of health.

The Causes

EXPERIENCE has proven that unemployment is inherent in capitalist economy. Practice has taught the workers that their exploiters consider unemployment necessary to guarantee and increase their profits and that they use unemployment as a weapon against the workers' demands.

The workers, however, are today aware that the overwhelming growth in the number of totally and partially unemployed is largely due to the fact that capital equipment and raw materials are, for the most part, being diverted to production necessary for wars of aggression which the American millionaires, at the head of the big international trusts, are waging and trying to extend still further throughout the world in order to dominate it.

Under these conditions, the bases of peace-time economies and industries are constantly contracting and this process is still further aggravated by the continual reduction in the purchasing power of the workers' wages.

Let us emphasise here the bankruptcy and dishonesty of those who, setting aside everything, recommend the armaments race as a way out of unemployment.

The workers see that the spread of unemployment of which they are the victims is due also to constantly intensified speed-up and the lengthening of working hours to which they are increasingly subjected. That means that in a given period of time, and without reducing the quality of the work, a smaller number of workers produce a greater amount.

In the countries which are members of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact and in the colonial and dependent territories, a working week of 50 or 60 hours and even more is current practice.

On March 14, 1951, the *Nurnberger Nachrichten,* for example, was already drawing attention to a 60 and even a 90 hour work week in certain branches of industry in Western Germany. For this reason, the workers of these countries in

their fight against dismissals, are more and more openly opposing the methods of intensified exploitation and are coming out against those who defend them under the guise of "productivity," that is, against the trade union leaders of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations and their lieutenants in the leadership of the I.C.F.T.U.

In short, the workers can see how well the Moscow Economic Conference last April exposed the fact that the increase in under-employment was due to a considerable extent to the disruption of normal trading relations between all countries and chiefly between those of East and West, which has been greatly intensified recently by the Pentagon and the Washington government. There are also other specific causes for unemployment in most of the dependent countries.

The economy of a great number of the Latin American countries rests on a single crop or a single industry. For example, Cuba—sugar and tobacco, Venezuela —oil, Chile—copper. If a crisis occurs in the principal industry, the whole mass of the workers is affected. This is what has just happened to the sugar workers in Cuba following the decision by the U.S.A. to reduce sugar imports by 450,000 tons.

The big American trusts dump their merchandise in most Latin American countries while at the same time they tighten their stranglehold on their sources of raw material.They are thus practically ruining the national industries and throwing tens of thousands of workers into the streets.

When they run industries on the spot, the big American companies do not scruple to rationalise production to the nth degree without the slightest thought for social consequences. In Venezuela, for example, oil production between 1948 and 1951 rose from 490 to 650 million barrels, while the number of workers fell from 61,077 to 40,000.

In these countries, action in defence of the unemployed is being undertaken especially in connection with the fight for unemployment insurance. agrarian reform and the development of national industries.

The workers of the Soviet Union have eliminated unemployment and its fundamental cause for all time. Today they are devoting their efforts and resources to great peaceful construction works. This explains why, in terms of the 5th Five Year Plan, now being carried out, the number of workers directly concerned in production will be still further increased by 15 per cent and the material and cultural level of the people will have doubled.

The Peoples' Democracies are following the same road.

The Consequences

MASS total or partial unemployment considerably reduces total wages received by the workers.

It reduces the share of wages in the national income.

It helps to reduce both the nominal and real wages of the workers remaining in production.

It helps all governments now following a policy of freezing wages and raising prices.

By forcing the standard of living down, unemployment brings the blackest misery and poverty to the workers' homes.

One of the consequences of unemployment is the effect it has on the incomes of small proprietors both in the towns and rural areas, such as small shopkeepers, artisans, doctors, peasants, etc.

The severe privations suffered by the workers through unemployment play havoc with their physical and moral forces.

The history of fascism between the two world wars shows that the moral damage caused by unemployment prepares the ground for the recruitment of strong contingents of workers in aggressive military formations.

Unemployment is the most fertile ground for all anti-working class repressive undertakings and for the division between those who work and those who are rotting in idleness.

Forms of Struggle

IN the recent period, the workers in the U.S.A. employed in the highly rationalised industries have given us many examples of work stoppages and constant harassing activities in the work teams and on the assembly lines every time any of them were threatened with dismissal as a result of the reduction in manpower caused by speeding up the assembly lines.

Recently in several countries, the workers have also increasingly taken over enterprises threatened with closure.

For the last three years, in their fight against the closing down of their factories threatened as a result of the Schuman Plan, the Italian metalworkers have perfected this form of resistance. In unity, with their trade unions and the active solidarity of other branches of industry and the population, in spite of the desertions of employers, they have not only occupied the factories, but on their own initiative and under their own management, have organised production.

The successful struggle carried on last May by hundreds of sulphur miners of Cabernardi, Italy, is truly symbolic of the inflexible resistance of which the workers are capable when they are defending their livelihood and the national wealth.

The Montecatini trust tried to close the mine, saying that it was exhausted. A Production Conference, bringing together, in addition to miners' delegates, representatives of the population, political parties and mining specialists, demonstrated that the closure was not justified scientifically. The Montecatini management nevertheless persisted in carrying out their decisions. Without further ado, the miners then waged a ruthless fight.

For 38 days, 1,300 feet below the ground, they occupied the mine and only came to the surface after obtaining satisfaction and after successfully combatting the police brutalities and the inhuman measures taken by the management which had deprived them of light all that time.

There again, the whole population supported the heroic miners.

The unemployed in Denmark are beginning to carry out what the Italians call "reverse strikes." That is, with the support of their trade union and the people, groups of unemployed are taking the initiative in carrying out public utility and other works and then demanding that the authorities or proprietors concerned pay them for the work done.

Impressive "hunger marches" have taken place in a great many countries.

For example, the tobacco workers in Greece, 80 per cent of whom are unemployed, organised a march a few months ago, together with the women, children and shopkeepers, who closed their shops as a sign of solidarity.

Some large trade union centres do not hesitate to adopt a resolute fighting and constructive attitude in the struggle for full employment. The basis of their struggle is the fight for a peace economy and the defence of industries and national sovereignty. On this basis, they are establishing their programmes of full employment and the restoration of the national economy in the way it was done by the united Trade Union Centres of Italy and France.

The broad outlines of these programmes serve as a framework for the unions and the principal enterprises in drawing up their specific programmes.

It is remarkable how committees are being set up from the factory level to the regional level and right to the top national level. They are bringing together workers from all categories and with various trade union affiliations. Their aim consists precisely in co-ordinating action in the fight for the demands of the unemployed and for the support of activity in the factories and industries threatened with liquidation. That was essentially the aim of the Conference of Unemployed Workers in the Textile and Clothing Industries, attended by 500 delegates, which was recently held in Paris.

The Demands

THE working class battles for the demands of the unemployed and for full employment in general have the following aims :

- To obtain an unemployment benefit of two-thirds of the wage for the unemployed.
- Real unemployment insurance established by law or in the contract.
- The reduction of working hours without loss of wages.
- The reduction of the qualifying age for an old-age pension.
- The increase of all workers' wages to help expand the home markets.

From the governments which have willingly submitted to the orders of Washington, the workers are demanding an independent policy and the allocation of raw materials to the industries working for peace. Further, in the colonial and dependent countries, the world of labour is demanding the establishment and development of national industries.

The slogan which everywhere brings a united response from the workers and is most often put forward today is the one calling for the signing and development of trade agreements with the Soviet Union, the great People's Republic of China, the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic.

The workers are turning towards the perspectives, at present being concretely achieved, which were outlined by the Moscow Economic Conference last April.

Thousands of Finnish workers are rejoicing today because they will not be joining the ranks of the wretched army of unemployed, thanks to the recent Soviet-Finnish trade agreement.

Organising Action

SHOULD any proof be necessary, the statement of the facts is sufficient that effective and successful struggle against unemployment is possible. In those places where the workers are united and organised with the firm will to oppose measures leading to dismissals, employers and governments have found it impossible to lay off the number of workers they want to get rid of just when they feel like it. On condition that it is united, organised and linked to the people as a whole, the strength of the working class today is capable of holding the instigators of unemployment and poverty in check. The colonialists, too, are coming up against the increasingly sharp resistance of the workers in the colonial countries whom they can no longer exploit as savagely as they would like to.

In the socialist countries today, 800 million strong, the workers either directly exercise power or hold a preponderant position. Apart from the stimulating force of their example, they are using a powerful fighting lever against unemployment in the capitalist world by acting for international trade between all countries on the basis of reciprocal advantages. The fight against unemployment, that is, against hunger and poverty, is one of the best bases for united action which can exist among workers of all trade union affiliations, opinions, religious beliefs, races and nationalities.

Taking the above facts into consideration, in many countries action against unemployment can therefore be planned along the following main lines :

- To fight resolutely and unitedly for all demands of the partially or totally unemployed and their families.

- To see that fraternal ties are maintained between the employed workers and those out of work.

- To draw up programmes to ensure that agricultural and industrial enterprises threatened with closure are kept going.

- To co-ordinate these activities within each occupational group and among occupational groups on the various regional, national and continental levels.

- To ensure that the mass of the workers are linked to the National Committees for the Development of International Trade, set up, or being set up, following the Moscow Economic Conference. To publicise among the workers the practical results for them from business transactions between East and West.

If the workers and trade unions proceed to a reciprocal exchange of their experiences of activity against unemployment, there is no doubt that the ensuing discussions would greatly help the development of the fight against unemployment.

The W.F.T.U. will take note of every suggestion made to it with the specific aim of carrying the action of international working class solidarity against unemployment to an ever higher level.

H. Jourdain

☆ FROM ALL COUNTR

Workers Greet WFTU

On October 3, the workers of the world celebrated the 7th anniversary of the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

On this occasion, a large number of messages and resolutions arrived at the headquarters of the Federation, not only from affiliated trade unions, but also from non-affiliated organisations in all parts of the world. They express the growing confidence

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Ben Gold, President, International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the U.S. and Canada:

". . . We regret exceedingly that American labour is prevented from making its contributions to the glorious efforts of the W.F.T.U. for mankind's emancipation. The experiences of American labour are rapidly awakening it to the realisation that a united international labour movement, headed by courageous, determined and tested leaders, is the guarantee of successful victories of labour and the people against their enemies. We hope the day will soon come for American labour to rejoin your ranks and participate in all the constructive activities of this great organisation and contribute its share toward hastening the day for a peaceful and happy world. Heartiest fraternal greetings and best wishes for success."

Hugh Bryson, President, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (M.C.S.):

"The M.C.S. greets the W.F.T.U. on the occasion of its seventh anniversary. The working people of the world are the greatest force for peace. With unity and solidarity we will have it."

C. S. Jackson, President, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (District Five):

". . . The need for ever increasing understanding, co-operation and co-ordination of activity on the part of the working people of the world against war and the world domination policy of monopoly capitalism finds full recognition and expression through the W.F.T.U. While the trade union movement in Canada has not yet entered into affiliation with the W.F.T.U., materials from your headquarters are reaching a steadily broadening section of the working people in this country and provide inspiration and guidance in the struggles carried on here. We look forward to peace through the solidarity of the working class."

GREAT BRITAIN

(The following are personal messages).

W. C. Stevens, General Secretary, Electrical Trades Union:

"I well recall the foundation of the World Federation of Trade Unions seven years ago, and the high hopes with which the workers of the world greeted its establishment as the best guarantee against a revival of fascism and war . . .

"At a time when the workers of many countries are suffering from low wages and unemployment, and the workers of all countries are facing the terrible threat of another world war, joint international trade union action is, in my opinion, a matter of life and death to the workers of the world. I sincerely hope that it will soon be achieved."

J. Gardner, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers:

". . . The World Federation continues to grow as the world situation grows more serious. It is with this in mind that the delegates attending the Annual Delegate Meeting of the Foundry Workers' Union, in Blackpool in June last, reaffirmed the view of the need for world trade union unity, and called upon the National Executive Council of the union to take all possible steps, through the Trades Union Congress, to re-establish our association with the World Federation of Trade Unions . . ."

Jack Stanley, General Secretary, the Constructional Engineering Union:

"I am personally not concerned with political ideologies which are likely to antagonise people of the opposite view; the improvement in the standard of living and the living conditions generally of work people, are more important than these divergent views; hence I am prepared to support any move that is likely to bring about that solidarity which is so desirable."

5S OF THE WORLD ☆

on its 7th Anniversary

of these organisations in the W.F.T.U. and the regard and recognition given by the workers throughout the world to our great trade union international.

For technical reasons we can only give in this number extracts of some of the first messages received. Other messages and telegrams, which continue to arrive, will be published in our next number.

Percy Belcher, General Secretary, Tobacco Workers' Union:

"A united international trade union movement must surely be the strongest bulwark against war, whilst the present position only tends towards furthering the interests of those who see in war the only solution to their so-called policy of liberation . . ."

William Pearson, General Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish Area):

". . . The important issues of war or peace demand a united movement and it is regrettable that the W F.T.U., as founded in 1945, was not allowed to continue and develop. By this time there would have been a mighty world trade union movement which would have been of the greatest importance to the workers all over the world.

"Every effort must be made to heal the breach and again establish world trade union unity in order that the grave dangers which threaten the working class can be eliminated."

PAKISTAN

Shameen Ashraf Malik, Acting General Secretary of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation:

"We are trying to build working class unity in our country to fight for the betterment of working class living conditions . . .

"The working class of Pakistan always, and keenly, awaits the decisions of this historic great world assembly of workers. We look to you for guidance, and wish the World Federation of Trade Unions all success . . ."

CEYLON

General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation:

". . . The World Federation of Trade Unions today is the acknowledged progressive leader of the world working class. It has won the confidence not only of the working people but also of all sections of the colonial peoples as the dauntless fighter for the cause of their liberation and for a better and happier life . . ."

BRAZIL

Ramiro Luchesi, President of the Confederation of Workers of Brazil:

"The World Federation of Trade Unions, born of the wishes of the workers throughout the world, is taking a stronger and stronger stand for peace and against the instigators of war. I wish to express the desire that its leaders, who so courageously keep its banner flying against the splitters, should continue their firm stand in the struggle for working class unity, in order to strengthen still more working class ties of solidarity for the defence of its interests, well-being and for world peace."

SOUTH AFRICA

I. Wolfson, General Secretary, National Baking Industrial Union:

". . . Overcoming all attempts to break up the W.F.T.U., hounded by enemies of the working people, you have always raised your banner of independent free trade union organisation aloft . . .

"May the unity of the workers and their trade unions defeat all our enemies."

FRANCE

Confederal Bureau of the General Confederation of Labour:

"We send you our warmest thanks for your action for unity and the fraternal support you are giving to the struggles for the social and economic demands of the workers as well as to their activities in defence of peace . . ."

ITALY

General Secretary of the National Federation of Land Workers:

"In the struggle to save our country from poverty caused by the armament policy, in our fight to assure

bread and a peaceful life to all workers, we are acting in accordance with the programme and ideals formulated by the great world organisation of the workers which has inscribed on its banner the slogan of unity of the workers for peace and social justice."

★

Many workers' delegations from Vienna factories came to greet the W.F.T.U. on the occasion of its 7th anniversary. ABOVE: **Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the W.F.T.U., welcomes the delegates of the Vienna workers.** LEFT: **On behalf of the workers of his factory one of the delegates expresses their deep attachment and gratitude towards the World Federation of Trade Unions.**

POLAND

Victor Klosiewicz, President of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions:

"The working class of People's Poland is proud of the great achievements of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It loyally carries out in its country the tasks set by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

"Thus, by our daily peaceful and creative work, we are laying the foundations of socialism, raising the living standards of the workers, improving working conditions and giving the people wide opportunities for development."

ALBANIA

"Our working class greets the tireless struggle of the W.F.T.U. for the improvement of working and living conditions and the defence of democratic rights, against the sinister forces of war of the American and British imperialists and their agents who, by their preparations for a new criminal war, are placing tremendous burdens on the backs of the workers."

CHINA

Liu Ning I, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour:

". . . In seven years consistent work, the W.F.T.U. has faithfully defended the interests of the world working class with courageous actions. The Chinese working class, closely rallying under the militant banner of the W.F.T.U., struggles for the consolidation and extension of the unity of the world working class, for their higher living standard, against the aggressive policy of war preparations led by American imperialism and for lasting world peace."

U.S.S.R.

Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R.:

"Throughout these seven years, the W.F.T.U. has fought unceasingly for the defence of the vital interests of the broad masses of the workers, their economic and social rights, democratic liberties, the strengthening of international working class unity, and the preservation of peace. The workers of all countries look on the World Federation of Trade Unions as their fighting organisation, true to the end to the cause of the working class. The Soviet trade unions wish the World Federation of Trade Unions new successes in its fight for unity of the working class, improvement of living conditions of the workers and for peace."

(To be continued)

Light on Events in Egypt

By I. ESKANDARY

AT dawn on September 7, two Egyptian workers, Mustapha Khamis and Mohammed Bakry, were hanged in Alexandria. On the same day, many textile workers were also sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 3 to 11 years by the Military Court of Alexandria.

The brutal events which took place between August 11 and 13 in Kafr-el-Dawar during which the police and the army of the Maher-Neguib Government opened fire on the 30,000 striking workers of the Misr textile factories, killing 12 workers and injuring dozens of others, are well-known.

The Special Military Court set up on the following day in Alexandria was given the task of legalising this attack on the workers' freedom by passing a whole series of sentences on a number of strikers arrested by the police.

A new fascist-like wave of terror has struck the Egyptian workers, who are doubly exploited by the Anglo - American imperialists and by their own bourgeoisie.

The Appalling Living Conditions of Egyptian Workers

IN reality, the "unpardonable crime" of which these workers have been accused is that they dared to unite to demand wage increases, an improvement in their appalling work conditions and that they protested against the dismissal of their workmates.

Anyone conversant with the social situation in Egypt knows that of all the Egyptian workers the textile workers live under the most abysmal conditions. Their wages are among the lowest in the world, being $2\frac{1}{2}$ Egyptian pounds[1] per month while profits and dividends in the industry are enormous.

The mad rush for profits by foreign and Egyptian capitalists throws the most intolerable burden of exploitation on the backs of the workers.

More than half the Egyptian workers, and especially the textile workers, work from 70 to 80 hours a week. Among them are many children of from 9 to 14 years of age. The percentage of child labour is one of the highest in the world, being between 15 and 20%. Children are subjected to the heaviest exploitation by virtue of Statute No. 41 of 1933. Night work, re-introduced since 1945, especially in the spinning and weaving mills, and the increase in the number of machines handled by the workers, have resulted in mass dismissals. Together with the influx of persons from the countryside, the workers form a large army of unemployed. There is no guarantee of social security whatever for those who work.

The extreme poverty of the workers, especially in the industrial areas of Mehala-el-Kabra and Kafr-el-Dawar (where the recent bloody events took place) make it necessary for them to live in groups of 8 to 10

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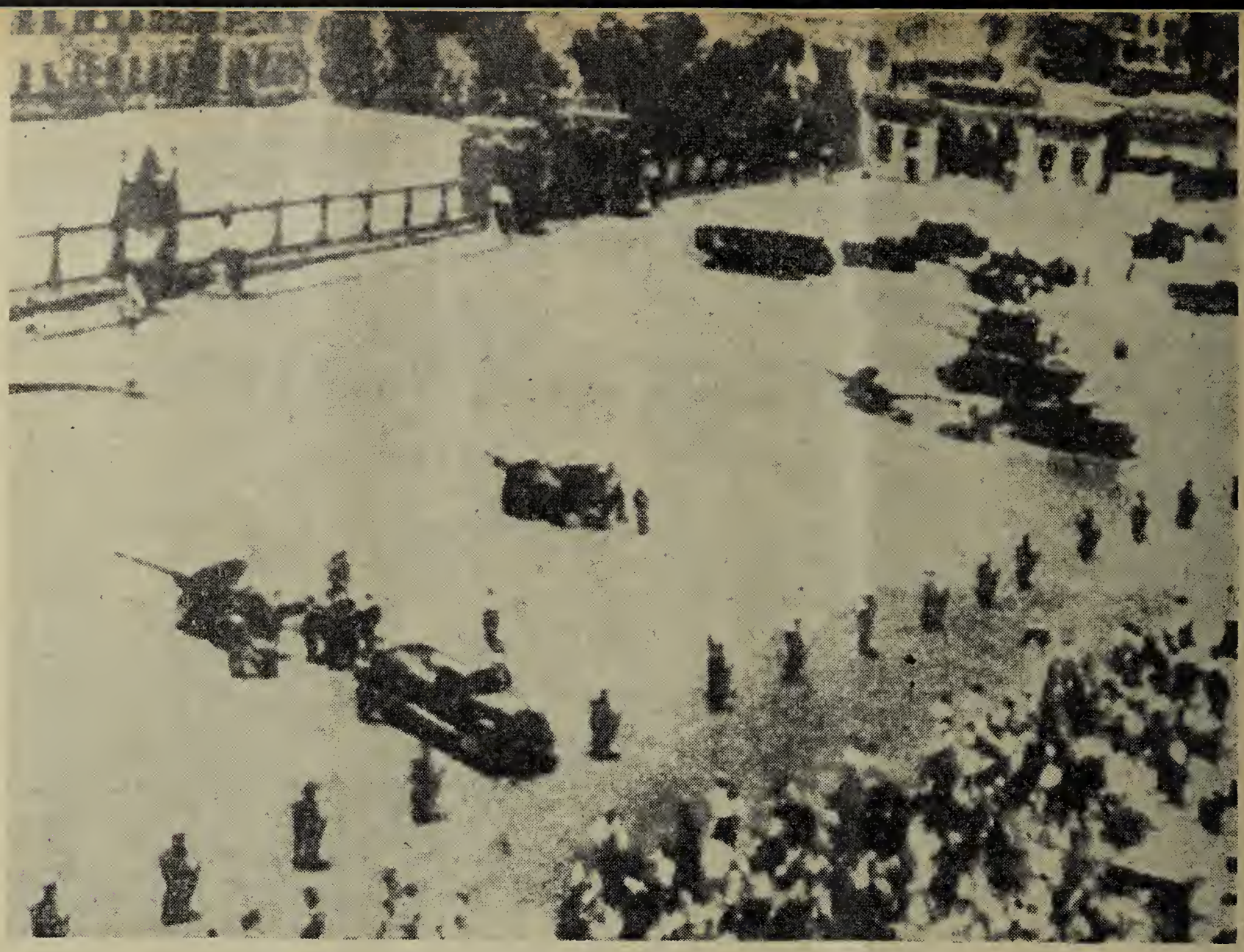
1 One Egyptian pound=100 piastres=21 British shillings.



Guns pointed at a given moment on the Royal Palace deluded some people. Today they are turned on the workers who are defending their rights and liberties.

in a single furnished room in a type of barracks built by the exploiting companies.

The living conditions of the Egyptian workers, and more particularly the workers in the textile industry, have been still further worsened during the last few years by the rise in the cost of living (which is four times higher than 1939), by the devaluation of the Egyptian pound, by the freezing of wages and by the crisis in the textile industry.

According to figures published by the Egyptian Department of Statistics, a working class family eating neither meat nor eggs (and not counting rent and a minimum of amenities) required an income of 346 piastres a month before the war, which is just under 3½ Egyptian pounds, while the average monthly income of a working class family is about 294 piastres. It must not be forgotten that the calculations of the Department of Statistics includes the better paid categories of workers.

There are about 80,000 women in Egyptian industry receiving wages varying between a half and a third of the wages paid to men. There are about 60,000 workers under the age of 15, and 100,000 between 15 and 19. Young workers receive a third of an adult's wage.

The working day is very long. Official statistics show that 55% of industrial establishments require the workers to work more than 60 hours a week, 40% more than 70 hours and 5% over 80 hours.

There is an almost total lack of any labour legislation and the rudimentary regulations which do exist are not enforced. There is no social insurance for the workers of any kind, no medical, unemployment, or old-age insurance; neither is there any provision against accidents at work which occur very frequently (between 15,000 and 20,000 yearly). The fortnight's paid holidays established by law in May 1944 have never been applied. There are practically no weekly holidays and working conditions in the factories are abominable, most of them being dark, unhealthy and dangerous. Pregnant women are dismissed without ceremony, children and even adults are subjected to all kinds of corporal punishments and fines.

When we add the fact that in the towns rents and other expenses are higher, it must be concluded that even on a wage of 250 piastres (according to official figures which are far from the truth), the Egyptian worker cannot provide his family with the most elementary needs, wheat bread being 5.7 piastres for a kilogram (2.2 lbs.) and beef of an inferior quality from 25 to 30 piastres for the same amount. For obvious reasons, even these basic foods are excluded from the workers' diet. In general, they have to be satisfied with one or two plates of beans a day and then tighten their belts. About 90% of the Egyptian workers are illiterate.

The Real Reason for the Poverty

WHAT is the cause of this disastrous situation? The real reason lies in the fact that the wealth of the country has been seized by a handful of big landowners, Egyptian capitalists and especially by foreign capitalists who have monopolised the industry and finance of the country.

The distribution of the national income and capital between the various sections of the Egyptian population furnishes the best explanation of the low standard of living and the poverty of the people.

The most striking thing is that the return on capital is the largest part in the distribution of the national income. According to official statistics, on 580 million Egyptian pounds invested in 1950, Egyptian and foreign capitalists had drawn an overall income of 200 million Egyptian pounds, which is a 40% return. This percentage is really a great deal higher if one takes into account the rise in prices since that date and the speculation which has taken place in cotton and other raw materials following the American aggression in Korea and the stock-piling of materials for war purposes.

Concerning the distribution of landed property, it is enough to say that in Egypt less than 2% of the landowners (15,000 in all) own 45% of the cultivated land. If the smaller landowners are included we still find that less than 10% of landowners, numbering 93,800, own 70% of the cultivated land. And the remaining nine-tenths of the landowners own 30% of the land between them ; 58% of the latter, the poorest section, only have 8% of the cultivated land. The remainder of the twelve and a half millions of the rural population is composed of landless peasants who work as share croppers, tenant farmers or agricultural labourers on the land of the big proprietors. About the latter, the Jesuit Father Habib-Avrout, has written that "they live in Cairo and Alexandria and spend their summers in Europe. How they spend the wealth of Egypt there is well known. They waste more in one evening than would keep these fellahin for a year, finding both their poverty and their luxury quite natural. . . ."

It has been calculated that half the land and live-stock in Egypt is owned by 21,000 persons. The major part of the bank deposits belong to 1/10 of the total number of depositors, that is, 10,000. Most of the working capital also belongs to about 10,000 capitalists. Fifty-eight per cent of city buildings belong to 18,000 owners. It is scarcely necessary to point out that these various categories of owners are, in most cases, the same people.

Egypt in the Grip of Foreign Capital

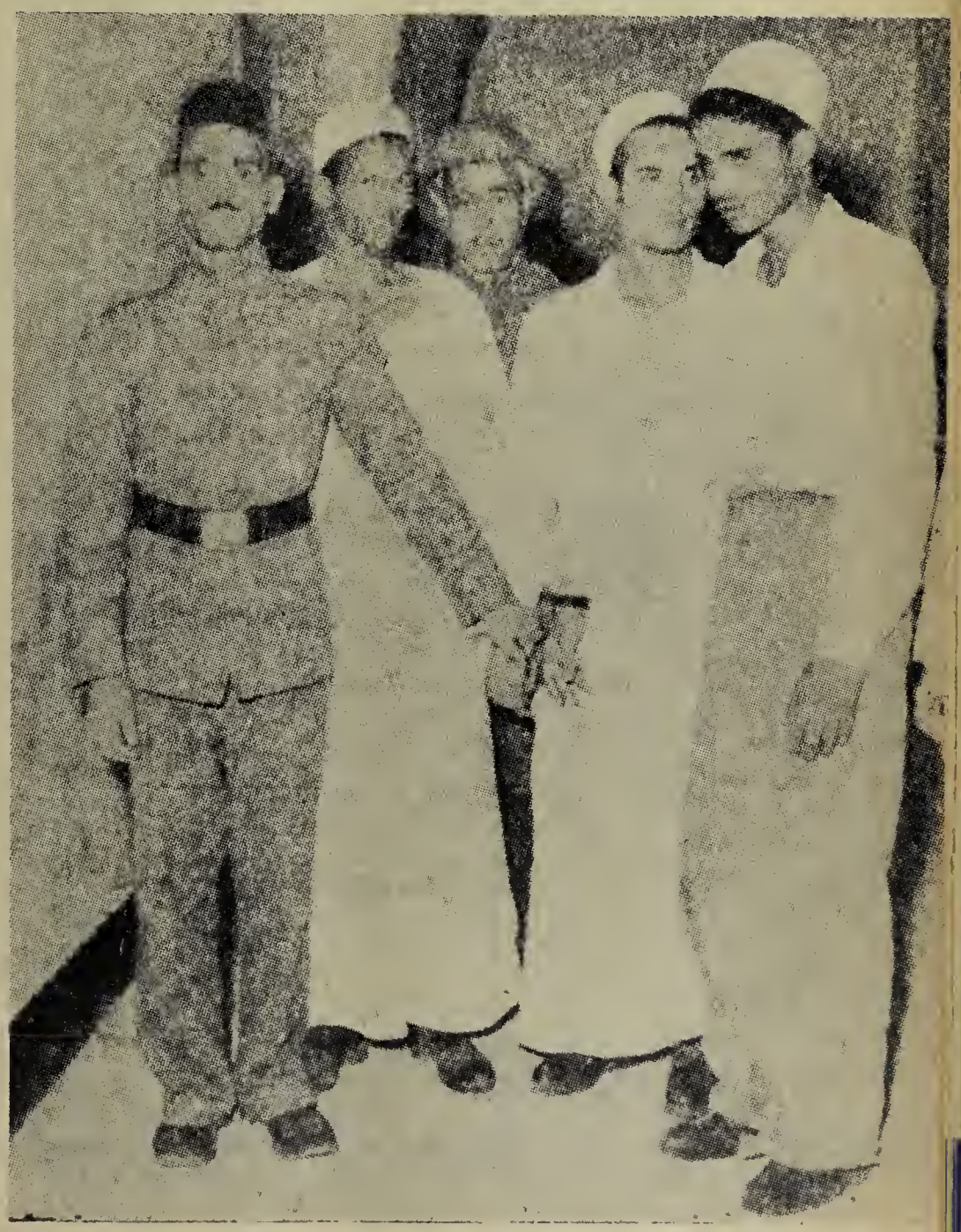
EGYPTIAN economy is for the most part dominated by foreign capital, particularly British. Foreign capital investments are estimated at from 400 to 500 million Egyptian pounds. British finance dominates the banking system, the National Bank of Egypt, National Insurance of Egypt, Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Co., Transport (Alexandria and Ramleh Railway Co.), Oil (Anglo-Egyptian Oil Fields, subsidiary of Royal Dutch and Anglo-Iranian), the salt industry and finally the company controlling the Suez Canal, the Board of Directors of which is made up of 16 French members, 10 British, 4 Egyptian, 1 Dutch and 1 American.

From 1950, the annual profits of this imperialist company have been more than 10,000 million francs, which represents about 20% of the capital invested.

French capital investment comes second, with interests in the Suez Canal ; control of several banks, including the *Crédit Foncier Egyptien ;* transport companies, e.g. the tramways of Alexandria ; and other enterprises such as sugar refineries ; *Monts de Piété Egyptien,* the Schneider firm, and the *Batignolles* Construction Co., etc.

But there has been increasing penetration of American financial groups within the last few years. Egypt is thus becoming a centre of friction between British and American imperialism.

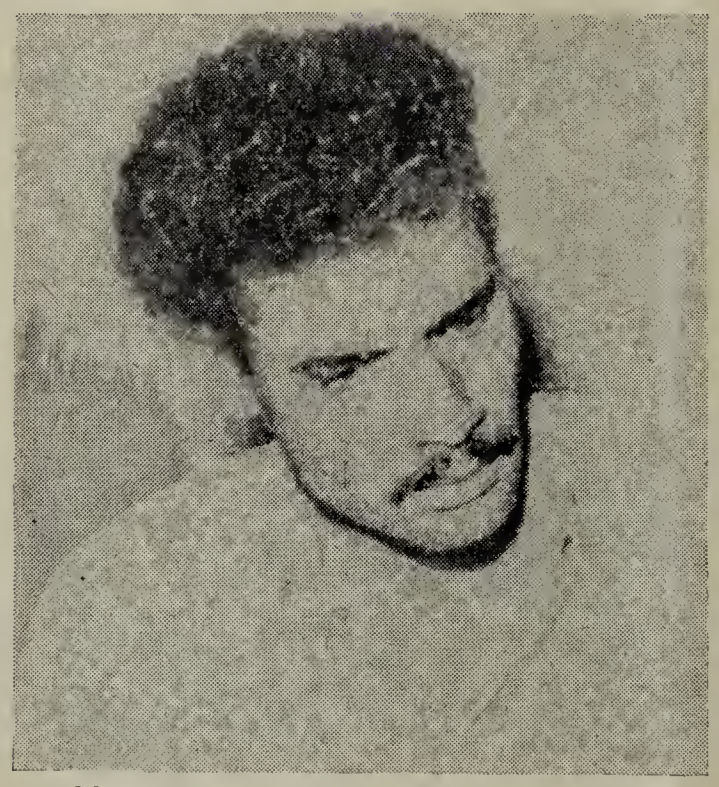
These workers were arrested on the order of Neguib during the bloody events of Kafr el Dawar.



Apart from Standard Oil, already established before the war, American companies have helped to set up and operate enterprises in the chemical, artificial silk, food and electrical equipment industries. In addition, the Export-Import Bank in 1948 granted loans of 7 million dollars to *Egyptian Fertiliser and Chemical Industries* for the construction of a fertiliser plant.

The Egyptian big financial and industrial bourgeoisie which is the natural ally of foreign imperialism, is itself divided into various financial groups, the most important of which is the Misr Bank, controlling 22 firms dealing with the manufacture of equipment, cotton spinning and weaving mills, flax mills, silk and artificial silk, cotton export, oil products, films, naval armament, transport including air transport, fisheries, insurance and a land credit bank.

These facts explain the Egyptian people's poverty. From this one can understand the motives which drove the Misr workers of Kafr-el-Dawar, who are among the most heavily exploited, to launch a general strike on August 11-13, in spite of the obstacles placed by the authorities in the way of the normal functioning of the trade union organisations.



This worker, Mustapha Khamis, a victim of the bloody repression of the dictator Neguib, was hanged.

The Egyptian Workers' Desire for United Action

THE Egyptian workers have been fighting for more than half a century to bring about the unity of the working class under the leadership of a National Trade Union Federation, in order to combine the workers' efforts to improve their living conditions, and to fight more effectively against foreign imperialism, the enemy of independence and progress in Egypt.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian working class movement is suffering, as in all countries, under imperialist domination, from an organic split both in political and trade union organisation. And the foreign imperialists and their natural allies (the landed proprietors and the big bourgeoisie), have, in fact, not hesitated to employ the most brutal measures to prevent unity of the workers.

Labour legislation of a kind, won at the price of countless sacrifices, exists, but is so defective that, while permitting the workers to organise in craft unions, it prevents them from uniting on a national scale to form a Trade Union Federation for all Egyptian workers.

The tremendous surge forward of the national liberation movement and the particularly important role played by the working class in the events of the year 1951-1952 in the fight against the occupation of the Suez Canal region by British troops, the imperialist treaty imposed on Egypt in 1936, and the so-called Middle East Defence Pact planned by the American and British imperialists, have of necessity led the workers to lay greater emphasis on unity in connection with the anti-imperialist struggle than in connection with trade union organisation.

At the same time as the workers and militant trade unionists, together with students, peasants, intellectuals and other representatives of the democratic movement formed a broad united anti-imperialist front for national liberation, the representatives of several large trade unions such as the Transport, Oil, Radio, Textile and Seamen's Unions, as well as representatives of other categories of workers, decided at a meeting held on September 9, 1951, to set up a preparatory committee for the formation of a general confederation of workers for the whole of Egypt.

In a manifesto issued on September 10 and published by the leading daily newspapers in Egypt, the Preparatory Committee called on the W.F.T.U. for assistance in the fight for working class unity. This appeal to the W.F.T.U. for working class unity is all the more significant as it was sent at the very time that an I.C.F.T.U. mission had installed itself in the Metropolitan Hotel in Cairo and was trying by every means possible to get the Egyptian trade unions to affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U.

The Egyptian trade unions, after exposing the I.C.F.T.U. mission as an Anglo-American imperialist move, decided to call a general conference on January 27, 1952, which was to assemble the representatives of all the workers' trade unions in Cairo to set up a General Federation of Egyptian Trade Unions, and to adopt its policy, constitution, and to elect its Executive Committee.

The incidents of January 26, 1952, on the eve of the Conference, are known. Provocative fires were started in Cairo, there was the Farouk coup d'etat and the arrest of militant trade unionists and members of the democratic movement to remove them from the scene of the struggle.

* * *

Once more, at the instigation of Anglo-American imperialism, reaction had succeeded in stemming the advance of the Egyptian workers' unity movement, the essential condition for developing a broad democratic front for national liberation, peace and progress.

From the Farouk to the Neguib Coup d'Etat

THE coup d'etat of Farouk, applauded by the governments of the Atlantic bloc and the entire reactionary Press, answered the demands of imperialism and Egyptian reaction which was maddened by the tremendous upsurge of the people's movement. In fact, after forcing the government and Parliament to abrogate the imperialist treaty of 1936 and to refuse to sign the Middle East Military Pact put forward by the Anglo-Americans, the mass of the people were prepared to defend their rights, arms in hand.

The workers' aggressive resistance in the Suez Canal Zone and the unity, embracing ever-wider and more varied sections of the population, which was supported by international solidarity, shook the very foundations of the regime based on imperialist domination and exploitation. To smash the people's national liberation movement, and to set up a dictatorship of a fascist character was therefore the immediate objectives of both internal reaction and foreign imperialism.

Nevertheless, it became obvious that as brutal as the repression had been, it was incapable of solving the real problems at the root of popular discontent. A whole series of scandals discovered during the past few years such as the embezzlement of funds intended for the assistance of the inhabitants of the Libyan Desert; the smuggling of merchandise and drugs across the eastern frontiers, the traffic in import and export licences, the Ministry of Food scandal involving tens of millions of pounds, the notorious affair of the "corner" in cotton which had ruined many merchants and industrialists, and above all, the big scandal of the supply of arms to the army fighting in Palestine, in all of which Farouk, his entourage and most of his Ministers were implicated, gave Farouk no opportunity to play the role of "reformer" which the Anglo-American imperialists and their allies in the Egyptian ruling class would have liked to assign to him.

In addition, discontent had spread to the army. Accusing the leaders of a policy which had caused the army a shameful defeat in the Palestine war, officers and soldiers, mainly from the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, sympathised with the mass movement and shared the hostility of the great majority of Egyptians towards Farouk and his entourage, the high State officials, Ministers, Members of Parliament, the big landowners and financiers.

Time was pressing. A "man," a figurehead, had to be found, "without political affiliations, and uncom-

Egyptian Peace Movement Poster

promised" to carry out the diversion which Farouk was henceforth incapable of accomplishing. Even at the cost of sacrificing Farouk himself, his entourage and even to the detriment of certain elements of the ruling class, he had to be found.

The coup d'etat of July 23, which succeeded in overthrowing King Farouk and installing the military dictatorship of General Neguib, must be seen against the background of these interests of the Egyptian big bourgeoisie and the *Anglo-American imperialists* who want to bring the Egyptian people and the peoples of this region to heel in order to impose the Middle East Military Pact.

One can understand from the above that there are a whole spate of so-called "reforms" which the new government intends to introduce, suppression of political liberties, the dissolution of parties under the pretext of cleaning up, and the demagogic declaration that the resulting new movement would be "a movement of workers and peasants," all this being done by massacring the workers on strike under the pretext of restoring order, the sham agrarian reform which does nothing towards abolishing the exploitation of the Egyptian fellahin and which aims at extending the influence of the bourgeoisie, and leading to a kind of "kulakisation" of the countryside.

In addition, the new government has ordered the repeal of the law which fixed a maximum of 49% on foreign capital investment in the industrial, commercial and financial companies in Egypt. Under the pretence of encouraging the development of industry and agriculture, the Maher-Neguib Government immediately after the coup d'etat opened the door of the country to an invasion of foreign capital, particularly American capital, which is one of the methods of imperialist domination.

The ban on the workers' Trade Union Congress called for September 14, which was finally to have set up a Federation of Trade Unions for all the workers of Egypt, definitely put an end to the illusions created in certain democratic and working class circles, after the fall of Farouk and the misleading declarations during the first days of the coup d'etat.

In the light of the readiness of the new government's diplomatic representatives to resume negotiations with London and Washington on the incorporation of Egypt into the Middle East Military Pact, both the ecstasy of the Anglo-American press over the "virtues" of the new "chief" can be understood, and the hurry with which groups of "experts" of all kinds are being sent to him, including Dr. Schacht, Hitler's expert on the transformation of national economies into fascist ones for war preparation!

The Egyptian People Will Have the Last Word

BUT the Egyptian people, and the workers of Egypt, have not said their last word. They will finally decide the issue as the World Federation of Trade Unions has pointed out in its statement on March 14, 1952:

"The history of all peoples shows that repression, no matter how savage and brutal, is incapable of suppressing the liberation movement of a people which is fighting for its freedom and independence.

"The repressive measures taken against the Egyptian patriots and the institution of martial law, have not done away with the imperative need to solve the particularly acute political and social problems with which the Egyptian people are faced. The poverty of the people and their exploitation by imperialism remains. As long as these remain, there is no force and no political diversion, no matter how brutal or subtle, which will be able to check the will to struggle of the masses of the Egyptian people."

Preparation for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace

The German People in Action

By W. ADLER

ON July 6, the World Council of Peace in Berlin launched its appeal for the convening of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. The profound effect of this appeal throughout the world demonstrated the degree to which the peoples have become aware of the dangers of war and the imperative need for uniting to save peace.

The Congress of the Peoples will open in Vienna on December 5. Its preparation is being organised at an ever-increasing pace. In all parts of the globe, in cities and villages, in work places, and among the most varied sections of the population, widespread discussion is taking place and developing in the most diverse forms. Thus in France and Italy, and in many other countries, thousands of small discussion meetings are being held in houses, streets, in districts and villages, at which delegates are elected to local meetings, which in turn prepare for meetings on a regional and then national scale.

* * *

IN the overall picture of the preparation for the Congress of the Peoples, particular emphasis must be laid on the great importance of the participation of the German people in this gigantic peace effort. The German people, engaged in a bitter struggle for unity and for the independence and prosperity of their country, are aware of the significance of the efforts made by the World Council of Peace for a peaceful solution of the German problem and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

In its address to the governments of the Four Powers and to all the peoples on the German problem, the World Council declared:

The separate agreements concluded in Bonn and Paris . . . carry within themselves the rebirth of militarism and fascism, deepen the division of Germany and of Europe, and are an obstacle to all practical efforts to promote general disarmament.

The peoples know well that unless there is a negotiated solution based on a firm determination to succeed, there is the real danger of there being no other outcome but war.

The World Council considers the best solution to be the immediate convening of a Four-Power conference, the object of which will be to take all decisions with a view to the peaceful solution of the German problem.

There is not a German patriot who has not approved this firm stand by the World Council for Peace and who has not felt encouraged in his activity for unity and the independence of Germany and, through that, for peace.

At its meeting in Berlin on September 10, the German Peace Committee decided to convene a German Peace Congress in Berlin on November 15 and 16. The delegates to this Congress will be elected at mass meetings and conferences.

Further, an Inaugural Committee for the German Democratic Republic was set up in Berlin on September 22 to carry out preparations for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. It is composed of representatives of all parties and mass organisations, as well as eminent individuals in the political, economic and cultural life of the German Democratic Republic. The Committee has called on the whole population to make the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples its own business.

The practical activity for peace in the G.D.R. takes on a great variety of forms. Particularly widespread are the "peace forums," which are public meetings organised once or twice a month by local peace committees in every city. Leaders in public life and representatives of the peace movement at these meetings answer questions put to them by the people.

In Western Germany and West Berlin, despite the ban of the authorities on almost all public meetings for reporting the World Council of Peace session, the decisions taken by the Council have not failed to find their way to the people. After the Berlin session, the West German Peace Committee called on the German people to strengthen their resistance against the Adenauer Government, to fight for the re-establishment of the unity of Germany and for the conclusion of a peace treaty. Through its assiduity, the World Council's resolutions were communicated to members of the Federal and provincial parliaments, to active members of parties and trade unions, etc., asking for their opinions on its decisions.

In spite of police measures taken by the Bonn government, delegates and observers not only took part in the session of the World Council, but reported to public meetings. Such was the case with the Members of Parliament Höreth-Menge and Erwin Eckert, Presidents of the Peace Committee, Mrs. Fassbinder, well-known Catholic professor, Mrs. Charlotte Fleischmann, active worker in the Christian Socialist Union, and many others. Reports were also given during meetings of active trade unionists, meetings of women and youth and discussions with representatives of Christian and other organisations.

In the fight for peace, against the "General Treaty" and at the same time against the application of the reactionary factory law, the working class is leading the movement. Thus, many delegates to the Chemical Workers' Congress and the delegates to the Metalworkers' Congress (which is the largest trade union in Western Germany) went on record against the remilitarisation of the country, and against the ratification of the "General Treaty." Similar resolutions were passed by the Dortmund miners, by the active trade unionists of Garmisch-Partenkirchen (Bavaria), the Munich railwaymen, the Mülheim (Ruhr) building workers, the Stuttgart metalworkers, Hamburg dockers and the workers of many other towns and trade union organisations of Western Germany.

Powerful action by the working class and the increasingly violent offensive by reaction is having a profound influence on other sections of the population. Peasants, intellectuals, Catholics, Protestants, and patriots belonging to all parties and ideologies are uniting in the fight for the unity of the country, for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and for world peace. "Our faith must now be transformed into action," declared Merker, member of the Council of Churches of Bad Freienwalde, during a meeting of Protestants and Catholics, held in Bad Salzungen, not far from the line of demarcation.

The "Union of Mutual Understanding between Germans and for a Just Peace Treaty" has taken the initiative, supported by other organisations, such as the Workers' Committee against the Remilitarisation of Germany, in promoting a national referendum against the "General Treaty" in cities and towns, enterprises and trade unions. Towards the middle of September, nearly nine million citizens of Western Germany and the Saar territory had already declared themselves against the Bonn treaty and for the conclusion of a peace treaty.

At the same time, preparation is going ahead on a broader and broader scale for the *International* Conference for a Peaceful Solution of the German Problem, which will take place in Stockholm from October 18-21. The arbitrary decision taken at the time by the Danish government to prevent the delegates from Germany (and other countries) from participating in the Preparation Conference in Odensee (Denmark), far from lessening interest in this Conference in Western Germany, has only served to increase the interest which has extended to the clergy, various peace organisations and the employers.

Thus, ever-broader sections of the German people are being brought into the struggle of the peoples of the world against the warmongers. By responding on a wide scale to the Congress of the Peoples, they are contributing decisively to the maintenance of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

To Advance Our Review

Following are some extracts from a letter we have just received from Tamatave (Madagascar) dated September 4:

"Dear Brothers,

"My comrades and I, employed in the port of Tamatave, have, during the last few months, been reading *World Trade Union Movement*, and the lesson we have drawn from it is that the Tamatave workers cannot remain outside the struggle now being waged by the workers of the world against the imperialists."

Our brothers then tell us in the letter that they have decided to form a dockers' trade union. They go on to say:

". . . Our hopes rest on you, dear brothers. Isolated on an island, cut off from the stimulus of the mainstream of life, we need your advice and your experience to achieve unity, to draw up a Constitution for our trade union and to secure its recognition by the local government . . ."

Here, then, is a group of workers from a distant country, "colonial par excellence," as they themselves say in their letter, living in poverty, ruthlessly exploited and subjected to a regime of terror. Then one day our Review falls into their hands and they read it. They then see how throughout the world workers of every race and colour are organising and fighting against their exploiters, and how, there where they have been victorious, the workers are building wonderful countries of freedom and well-being.

By reading our Review, they understood that in order to carry out an effective struggle, they must unite and organise. It was this which led them to decide to form their trade union.

In our opinion, this example illustrates perfectly one of the aspects of the role which our Reviow has begun to play and which it must continue to play more and more in the future. That is, to show the way forward to the workers of colonial and dependent countries, to assist them in their united organised fight for their basic interests against imperialist greed.

This is an important aspect of the role of our Review. It is not, of course, the only onc. Our Review is read and studied by an increasing number of trade union cadres and active trade unionists in the capitalist countries. Here is one example among others. The French Federation of Seamen (C.G.T.) informs us that in five ports alone it distributes more than a hundred copies of each number of our Review, these being sold by active trade unionists. And the number is constantly growing. Here again, is a typical case showing that there is a rapid growth of its influence among the workers in action against the policy of poverty and war in the capitalist countries, particularly when its circulation is carefully organised.

Our friends in Britain, too, have got down to this job and they are making rapid progress. Our Review is also appreciated in the Socialist countries. Tens of thousands of copies of our Russian, Chinese, Rumanian and German editions are distributed among trade union leaders and militants of the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

In its issue of September 19, *Trud*, the organ of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, devoted a long article to the popularisation of our Review.

"World Trade Union Movement," this article said, "throws a powerful light on the activity of the W.F.T.U., fighting organisation of the international working class. It defends the unity of the workers and exposes the manoeuvres of the splitters."

And after a detailed analysis of the content of past numbers, the *Trud* article concludes:

"The material published in the Review *World Trade Union Movement* is of great interest. The active trade unionist and the propagandist will find in the Review rich and concrete information on the life and struggles of thc workers in the capitalist and colonial countries for bread, peace and national independence."

The three examples cited highlight the role which our Review plays in the organisation, development and guidance of the trade union movement on the international level. However, so that our Review shall be equal to its task and be able to fulfil its mission, an extra effort to increase its circulation is still necessary on the part of all cadres and active trade unionist friends of our Review. At the same time, we shall always strive to improve its content. It depends on all of us, on our joint efforts, that the great voice of the W.F.T.U. be heard all over the world. This voice fills the workers with confidence and guides them along the correct path of unity and struggle for their basic interests and peace. Help us to go forward still more quickly.

Editorial Board.

Coal Miners of Mining - Japan - 1951

Japanese Coalminers Lead the Struggle for

• Peace and National Independence

By

HIRASHI TOMISAWA

WORKING conditions of the Japanese mineworkers have long been inferior to those in other trades. But since the American imperialists launched the war of aggression in Korea, conditions have still further deteriorated. Up to June 1950, monthly coal output exceeded 3,500,000 tons, although demand barely reached 2,600,000 tons per month. In July of the same year, there were 4,510,000 tons of unsold coal in stockpiles and the crisis in the industry became evident.

The capitalists tried to surmount the crisis by relying upon bank loans of 3,400,000,000 yen secured by the government, and by slashing the numbers of mineworkers from 400,000 to 350,000. At the same time, this wholesale dismissal of workers was aimed at depriving the coalminers of their strength to fight against low wages, slave-like conditions and speed-up. This resulted in many militant miners being thrown out of their jobs.

No sooner had the American imperialists instigated the war in Korea than the American and Japanese reactionaries geared the whole of Japanese industry to the United States war economy. In particular, more than 80% of the coal, necessary for all industries, is being used for operational purposes in Korea, for military transport, for generating electric power and for producing war materials for Korea.

Although the demand for coal in June 1950, when the war of aggression in Korea broke out, was only 2,600,000 tons, it topped 4,000,000 tons in December.

The output in the coal industry in which fifty thousand workers had previously been discharged could not meet the actual demand. The capitalists therefore planned to make big profits by raising coal prices and increasing output, not by increasing employment, but by intensifying speed-up and ruthlessly enforcing overtime work. The low wage standard of mineworkers made it easy for the capitalists to prolong the working hours.

Under these conditions, the coalminers were always so exhausted after their work that they did not even talk with their wives and children when they returned home. In spite of speed-up and overtime, their wage level was so low that there remained only two or three thousand yen in their hands at the end of the month after paying for rationed foods (rice and wheat). Furthermore, the conversion of peaceful production to production for the Korean war raised the prices of daily necessities, resulting in lowered real wages. The workers' living standards thus became increasingly intolerable.

The struggles of the mineworkers against the deterioration of their living standards and speed-up were being carried on under the leadership of unity committees. The struggles took various forms such as the demand for allowances and the refusal to work overtime, and spread to various mines. At the end of 1950, the coalminers' fight for higher wages was betrayed by union bosses who sought a compromise with the capitalists.

The workers conducted a sharp campaign throughout Japan during the period from January to March 1951. This campaign was unsuccessful in achieving the economic

demands of the workers because the struggles were carried out separately on an enterprise basis, there being no concerted and nation-wide action, and because of the betrayal by the splitters. However, it is significant that 290,000 coalminers took an active part in this campaign while rule by the occupation forces was still in operation.

In bringing the dispute to a conclusion, Chairman Takeo Muto and other capitalist-minded leaders of Tanro (National Federation of Coalminers' Unions) accepted the capitalists' offer to grant a wage increase in exchange for increasing the per capita production quota and agreed that various allowances be cut. This resulted in a substantial reduction in real wages.

Since the per capita production quota is the calculation basis for the efficiency wage system, increasing the production quota means reduced real wages and speed-up, unless nominal wages are increased proportionally, which was not the case.

In addition, a job classification system was introduced for calculating wages, with dozens of grades, a minority of high-ranking employees being highly paid and the majority being paid much less. In effect, this wage system meant a reduction in real wages of 8 to 14 per cent. In order to earn the equivalent of the pre-strike wage, each miner had to work an additional two hours or more.

After the struggle, the American occupation forces issued an emergency order for 500,000 tons of coal for the Korean war. Work was speeded up still more. The high grade coal of more than 6,000 calories ordered by the occupation forces was sold for 3,800 yen per ton,[1] while inferior coal for general consumption was sold for 7,000 yen per ton (as of August 1951). The coal shortage caused by the robbery of the American imperialists had to be covered by the importation of coal from the United States at the high price of 10,160 yen per ton. And the workers bore the brunt of all these measures.

[1] About 360 yen to the dollar, or 1,000 to the pound sterling.

Wages Down – Profits Up

AS lower wages and the speed-up continuously reduced the coalminers' living standard, so the capitalists' profits increased. Even government statistics make this clearly evident.

For example, according to *Shigencho* (Board of Natural Resources), the average monthly wage of a coalminer, including overtime pay and allowances, and counting the higher paid senior employees, was 10,245 yen in October 1950. By February 1951, the average had fallen to 7,703 yen.

Speed-up is shown by figures from the same source. In December 1949, 400,000 workers produced 3,320,000 tons of coal, whereas in March 1951, 60,000 *fewer* workers produced 510,000 *more* tons of coal. The average daily output per worker increased nearly 38 per cent.

In the period July-September 1950, profits constituted 13 per cent and wages 87 per cent of the total formed by adding profits and wages. During the same period, only *one* year later, profits had increased to 51 per cent and wages had declined to 49 per cent of this total. During these same two periods, the profit per ton of coal had increased *600 per cent,* while the wage per ton had increased only *7 per cent.*

The Growth of Unity

Called by the dismissed militant miners, struggles against low wages and speed-up were organised at every coalmine under the leadership of a United Action Committee formed around a group of workers. These committees played an important role in organising the broadest possible united action with such demands as "Increase Wages," "Slash the Production Quota," and "Observe the Eight-Hour Working Day" (six hours for underground workers). These demands spread throughout all mines in the country, including such key regions as Hokkaido and Kyushu.

Slow-down and short-time strikes occurred successively in the coalmines, so that not a single day passed in Japan without a strike. Moreover, these strikes were initiated by the working masses themselves, who spurned the guidance of the right-wing leaders. From their experience in the struggles for the protection of their livelihood, coalminers began to learn why militant workers, who had fought at the forefront of their struggles, were discharged and to realise that their low living and working conditions were caused by the subordination of Japanese industries to the American imperialists and the exploitation of Japanese resources for the execution of and preparations for an aggressive war. Thus their class consciousness was rapidly enhanced.

This growing awakening of the coalminers is consequently leading to struggles against the colonisation of Japan, against turning Japan into a military base, and against fascist tendencies due to the resurgence of Japanese militarism. In the meantime, the development of these struggles has also created a formidable front against the right-wing leaders within Tanro, who are giving support to the imperialists' policy and trying to shelve the workers' struggles for wage increases.

At the National Convention of Tanro, which was held in Tokyo from May 27 to June 2, 1951, the right-wing leaders attempted to lay a solid foundation subservient to the interests of the American and Japanese monopolists. That is, they attempted:

1. To deprive local unions of the right to conduct collective negotiations or sign wage agreements with the coal operators.
2. To reserve to the national organisations the sole right to call and control strikes, so that branches would not be permitted to strike without permission from the national organisation.
3. To hand over to the national headquarters strike funds of all coalmines and thus weaken the fighting strength of the local branches.
4. To postpone the struggle for wage increases till after October.

Fearing the increase in the political consciousness of the coalminers during the struggles, the American and Japanese reactionaries attempted to weaken their fighting strength by giving a limited increase in nominal wages in exchange for a further rise in produc-

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やまのしんぶん

豆知識　治安維持法　大正十二年、労農運動の擡頭が一大デモでふっとばされ、時、三菱造船大内争議が労農運動をおしつぶすためにつくったのが治安維持法。昭和三年から上る反戦斗争にあわてたなしてさらに改悪、死刑を最高へおいこむ中間審議が開かれた。共産党、社会党ばかりか、何万という労働者農民自由主義者までがこの法律で検挙され、虐殺された。その暗黒政治が今度の破防法。

ゼネストでぶっつぶせ　ダンアツ法!!

職場長屋にストライキ委員会すぐつくれ！

ダンアツぶっとばして
ワッ ハッ ハッ

悪法反対ストで吉田政府打倒！國会解散！

全国炭鉱戦線統一委員会

われわれはゼネストをもって、だんこ悪法をブンサイするそれは十月斗争の勝利を守りぬくみちだ。
それは五月大会と十二月臨時大会の決議を実行し、全世界の労働者との約束をはたし、わが民労の団結と全労働戦線の統一を守りぬくみちだから。
それは日本民族の独立を平和ぬき生活を守りぬくただ一つのみちだから。
悪法ブンサイのゼネスト万才！
炭鉱戦線の即時大統一万才！
一九五二、一、二五

tion quotas, a further speed-up and the establishment of fascist-like labour control in all coalmines.

Against such conspiracies of the right-wing union leaders and the offensive of the American and Japanese reactionaries, the progressive workers who have consolidated themselves around the United Action Committee, adopted the following measures:

1. In addition to the indispensable struggles for economic demands, to explain to the coalminers that their activity for the satisfaction of these economic demands is closely linked to political struggles on a broad nation-wide basis.

2. To adopt a programme at the National Convention calling for the speedy development of a nation-wide struggle for wage increases and reduced production quotas.

3. To grant the national organisation the right to call and control strikes insofar as the purpose is to organise united action on a national level based on all struggles, *including the strikes being waged by local branches,* taking into account that Tanro is nothing but a federation of independent trade unions formed on an enterprise basis, though it is called a single industry-wide union in Japan.

There was a danger in concentrating the right to strike and to bargain collectively in the hands of the national headquarters, a danger of affording the right-wing leaders an opportunity to carry out their betrayal, but it was believed that this measure might at the same time render much help to unified action on a national level.

Naturally, these principles adopted by the United Action Committee did not please the right-wing leaders, who wanted the local branches to surrender the right to strike and bargain collectively, giving the national headquarters a free hand in directing all activities.

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The militancy of Japanese miners is forcefully reflected on this front page of their journal.

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At the Convention, many representatives supported the United Action Committee, and it was decided to organise a nation-wide united struggle as soon as possible to demand higher wages and reduced production quotas and to transfer the right of local units to strike and bargain collectively to union headquarters in accordance with the programme proposed by the United Action Committees. The proposal of the right-wing leaders that the fighting funds of the lower organisations be handed over to the headquarters was spurned by an overwhelming majority. Thus the convention prevented the right-wing leaders from establishing their domination over the union.

Sabotage by the Splitters

IN order to orient the wage struggle in accordance with the decision of the May Convention, the Central Committee of Tanro was convened on July 10. This meeting should have been held in the middle of June, but it was retarded because of right-wing delaying tactics.

The progressive workers grouped around the United Action Committees even won the support of many elements which had long been regarded as rightist, and struggled against the right-wing leaders' plot to impede the fight for higher wages. The unified action of the coalmine workers of the main coal fields in Hokkaido and Fukuoka on Kyushu became the nucleus of this united action.

At the meeting it was decided to demand a substantial increase in the proportion of the fixed wage to total wages and reduced production quotas—demands to be submitted to the management on August 15 simultaneously throughout the country; that a central struggle committee should be formed by the representatives from five district federations and the representatives of the Executive Committee in order to wage the coming struggle on a national scale in a more forcible and united way. In accordance with this decision preparations were begun at every coalmine for a united nation-wide strike. Coalminers looked forward to this struggle with great expectations.

From August 1 negotiations took place concerning the form of collective bargaining between the union headquarters and the League of Coalmine Operators. On August 15, coalminers throughout the country raised the demand for higher wages, for an increase in the percentage of the fixed wage, and for reduced production quotas. Thus a struggle for higher wages demanded by the coalminers since March was begun on a nation-wide level with the coalminers strongly demanding collective negotiations with the Coal Operators' League both through the union headquarters and the district federations.

The right-wing leaders took advantage of the workers' demands to camouflage their delaying tactics, wasting time in negotiating on procedural matters instead of pressing for wage increases. On the other hand, the capitalists, in order to hinder the united struggle of the workers, which they really feared, maintained that collective negotiations should proceed on an enterprise basis. The pressure of the masses forced the capitalists to make a concession, allowing collective negotiations both by the central and local union organisations, though the original demands of the workers were not fully satisfied. As a result of these delays, it was not until October that negotiations for higher wages were begun.

The American imperialists and their Japanese agents, in alliance with the splitters, had apparently succeeded in delaying the struggle for higher wages. But the workers did not remain inactive in the face of this delaying tactic. Mass meetings of workers and their families were held at all pits. They refused overtime work. They staged slowdown strikes by observing all safety regulations. In the Tagawa mine of the Mitsui Mining Company in Hokkaido, the miners rallied the city residents and peasants in a mass meeting, which passed a resolution supporting the miners' struggle, thus developing the struggle into a joint action with city residents and farmers.

This militancy of the masses made it practically impossible for the anti-strike union leaders to shelve the struggle further.

Workers Take Up the Struggle

THE rank and file unionists, led by the United Action Committees, conscious of the fact that their ever-worsening conditions of work and the speed-up were the result of the war policy directed by the American imperialists, and realising that there could be no stability in their own life unless they fought against this policy, took up the struggle.

Workers at various coalmines not only demanded wage increases, but also unanimously declared: "Don't dig coal to be shipped to Korea." They also launched slogans calling for revocation of the San Francisco Treaties, opposing the rearmament programme, demanding the signing of an overall peace treaty which would include the U.S.S.R., China and other countries, for national independence and in opposition to the Yoshida Government.

The coalminers went a step further, compelling their leaders to call a general strike. This was aimed not so much at increasing wages as against the government conspiracy of proposing amendments to the Labour Legislation, against the Anti-Strike Bill and the Organisation Control Bill. For the various laws and decrees aimed at suppressing the workers, enacted previously under the protection of the American occupation authorities would expire simultaneously with the ratification of the unilateral peace treaty. This political awakening of the miners set in motion the mobilisation of workers of other industries which are affiliated to Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions in Japan).

Under the pressure of the masses led by the coalminers, even the right-wing leaders of Sohyo, headed by Muto of Tanro as its Chairman, were compelled to proclaim their opposition to the San Francisco treaties and the rearmament programme, and to demand the conclusion of an overall treaty. They also conceded that the intention of the government to introduce repressive laws and to amend existing Labour Legislation was a threat to trade unionism. Consequently, an "Emergency Statement" called on all member unions to oppose these measures and to launch a two-hour general strike on October 17.

The right-wing leaders called off the general strike when the government postponed presenting the repressive Bills to the Diet. Nevertheless, it was unprecedented for the leaders of Sohyo, an organisation formed under the patronage of the American imperialists and their hirelings in Japan, to put forward such political demands and to call for a general strike.

United Action of 300,000 Miners

The demands of the coalminers varied according to the size of the enterprise and other circumstances. The average wage demanded was 841 yen for underground workers, 438 yen for surface workers, both being a rise of 80% to 90%. The demands for reduced production quotas averaged 8%.

The struggle was headed by workers in the eight largest coalmining companies in Japan (Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Hokkaido-Janko, Seika, Meiji, Taiheiyo, Yubetsu and Furukawa), and was followed by workers of the medium-sized and small companies.

Negotiations for wage increases began on October 8, 1951, between the union headquarters and the managements of the eight largest companies. The capitalists continued to refuse the workers' demands and finally the talks broke down. But the right-wing union leaders could no longer evade the decision to strike, so they issued instructions calling for strike preparations.

Frightened by this prospect, the capitalists agreed on October 30 to raise the average wage of underground workers to 500 yen and that of surface workers to 300 yen, which was far below the demands of the workers.

On October 31, 180,000 workers of the big coal enterprises launched a 48-hour strike. At the same time, 35,000 workers in Kyushu struck work for an indefinite period. Workers in medium-sized and smaller enterprises also held a 48-hour strike. Even the 38,000 workers of the Japan Mining Company, who belong to the extreme rightist Sodomei (General Confederation of Labour), joined the strike. Joint struggle organisations composed of Tanro and independent unions were formed in Hokkaido, Joban Yamayuchi, Fukuoka, Saga and Nagasaki.

On November 2, a 48-hour strike was waged by the workers of the Joban Coal Mines, which were represented by Takeo Muto, the splitter.

The union leaders of the Furukawa Mining Company, who were bought over by the management, called off the strike scheduled for October 31. But the workers understood that the stop-strike order was the result of betrayal on the part of their leaders, and they immediately expressed no-confidence in their leaders and joined the second 72-hour strike on November 5. On November 10, a third 72-hour strike took place. Plans were also made for a 48-hour strike every four days. Up to November 22, when the struggle in the Yamakuchi district ended, waves of nation-wide strikes continued for twenty-three days.

In all, more than 300,000 workers took part in this series of strikes, including 240,000 Tanro workers and 38,000 workers of other unions.

Under American occupation, nation-wide strikes were almost impossible. Besides, the internal conditions of Tanro itself had prevented it from waging a concerted nation-wide action.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the united and concerted strike waged by more than 300,000 coalminers was indeed an unprecedented event which had never taken place in any other industry. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, in every mining district, all unions, irrespective of their affiliations, were organised around the joint struggle committees. Miners elected those whom they considered to be most reliable to lead the strike committees, which were not placed under the control of union bosses. In this way, rank and file unionists spurned right-wing leadership and showed that they were able to plan strike tactics themselves.

A Blow at the Enemy Followed by Betrayal

Inspired by the miners' strike, the 120,000 electrical workers and the 110,000 private railway workers affiliated to Sohyo resorted to united action throughout the country and also staged a strike. In addition, the Japan Teachers' Union, with 550,000 members, and the State Railway Workers' Union, with 450,000, as well as metal, chemical, textile, department store,

hotel workers and government employees—4,500,000 in all—also carried on struggles during the period November-December, 1951. All these struggles were for the defence of the workers' basic interests, against the war programme, for national independence and peace, against the San Francisco Treaties, rearmament and "fascist measures."

These struggles, embracing workers of different industries, have dealt a considerable blow at the enemy class. Standing in the forefront were the 300,000 miners who, with unprecedented unity, carried out their struggle on a nation-wide scale.

During the miners' struggles, the splitters, without consulting the workers, arbitrarily reduced the demand for higher wages of the underground workers from 841 to 570 yen, and of surface workers from 438 to 360 yen. On November 5, they secretly notified the capitalists of this decision.

Two days after the November 5 strike, the leader of the Joban Miners' Trade Union also sabotaged the workers' united action by signing an agreement with the capitalists providing a daily wage for underground work of 550 yen and 340 yen for surface work, this wage scale to remain unchanged for one year.

This agreement was taken as a standard and the struggles in all other collieries were forced to an end with a freezing of wages for the miners.

Miners on the March

Under rank and file pressure, a thorough exposure of the betrayal of Chairman Takeo Muto, Vice-Chairman Sibata Kei-suke, and Secretary-General Kotsubaki Haruzo of Tanro was made at the Extraordinary Convention of the union held at the beginning of December, 1951. A worker who participated in the Convention as an observer said: "I came to the Convention with great hope... The Convention has taught me things I did not know in the mines... I fully realise that we cannot depend on these leaders, but must rise and struggle by ourselves... In order to improve our living conditions undermined by the warmongers who have launched the Korean war, to smash the rèpressive laws and attain freedom, and to obtain peace and independence, we must strengthen our will to fight to the end."

These words fullv represent the will of all workers in the coal industry. An overwhelming majority resolved that the evil designs of the two treaties signed in San Francisco should be destroyed, that a struggle against the rearmament of Japan be undertaken, and that a general strike against the anti-strike Bill, the Organisations Control Bill and other repressive Bills promulgated by the government to deprive the workers of all their rights, be launched.

The government, after changing the name of the Bill several times, submitted to the Diet the "Anti-Subversive Activities Bill" under the disguise of "banning all Communist subversive activities," and planned to railroad it through the Diet.

The coalmine workers fully realised that the purpose of this Bill was to deprive of all rights and freedom the people who, headed by the workers, are struggling for peace and independence, and to drive them once again into war. Therefore, they rose courageously to fight against it.

Short-term strikes and sit-down strikes were repeatedly initiated in the major coalfields such as Hokkaido, Joban and Kyushu. At the beginning of February, 1952, more than forty coal miners at the Takamatsu mine demanded reduced production quotas and refused to enter the mine. In a short time, all 8,000 workers of the mine joined in the sit-down strike and demanded, in addition to the above, the repeal of repressive laws and the abolition of the rearmament programme. The strike lasted twenty-four hours. Similar struggles were also undertaken in other coalmines.

On the basis of the struggles undertaken, and in order to prevent sabotage by the splitters and join the nation-wide co-ordinated action to smash repressive laws, the coal miners demanded the convening of a Central Committee meeting.

Under mass pressure, a meeting was held in February 1952, whereupon the sham allegation of the right-wing union leaders that "the Anti-Subversive Activities Bill" was adopted specifically against the Communist Party and had nothing to do with the trade union movement" was flatly refuted. The meeting also affirmed that in order to smash the Bill, the workers must repeatedly launch general strikes.

In this way, the coal miners presented a political demand quite unprecedented in the history of Japanese trade unionism, and stood in the forefront of the organised united action of 3,500,000 Japanese workers.

However, on the eve of April 12, 1952, the great day of struggle when there was to be a 24-hour strike of 800,000 workers and protest meetings of more than 2,000,000 workers in factories, Takeo Muto, Chairman of Tanro, and other right-wing miners' leaders, spurned the decision of the February meeting. By one vote in Tanro's Executive Committee the earlier decision to call the strike was cancelled. The Executive Committee then issued an order calling off the strike.

Notwithstanding the order of the Executive Committee, the coalminers in Kyushu, Hokkaido and Joban protested against the decision of the central organisation and joined the general strike.

More than 150 telegrams protesting against this betrayal were sent to Takeo Muto and others. More than fifty delegates elected by the various coalmines were dispatched to the union headquarters to protest. Under pressure of the workers, the splitters were forced to accept a decision that all members should join the second general strike on April 18.

This time the miners did not forgive the traitorous behaviour of the splitters. On the demand of the miners a Special Convention was called on April 23. The splitters were fully and unreservedly unmasked and the decision of the Executive Committee, which had called off the strike of April 12, was overruled by a vote of 146 to 93. Moreover, a motion of no-confidence against the Executive Committee jointly proposed by twenty-three local unions was adopted by an overwhelming majority (141 to 93) and a new Executive Committee was elected.

Having expelled the splitters who, for the past few years had continuously made the Japanese workers victims of the imperialists, Tanro, then 270,000 strong, opened negotiations with the coal operators in August 1952 for wage increases of nearly 100%—a daily wage of 1060 yen instead of 550 yen for underground workers and 560 yen for surface workers instead of 340 yen. This follows the launching of a united 1952 May Day rally, which frightened the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The miners are now fighting with renewed determination for freedom, peace and independence.

When Wealth Begets Poverty

By MIGUEL QUINTERRO

Member of the Administrative Committee, Food Industries Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Dept. of W.F.T.U.)

LIKE most Latin American countries, Cuba is a one-crop, one-industry country. The sugar industry is the foundation of its whole economic structure. When this foundation totters, the whole edifice totters, and should the day come when this foundation collapses, it would mean the collapse of the whole Cuban economy and complete ruin for the country. Conscious of this fact, the entire Cuban people eagerly follow the fluctuations of this key industry on which they are entirely dependent.

Let us examine the present situation in the industry. From the point of view of production, 1952 will be a record year, for 5,550,000 tons of sugar will be produced, which is almost a million tons more than last year and 700,000 tons more than the maximum annual production reached since 1947. But, contrary to what should be true, the Cuban workers do not find reasons for rejoicing in this. For, it is not enough to produce sugar; it must be sold and exported, and from this fact springs the present contradictions inherent in the capitalist system itself and worsened by the American stranglehold on the country.

Effects of War Economy on the Sugar Industry

THE present causes of the sugar crisis in Cuba are as follows : on the one hand, it must be recalled that during the second world war, the Cuban sugar industry enjoyed an extremely privileged position for several years. The war destroyed or dislocated sugar production in most other exporting countries, leaving Cuba in the position of being almost the only exporter. During the last few years, however, those countries have begun to offer their sugar on the world market. Its privileged situation has come to an end. On the other hand, the United States, which used to reserve 80 per cent of Cuban sugar exports for itself, has decided on a drastic reduction of imports in order to strengthen its hold on the country and to defeat the movements of demands. Britain has done likewise. As a result of this, already this year about 1,400,000 tons of Cuban sugar cannot be sold. The Cuban government has already decided to reduce next year's output by five million tons. That, of course, cannot prevent the threatening crisis. Quite the contrary. Nevertheless, the crisis could be avoided by the simple expedient of finding new markets. There are many countries which need sugar and which would be happy to buy it from Cuba. But for that, it is necessary that the country liberate itself from the American grip and carry out a free and independent economic and trading policy. And the Batista government is not the one to do that!

Intensive Exploitation of the Sugar Workers

THE first ones to be hit by the crisis will naturally be the sugar workers. And they are precisely the most exploited and who have the least possibility of guarding against a crisis. They number about 400,000, which is a considerable total out of a population of 5,000,000. Seventy per cent of them work on the plantations, the remainder in the sugar refineries. Their wages are extremely low. In the plants they receive from 3.75 to 14 dollars a day, the average being under 7 dollars. On the plantations, the wages are 3.75 dollars a day.

However, what makes the lot of these workers really tragic, both in the plants and on the plantations, is that they only work during the full season, which does not last for more than three to five months out of the year. And they are only paid

during the "Zafra," which is the name given to the full season. In addition, in the off season, the workers are obliged to buy the things they need for themselves and their families at "company stores" controlled by the companies, which alone will sell for credit. It frequently happens that the credit extended to a worker by these company stores far exceeds his total wages during the next "Zafra." In this way, thousands of workers become veritable slaves of the company stores—that is of the companies.

Most Sugar Workers Have No Social Security

IN 1928, the government passed a social insurance law granting certain benefits to the workers. This law is applied only in a very limited way to the sugar workers. It only applies to a sugar worker if he can produce documents proving that he has worked in the industry since 1928. This results in the great majority of these workers being excluded. In addition, since the sugar workers are in a seasonal industry, they have to pay contributions amounting to 5 per cent of their wages for a given number of years (normal contributions being but 3 per cent) in order to have a season's work considered under the law as a year's work. This heavy charge imposed on already low wages places a further limit on the number of sugar workers who can receive social insurance benefits.

Moreover, the law is itself completely inadequate. Consider, for example, industrial accident insurance. A worker who is the victim of an accident at work which occurs during the first 60 days of his employment receives compensation of half a dollar a day, a mere pittance. Should the accident occur after the 60th day of uninterrupted work, the total wages paid to the worker up to the time of the accident is divided by 120 which gives the amount to which the worker is entitled as compensation.

The maximum accident compensation granted to an injured worker is 50 per cent of his wages up to five dollars. If the worker is totally incapacitated for work as a result of the accident, or if the accident is fatal, the victim, or, in the case of death, his

Agricultural workers harvesting sugar cane. Brutally exploited by the sugar companies, these workers, who receive miserably low wages, work only four or five months per year. They are among those most directly threatened by the crisis in the Cuban sugar industry.

View of a Cuban sugar refinery.

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survivors, must establish their legal right to an indemnity, waging an interminable battle in the courts against private insurance companies. If the court action is won by the relatives of the victim, which is far from always being the case, the court determines the amount of compensation to be paid to the worker or to his survivors, and its judgment reveals a strong class bias in favour of the companies.

The health of the sugar workers, as with all Cuban workers in general, is sadly neglected. Although by law the employers are required to pay an indemnity, which is quite inadequate, to workers who are ill, in fact it is rarely paid. The lot of sick workers who receive assistance neither from the State nor the employer is particularly tragic.

There is therefore ample justification for the activity for improved social security undertaken by the W.F.T.U. in holding an International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Security.

Sugar Workers Oppose American Super-Exploitation and Favour Free Trade

IN this situation of appalling poverty, the sugar workers, who are victims of pitiless exploitation by the powerful sugar companies whose profits during the last ten years reached more than a thousand million dollars, are among the first to realise the need to organise and carry on a united fight for the improvement of their living conditions. Their trade unions were established in a progressive and united spirit on the basis of "ingenios" (a unit comprising the sugar refinery and the surrounding plantations furnishing the raw materials) which have played a role of primary importance in the whole development of the Cuban trade union movement.

The Federation of Workers in the Sugar Industry, to which all these trade unions are affiliated, was one of the most progressive and militant trade union federations, and at the same time one of the most democratic. For example, the Executive Committees of the "ingenios" trade unions were, according to the regulations, democratically elected every year. That lasted until 1947. In 1947, everything changed. The splitting tactics, that terrible weapon of reaction and the exploiters, was carried out in the Cuban working class movement at the behest of the American imperialists. The sugar workers were among those most severely affected. After the murder of their finest leaders, Jesus Menendez, Ovidio Rodriguez, and Jose Oviedo, most of their trade unions fell into the hands of gangsters and company agents, who have since systematically betrayed the interests of the workers. The new trade union Executive Committees, which the employers and the government forced on the workers by terroristic means, violate one after another all the democratic principles on which these trade unions, in accordance with the wishes of the sugar workers, were founded.

But united action of the workers advocated by the real leaders of the Cuban working class, those very leaders who were eliminated from the official leadership of the trade unions, is gaining ground in the sugar industry on the basis of the fight for the demands most closely affecting the workers.

The most characteristic example is that of the unity developing in the fight for payment in full for super-production (*pago total de la superproduccion*). This means that with the approximate quantity of sugar produced annually being determined in advance according to the possibilities for distribution offered by the world market, the intensification of speed-up in accordance with American methods of increasing productivity, leads to a reduction in the number of working days during the "zafra" and consequently reduces the workers' annual earnings. It also imposes an extra effort on the workers with the resulting additional expenditure of physical energy.

The sugar workers are at present carrying on a vigorous and united struggle to obtain payment for the working days lost during the year through speed-up. This is such a well-founded and obvious demand that two years ago the government and sugar companies were forced by the pressure of the workers to grant, by law, the payment of six extra days wages per year. This measure was, however, quite inadequate. In the Gomez Mena ingenio, for example, the workers are demanding payment for 56 extra days, that is, 50 more than the law stipulates, and they have already gone on strike twice to support this demand, the justice of which no one questions.

This struggle for the full payment of super-production which, as we have seen, forced the companies to retreat two years ago, has recently spread greatly. Strikes are breaking out in the ingenios all over the country, against the will and often in spite of the active opposition of the traitor leaders of the Federation of Workers in the Sugar Industry. In a dogged fight, the most important that has taken place in the sugar industry in recent years, some first victories have already been won. The payment for super-production has been obtained in a number of ingenios and the experience gained from these victories has given the movement a new spirit.

Since General Batista's coup d'etat last March, the situation of the Cuban workers has become still more difficult. The dictatorial government has imposed new restrictions on the working class movement. Workers' rights, rights of assembly, speech, and organisation have been still further curtailed following the suspension of the Constitution ordered by the new government after it took power. The progressive elements within the trade union and working class movement in general are being persecuted and fought by Batista even more viciously than by the previous Prio government. But the workers are not letting themselves be intimidated. Their fighting spirit and their understanding are growing every day. The fight which they are currently waging for the *full payment of super-production* and the broad movement which has just begun, demanding that *the government accept the offer to purchase a large quantity of sugar made recently by the Chinese People's Republic,* are significant pointers to this.

A Basis for United Action

Special Australian T.U.C. Decisions

By JACK WODDIS

THE Special Australian Trade Union Congress, held in Melbourne from September 1-4, represents an important set-back to the war plans of the Menzies' Government and provides the basis for a powerful united movement in defence of the workers' conditions. The nature of the resolutions passed, the character of the debates, and the general mood of the delegates, revealed a strong determination on the part of Australian trade unionists to defeat the current attacks of the employers and the Menzies Government, preserve trade union rights, and shift the burden of the present crisis from off their shoulders.

This is the second special Congress of Australian trade unions held since the war. It was called by the Australian Council of Trade Unions in view of the developing crisis, the growing unemployment and the savage attacks on working class conditions. About four hundred delegates from 82 trade unions attended the conference. The A.C.T.U. itself represents a million workers. Its normal policy-making congresses are held every two years. The urgency of the present situation, however, compelled the calling of this special conference.

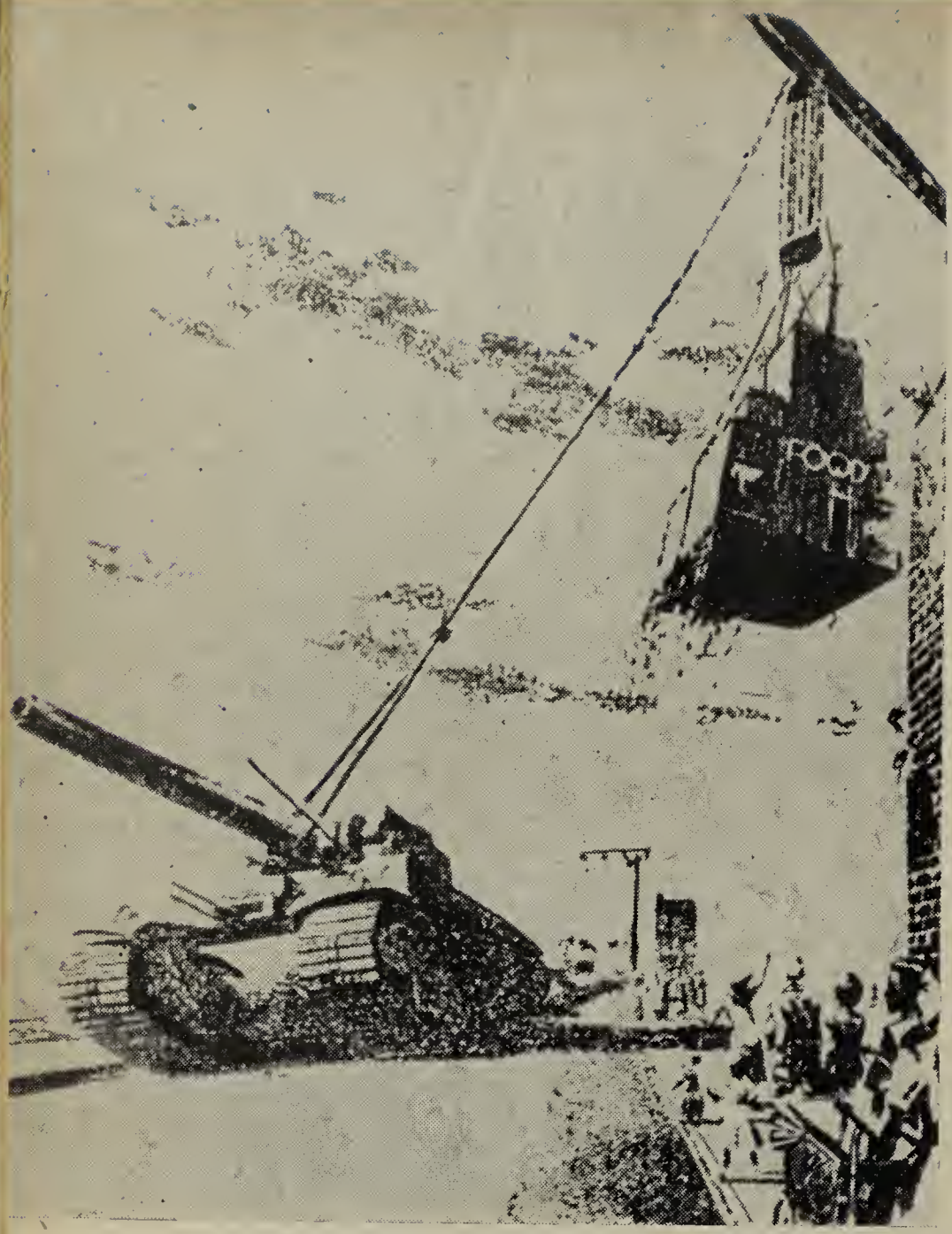
There is no doubt that the present critical situation has had a profound effect on the thinking of Australian workers. This was shown by the high level of debate and the seriousness of the delegates at the Congress. It was significant that the usual red-baiting, which has been used by right-wing leaders at A.C.T.U. congresses in the past, was almost entirely absent. This, of course, was not due to any change of heart on the part of the right-wing leaders, but to the fighting, determined atmosphere of the conference, of which these leaders had to take account.

The main question fought out at the Congress was what action should be taken by the trade unions against the employers' application to the Arbitration Court to impose a wage-cut of 46 to 49 shillings in the basic wage, reduce women's wages and re-introduce the 44 hour week.

There is no doubt that certain right-wing trade union leaders would have preferred to have got by with a mere ambiguous face-saving resolution, but the current mood of the workers was such that the A.C.T.U. Executive had to put forward a recommendation strongly warning that " the workers of Australia will not accept increased hours of work, reduced wage standards or any interference with our hard-won rights." Labour Councils were called upon to organise factory protest meetings and to hold, on Sunday, September 21, mass meetings in all centres in order " to pledge firm resolve to resist any order that may be made by the Court to increase hours or reduce wage standards." The recommendation also called for the defeat of the Menzies Government and the re-introduction of Commonwealth price control (after a referendum). The Executive resolution was adopted. A motion moved by Jim Healy, of the Waterside Workers' Federation, calling for a stronger declaration and for industrial action, including a national one day stoppage of work in October, was defeated but secured 108 votes against 292.

A proposal from the Executive to introduce a levy to pay for cases in the Arbitration Court was overwhelmingly defeated in favour of the unions themselves meeting the costs on a pro-rata basis.

A far more significant defeat for the Executive came on the question of immigration. There is white-hot feeling on this question in Australia where, despite the 100,000 unemployed desperately seeking work, the Menzies Government continues to import cheap labour on a large scale, as part of the American State Department's European migration policy. Even as the A.C.T.U. was meeting, Immigration Minister Holt was abroad arranging for a flood of German immigrants, and, at the same time, 2,000 Dutch workers were leaving Holland en route to Australia while another boat was returning from Australia to Holland, laden with migrants who were unable to find work or homes in Australia. The A.C.T.U. Executive, itself already involved in support for the Government's mass migration policy, tried



In Australia, as in all capitalist countries, the armaments policy leads to higher food prices. (Cartoon published in the Australian trade union press from "Masses and Mainstream").

to win Congress agreement to continue this policy in a modified form. This proposal was firmly rejected. In its place, delegates of right, left and centre united to roll up 236 votes against 131, behind a resolution moved by J. Weir of the Timber Workers' Union, which called for an immediate cessation of all immigration in view of the unemployment position in Australia, except in cases of families or fiancees of migrants already in Australia.

Congress went on to adopt a resolution moved by Frank Purse of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, demanding that the government "provide full employment at award rates to all workers," and that during unemployment they should receive relief pay at not less than £5[1] per week for a single man, £9 for a married couple, and 15 shillings for each child. Congress also resolved on the active organisation of all unemployed workers.

On the important debate on the Arbitration Act, supporters of the present arbitration system were in a considerable dilemma. The overwhelming majority of the delegates were utterly opposed to the present compulsory arbitration system and made no secret of their disgust with its workings and their opinion of the judges and the conciliation commissioners. Congress finally adopted a proposal of Jim Healy favouring conciliation committees instead of commissioners. This had been the policy favoured by the trade unions prior to the 1947 Arbitration Act of the Chiffley Government which established the basis of the present hated system. The committees proposed by Healy would lead to more direct negotiations between unions and employers. Congress also called for the abolition of all powers possessed by the Arbitration Court to take penal action against unions or union officers, and for the taking away from Arbitration authorities of the right to veto agreements between unions and employers.

Other important decisions of the Congress were a resolution directing the Executive to continue the struggle for increased margins; the reaffirmation of the right to strike; and opposition to the sale of government enterprises.

In an interview after the Congress, Tom Wright, Federal President of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, said that while the decisions did not go far enough to meet all urgent demands of the present situation, "they are in the right direction and give a basis for the development of a real struggle in defence of living standards. The successful development of this struggle depends on basic activity in work places and the extent to which unity in action can be won. United action will smash attacks on living standards. It will also win increased margins, jobs, homes, peace, and the defeat of Menzies' plans for depression and war."

1References to currency are **Australian,** not sterling.

The Story of My Life

By LADISLAV SVAGR

A Czechoslovak Worker

YOU ask me to recount my life for the readers of *World Trade Union Movement.*

All right, here it is.

Once upon a time, my life differed in no way from the life of hundreds of thousands of workers in capitalist Czechoslovakia. My father, a mechanic employed at the Kolben Danek engineering works in Prague, was a good craftsman, but all the same his employment was only temporary over a number of years. It sufficed for him to tell the foreman that wages were bad and insufficient to feed the family, and he was out of the factory gates, one of those countless people to whom work was but a happy dream.

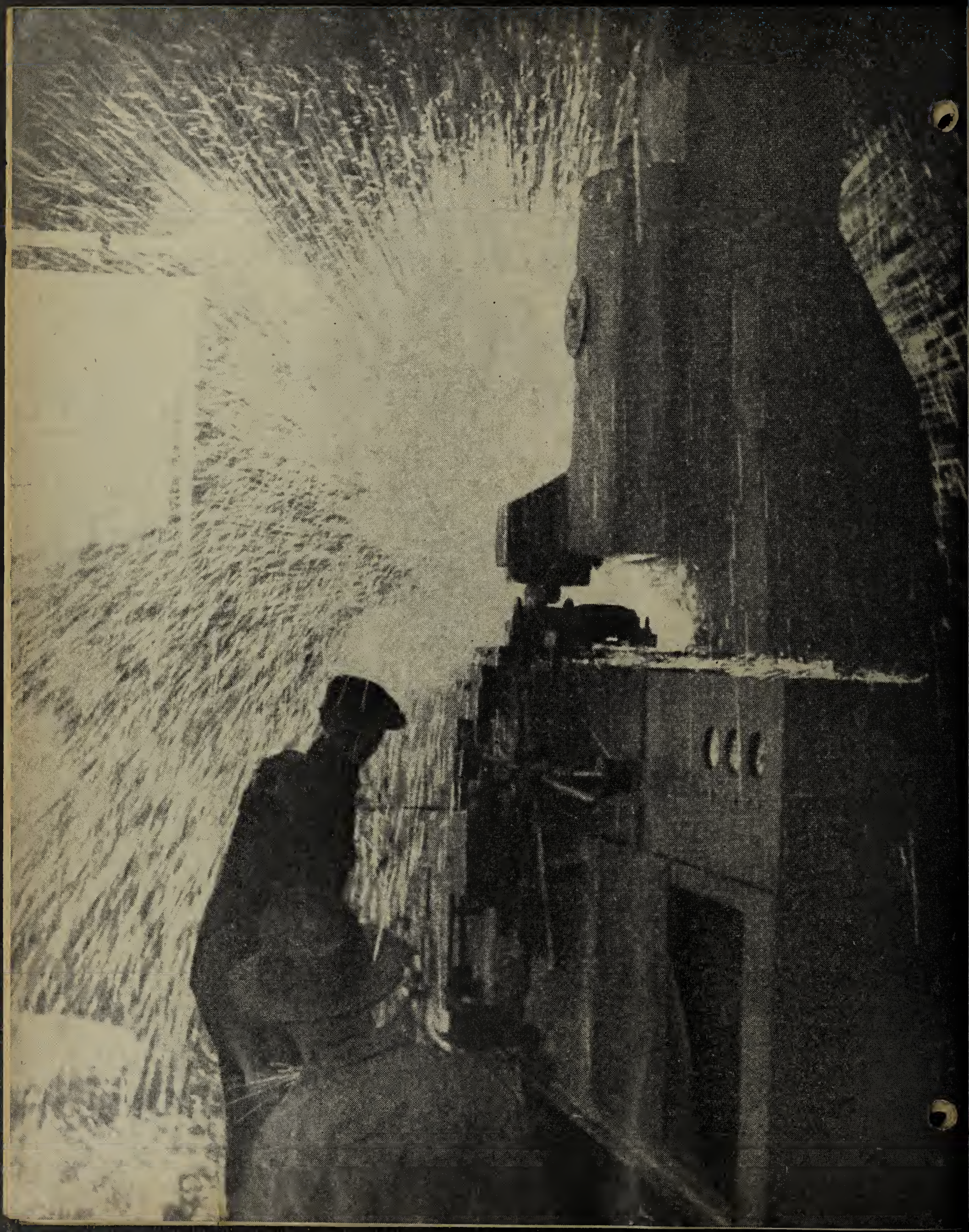
I grew up in want. When I left school, my father sent me to an electrician to learn the trade. I wanted to learn and was eager to master this interesting work. In 1934, my apprenticeship ended. My "earnings" of 15 crowns a week went up to 45 crowns. If you consider that at that time a small lunch at an ordinary cafe cost 5 crowns, you can easily imagine how I lived. There was no money to buy clothes and shoes, and the theatre was something quite unattainable. You couldn't call it a life at all, it was something between life and death. From time to time, I repaired cookers and other electrical appliances in private houses, and for a meal I offered to clean the carpets and cut wood. Then I got a job as business representative with a firm making and selling electrical appliances. No pay, only a commission on the sales. Again it was not enough to live on. Well, you all know what it was like. For the boss the canary in the gilded cage was always more precious than the people who had nothing but their hands and brains to offer.

During the occupation of our country by the German fascists, life was really grim. We were forced to slave for the Hitler bandits, who were oppressing us nationally and economically and regarded us as an inferior race who should be grateful to be allowed to work for the masters. But everyone knows how the Czechoslovak people fought heroically against the Hitlerites.

My real life started in 1945, when the victorious armies of the Soviet Union brought liberty to our sorely tried country. We quickly repaired the losses caused by occupation and war. Our largest industrial enterprises had been bombed to pieces shortly before the end of the war by the American Air Force. This had been done deliberately, to slow down the first steps of the free Republic, which had said goodbye to the capitalist order of society. But our work began to go well. When the Czechoslovak reactionaries, in alliance with foreign imperialists, attempted to turn the clock back and return to capitalism, the entire working class rose up and in February 1948 we gloriously completed our victory. For the first time in the history of our country, we had become free masters of our own house.

Nobody can imagine with what love and pleasure I set to work now that we work for ourselves, for the continual improvement of our standard of living. At the end of 1947, I left the CKD Sokolov Works and transferred to the Tatra works at Koprivnice, to install welding equipment for the production of the new Tatraplan, a modern motor car known all over the world.

From the very beginning, I met with difficulties. The necessary equipment was not available, as it had to be imported from abroad—from Sweden, Western Germany and France. And because the capitalist countries, under pressure from the United States, are carrying out a policy of sharp economic discrimination against us, our situation was not too pleasant. But we did not give in and we will never give in! At that time I said to myself: What they can do abroad, we can do also. And so I set to work. I designed and constructed welding tongs



which we produced for 3,000 crowns, although those we had imported up to then had cost us 50,000 crowns. The C.K.D. works at Jihvlava produced welding transformers for 48,000 crowns, though the same transformers had previously been imported from Sweden for 137,200 crowns. Welding meters, necessary for the correct timing of the welding, we succeeded in producing for 4,800 crowns, thus saving 45,000 crowns on each one compared with the price of those we had imported. Altogether, my suggestions saved our national economy six-and-a-half million crowns.

Then I turned my efforts towards eliminating unnecessary physical strain. The welding pistol was not only heavy, but the worker had also to overcome the strong pressure of the spring. By a new design and by replacing non-ferrous metals with light metals, I reduced its weight from about 33 pounds to just under 5 pounds, which raised the average number of weldings from 90 to 180 a minute. One of my latest jobs is my invention of an automatic welder for welding the floor of the Tatraplan. This automatic welder is operated by merely pressing a button. The welding point tours the entire floor on both sides and carries out seven movements, which are automatically directed by electric pneumatic valves. When the welding was done by hand, the job took 45 minutes and required two workers. The automatic welder does the same work without physical strain in 4½ minutes, i.e., it saves the national enterprise 10 workers.

In the spring of last year, the President of the Republic, Klement Gottwald, decorated me with the Order of Labour for my new working methods. This naturally pleased me greatly. But at the same time, it increased my responsibility. I felt that in no case must I slacken up in my work, but on the contrary by increased initiative show that I am worthy of the distinction. I am constantly increasing my technical knowledge. I systematically study progressive Soviet technical literature, which contains countless new ideas and experiences.

I also willingly acquaint others with my knowledge. I lecture on the wireless, at the industrial school at Valasské Mezirici; I teach my fellow-workers at the factory School of Work.

Only last year I was still employed as a mechanic, but now I am in charge of the production engineering departure. In my inventors' department, I have eight technologists, four construction engineers and several proven innovators. We have started new research work, the completion of which will no doubt contribute further towards increasing production, cutting costs and saving labour. I don't want to speak about it prematurely, though. When everything is ready and tested, then I'll tell you.

Just as my life is now full of sunshine, pleasure and certainty as regards the future, so millions of my fellow-workers in all branches of industry are leading a similar life in our People's Democratic Republic.

Life constantly grows better. During the first half of 1952 alone, 51 per cent more children's clothing was sold to the people, 22 per cent more women's apparel, 65 per cent more shoes, 23 per cent more bicycles. Twenty-six million books came off the presses, 9,690 housing units were constructed and 30,500 others were started. It is the people and they alone that our work benefits.

We, the former oppressed and exploited, have become masters of our own fate. We firmly believe that in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other People's Democracies we shall build socialism in our country and that together with the workers of the whole world we shall succeed in defending peace.

This powerful electric welding machine is one of the most outstanding achievements of the Czechoslovak electrical industry.

Organisational Problems

● **Our brothers from various countries, especially from the colonial and dependent territories, have asked us to deal in our Review with organisational problems connected mainly with the work of the trade union branch in an enterprise. The following are, therefore, some suggestions to active trade unionists.**

● It must, however, be emphasised that the suggestions with which we begin this series are founded essentially on the trade union experience encountered in France, where the trade unions are organised on an industrial basis and not on a craft basis as they are, at least in part, in some countries. To this fundamental structural difference can be added another of less importance which is as follows: in France, the basic trade union organisation is the trade union branch based on the enterprise; but that is not necessarily the case everywhere, even when the trade unions are set up on an industrial basis. Thus, for example, the Ford trade union (Local 600) in the United States, which has about 60,000 members, has a trade union section in each department of the plant. On the other hand, in Italy workers are organised on the basis of the locality, by industry, and the trade union work of the enterprise is ensured by a "liaison committee of trade union militants" which works with the industrial union of the locality.

● In spite of these structural differences, added to which there are, here and there, certain differences of a practical nature, the following advice deals with principles which are generally valid. When we say, for example, that "the first principle is that the trade union members should be able to take effective decisions on all questions concerning the activity of their trade union branch or local union," it is evident that this principle of the "right to decide" is valid even when there is no trade union branch in the French sense, and that it can be adapted to the concrete conditions obtaining in each country.

● **The same applies to all the other advice which follows. In commencing the publication of this series, we ask our readers to let us have their remarks and suggestions and to co-operate in this column.**

The Editor.

The Role of the Factory Trade Union Branch

WORKERS in the same factory do not necessarily think in the same way. They have varied opinions, but common interests—the defence of their living standards against the exploitation to which they are subjected, and the fight for their rights and liberties as wage-earners.

The factory trade union branch, therefore, has the job of fighting for wage-earners of all shades of opinion and in all categories, from the labourer to the technician and engineer. For this reason, it must make itself responsible for fighting for all demands with a view to winning them.

Insofar as the branch fully and at all times assumes this responsibility, it will show everyone that it is the essential instrument to carry on the fight for the workers' demands and that it is qualified to embrace the mass of the workers within its organisation.

The accomplishment of this task demands methods or organisation which are very simple but which require scrupulous application and constant vigilance on the part of the leaders of the factory trade union branches and local unions.

The Functioning of a Trade Union Branch or of a Factory Branch

THIS classification applies to the following two cases:

1. Where there is an enterprise isolated in a given locality the trade union functions as a factory branch.

2. Where several factories in the same industry are located in the same region, there should be a trade union branch based on each factory, with these branches constituting the trade union for the industry.[1]

[1] See remark in introduction.

First, the functioning of the basic organisations must be determined, that is, the functioning of the factory trade union branch or the local trade union.

The first principle is that trade union members should be able to take effective decisions on all questions concerning the activity of their trade union branch or of their trade union. It follows that:

1. It should be required that the leadership and those controlling the funds be elected by the members and should be subject to recall by them;

2. It should be required that the leadership thus democratically elected give an account of their activity to the members as often as possible, normally a minimum of once a month and whenever circumstances make it necessary: to examine demands and the measures necessary to achieve them, and to take note of the re-

sults obtained after each measure or action.

These are called general meetings.

Methods of Calling General Meetings

EVERY measure should be taken by the leadership of the basic organisations to make it possible for the whole membership:

1. To be informed in good time;
2. To be present at the general meeting.
3. To know the reasons for the meeting (the agenda).
4. To make their statements freely on the reports presented.
5. To arrive at effective and binding decisions at the conclusion of the general meeting; to approve, disapprove or amend the resolutions proposed to them, and approve or criticise the activity of the trade union leadership.

Place and time of meetings should therefore be fixed so that these conditions are fulfilled to the greatest extent.

We would point out that it is necessary to demand the right to hold trade union meetings in the place of work, whether it be in the workshop or in the canteen, outside working hours.

The Functioning of a Good Leadership

A GOOD trade union leadership should never forget that it is elected by the whole membership, that its role is to administer the wage-earners' organisation in their best interests and it should always be under the control of the whole membership.

A good trade union leadership should never forget that it is the vigilant spokesmen of the trade unionists who have placed their confidence in it, but can at any moment withdraw this confidence.

The most important of the conditions necessary to gain and keep the confidence of the organised workers is to apply good working methods within the leadership itself.

It should be required that the Executive Board and the Trade Union Council, if one exists, work collectively under the direction of the General Secretary[2].

[2]See remarks in introduction.

1. Every initiative, every decision, must be discussed beforehand by all the members of the Executive before being submitted to the Trade Union Council and to the general meetings.

2. The decisions thus arrived at must be taken down in a verbatim report.

3. This verbatim report should be read at the following meeting to ensure that decisions taken are enforced, whatever their importance.

4. The agenda must be drawn up before the session or at the outset, followed point by point, and each point must be concluded, or a decision taken.

5. The General Secretary of the organisation leads the discussion, keeps it to the question on the agenda, and sums up by inviting the Executive to make its contribution, either by accepting the proposal submitted to it by the Secretary or by altering it.

6. In cases of disagreement, the decision of the majority always prevails.

7. Where important disagreements arise, it is always the general meeting which settles them.

8. It must be borne in mind that one of the conditions of good work is that the Executive meetings should be held insofar as possible on a fixed day and at a fixed time, except when events make it necessary to hold extraordinary meetings.

All members of the Executive should make it their duty to attend punctually.

Discussion should always be carried out freely and in a fraternal manner on all questions on the agenda.

Good Accounting

THE keeping of the accounts and the funds is one of the important requirements of good leadership.

This work demands the strict application of a number of measures:

1. A strict monthly check on the collection of trade union dues in the enterprise;

2. Constant vigilance on fluctuation in the membership and its cause so that immediate enquiry can be made concerning those involved.

There are trade union branches and local trade unions which can maintain the number of members and even register increases while continually losing members. This occurs because new members are recruited while no notice is taken of the fact that members leave or lose contact with the organisation; that is what is meant by fluctuations.

A good trade union organisation should not lose members. Every loss has its causes. These must be sought out and the mistakes which have nearly always led to the loss corrected.

The Treasurer is, therefore, by nature of his job, the Executive's source of information.

3. The Treasurer or accountant should keep the accounts, receipts and expenses, with the greatest care.

4. He should systematically keep his colleagues in the Executive informed on the state of the budget and see that it is constantly balanced.

As a general rule, the Treasurer should furnish the dues collectors with lists of members in order to check whether the dues are up to date.

The post of Treasurer should therefore be held by a responsible comrade capable of carrying out his tasks.

Auditors

EVERY organisation should have auditors, and especially every trade union organisation.

The trade union branch, as well as all the organisations from top to bottom, are responsible to the membership for the use which is made of their dues payments.

Auditors, elected by the trade union members, chosen from among members outside the leadership, that is outside the Executive of the Trade Union Council, should thus regularly audit the accounts of the trade union branch or factory trade union.

Every trade unionist has the right to know the state of the finances and the use to which the funds are put and the auditors are the people to give this information.

After each audit, it is the auditor's duty, and the Executive should require it, to make a report on the financial position, certifying that it is in order or making observations and criticisms.

And the members of the trade union, during the general meetings called for the purpose of examining the organisation's activity, should be called upon to endorse the financial report and the conclusions of the auditors.

Members Should Be Informed On Their Branch's Affairs

DESPITE the measures which can be taken to ensure that members attend general meetings, it is seldom that the entire membership can be gathered together. Some are ill or injured, while others may be absent for various reasons.

But if the general meetings alone have the power to take decisions on all questions arising in the trade union branch, including the election of the leadership, it is well that all members be informed of the progress and activity of the organisation.

Better still, it is useful and profitable for the whole personnel of the enterprise, including the unorganised and members of other organisations, if there be such, to know how the organisation is being run.

The trade union branch or the factory trade union should be wide open to all the workers, its activity being made public by every means possible.

Thus, the trade union leaderships will always have in mind the constant improvement of their work connected with the workers' demands and with the organisation.

Thus, the unorganised workers will really feel that the branch and the factory trade union is an organisation for all the workers, in other words, that it is their organisation as well.

In this way, the slanders spread by our enemies will easily be defeated.

This requires, therefore, that notices be posted on the bulletin boards in the factory reserved for this purpose to show

1) The branch accounts and the findings of the auditors;
2) The decisions taken by the branch or factory trade union leadership concerning the fight for demands and the proposals to be submitted for discussion in the general meetings;
3) The decisions of the trade union general meetings.

How to Organise a General Meeting

THE trade union general meeting is necessary for two reasons:

1. To establish and maintain contact between the leadership of the organisation and the members (discussion on demands and the establishment of a programme of demands).
2. To submit to the members at regular intervals a review of the activity of the trade union leadership.

In both cases the manner of organising the general meeting is the same.

The question to be submitted for discussion, as well as the proposed resolutions should be discussed and formulated beforehand by the trade union leadership.

At the beginning of the meeting the Secretary of the organisation should ask the meeting to appoint a Chairman for the session[3].

The role of the meeting's Chairman is very important. He opens the meeting, directs the discussion and keeps it to the points on the agenda, gives the floor to members who ask for it, ensures discipline and order in the discussion; where the need arises he asks the meeting to set a time for each contribution and sees that the members or the leadership are guaranteed their right to intervene during discussion; he puts resolutions to the vote and closes the meeting.

For a successful meeting, it is therefore necessary to have a good Chairman, one who is responsible and who enjoys the confidence of the members, in other words, a Chairman who has authority and is objective.

As a general rule, the trade union leadership has the right to propose from among the militants at the meeting a Chairman known to be capable of assuming this function.

However, the majority of those present at the meeting should always have the final say on the candidate or candidates put before it.

The Secretary of the meeting, who is a member of the trade union Executive, should take down the minutes of the discussion and especially of decisions taken. The minutes are read at the beginning of the next meeting.

For, the decisions of the general meetings constitute the "mandate" for the organisation's leadership, a mandate which it must fulfil in the most scrupulous way.

Thus, the first duty of the trade union leadership following a general meeting is to put into effect the decisions taken.

The trade union Executive should therefore discuss without delay the ways in which the "mandate" which it has received can be carried out, draw practical decisions from it, divide the tasks among the responsible militants and check on their application.

(To be continued)

[3] In some countries, the chair is always taken by the President of the trade union. But, through the workers' concern for democracy, the principle of a Chairman elected by the general meeting, at every session, is spreading more and more widely.

A Great Victory for the Italian Agricultural Workers

Extract from an article by Giuseppe Di Vittorio in "Lavoro," 27th September, 1952

THE Press has quite rightly devoted a great deal of space to the trade union agreement concluded on September 10 whereby the sliding scale system is extended to agricultural wage-earners throughout the whole of Italy. At a first glance, this agreement does not seem to bring immediate benefits to Italian agricultural wage-earners and day labourers; but it is necessary not to under-estimate even those slight increases in remuneration which the workers will gain next October when the sliding scale begins to operate. In every way, this agreement has great social, moral and economic implications.

Firstly, the agreement extends to all agricultural wage-earners a guarantee against the current risk of an increase in the cost of living, and ensures the stabilisation of the purchasing power of wages stipulated in trade union contracts. This is a tremendous advantage in view of the instability of the economic situation.

Secondly, this agreement represents a step forward towards the fulfilment of the old and still deeply-felt demands of the agricultural workers to obtain equality of economic treatment with the industrial workers. Although this agreement does not achieve such equality, it nevertheless establishes a similarity between the systems of remuneration which facilitates the advance towards this aim and links agricultural wage-earners and day labourers more closely to their brothers in industry and other sectors.

Thirdly, this agreement represents a great victory for the active solidarity of the workers in the north in support of their brothers in the south who have gained substantial advantages from it. The agricultural wage-earners and day labourers of the "Valle Padana" (where our trade union organisations are the strongest and most highly steeled in struggle) following the example of the working class, succeeded in securing a sliding scale similar to that already existing in industry, as a result of the great heroic strike of agricultural workers in 1947. The agricultural workers of other regions, the great mass of whom are agricultural wage-earners and day labourers from the south, had remained isolated from the movement which made their unbearable and age-old conditions of inferiority still worse. Had the agricultural workers of the south and other handicapped regions (where our trade union organisations are still few in number and relatively weak) had to rely only on their own forces to win the sliding scale, they would still be far from achieving it today.

Our glorious National Federation of Agricultural Day Labourers, loyal to the principle of working class solidarity—which inspires all the actions of the C.G.I.L.[1]—did everything in its power by means of trade union action to bring about an extension of the sliding scale to the whole of Italian agriculture, winning a real success. The fact that other trade union organisations such as the C.I.S.L.[2] and U.I.L.[3] also joined in this action facilitated the success, proving once again how

1 Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (united organisation affiliated to the W.F.T.U.).
2 Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori (organisation under Christian-Democratic influence affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.).
3 Unione Italiana Lavoro (organisation under Social-Democratic influence affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.).

Italian agricultural workers have just won a sliding scale. This painting by Giuseppe Zigaina shows agricultural workers on their way to work.

useful and necessary trade union action is for winning the recognition of the rights and dignity of all workers.

It should be noted that the sliding scale system provides that each "point" rise in the cost of living should correspond to one-hundredth of the fixed wage. In order to improve the position of the workers of the south and the islands, the trade union delegation in the course of painstaking discussions, demanded and obtained that the minimum percentage of wage increases should be calculated on the basis of a wage of 650 lira at least. This would enable workers earning a lower wage to receive a wage increase based on 650 lira. In order to obtain this minimum for the workers of the south, a maximum had inevitably to be accepted. The workers who earn more than 1,000 lira a day (that is, skilled workers who would receive a one per cent increase in any case) will receive a wage increase calculated only on the basis of 1,000 lira. In other words, the agricultural wage-earners and day labourers of the Valle Padane, whose wages generally exceed 1,000 lira, have given up a small part of their advantages in order to guarantee more substantial advantages to their lower paid brothers of the south. This is an outstanding example of social and human solidarity between workers, which has no precedence in any other class of capitalist society.

But this is not all: the question raised and vigorously defended by the workers' delegates to relate the percentage increase to a minimum wage of 650 lira, forced the employers to recognise that, in the present situation, a wage lower than 650 lira a day would not be tolerated in agriculture. This has resulted in the promise made by the Confederation of Agriculture that it would ask its member organisations to re-examine with trade union representatives the wage position in all the provinces where there are still wages below the minimum indicated.

Naturally, we strongly urge all our trade union organisations concerned to act with the necessary firmness and vigour to bring to a rapid and complete end the shamefully low wages of less than 650 lira a day in all the provinces of Italy.

Against Unemployment: Reverse Strikes in Denmark

DANISH workers are now having to cope with the most severe conditions because of the fact that their country has been tied to the Atlantic Pact. During the last two years, unemployment has reached such serious proportions that even the reformist leaders of the trade union centre are compelled to recognise the gravity of the situation.

Official statistics show that in July of this year there were almost 50,000 unemployed out of a total population of 4,300,000. This figure represents a 35 per cent increase over last year and 85 per cent over 1950.

The industries most seriously affected are those mainly engaged on peaceful production. The leather industry has been the most severely hit with 40 per cent unemployed, maritime transport comes next with 17 per cent, textile and clothing with 11 per cent and agriculture and land transport workers with 10 per cent.

The recent Congress of the Federation of Textile Workers showed that out of 28,000 members of the trade union, 3,000 are at present without work. It is also necessary to bear in mind—official figures do not show this—that there are considerable numbers of workers on short time; trade union circles estimate the number to be at least 10 to 15 per cent.

Even the metal industry has not escaped the consequences of war preparations within the framework of the Atlantic Pact. This summer, the number of metal workers unemployed was double that of the summer of 1951; it is now more than 6,000. In almost every part of the country dismissals are taking place. In the shipbuilding yards the situation is even worse. The Burmeister and Wain shipyards of Copenhagen have dismissed about a hundred workers.. The shipyards at Fredrikshaven recently dismissed 300 out of a total of 550. The shipyards in Helsingor and Alborg are also dismissing large numbers of workers. This is but the beginning. The government itself, in a report to the O.E.E.C.,[1] just made public, forecast an average of 80,000 unemployed for the next year.

* * *

WHAT is the trade union centre, led by right-wing leaders, doing to remedy this situation? The only thing the workers can see is a flood of propaganda supporting the speeding up of work, war preparations and productivity. In addition, the right-wing leaders are systematically opposing any claims for wage increases which would enable the workers to buy more textiles and other goods. They are against reducing the working week with no loss of pay. Confronted with increasing unemployment which they are forced to admit, the only solution they offer is an increase in the contributions paid by the workers to the unemployment funds administered by the trade union federations. In a word, the right-wing leaders are helping the government to make the workers bear the disastrous consequences of its policy. All their purely verbal agitation will not have the slightest affect on unemployment, on the contrary, the increasing productivity which they advocate is a direct cause of the dismissals.

But despite all the efforts of the reactionary trade union leaders, an ever-increasing number of workers are taking action.

The unemployed in Copenhagen and in the provinces have shown no hesitation in launching "reverse strikes," demonstrating to the government that there is no lack of work. Thus the unemployed Copenhagen bakery workers (pastrycooks) showed their mettle by marching through the streets with magnificent cakes; unemployed labourers, against the wishes of the authorities, began to repair streets which were in need of urgent repair; in the same way, the building workers in a provincial town started to repair a building which was in a bad state.

The workers are discussing the situation in their trade union factory branch meetings and in unemployed committees. They are passing resolutions which are then taken to the government and Parliament by delegations demanding effective measures against unemployment, a reduction in the war budget and the development of trade with the Peoples' Democracies, China and the Soviet Union.

The action of the Burmeister and Wain shipyard workers is characteristic of the workers' determination to fight for work. Last July they completed the construction of an oil tanker ordered by the Soviet Union; at the very moment of delivery, the American government forcefully intervened with the Danish government

1 O.E.E.C.—Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

Two hundred unemployed of Arhus, meeting in front of an old ruined school which they are going to demolish, listen to their leaders explain the aims of their action. This unused building has awaited demolition for a dozen years. The unemployed propose to construct in its place a crèche and a playground for children of the district.

to prevent the delivery from taking place in the name of Atlantic solidarity in the preparation of war against the Socialist countries. The workers unanimously protested against this unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Denmark. The movement of protest spread like wildfire right through the country and through all sections of the population, forcing the government to hand over the tanker to the U.S.S.R.

A few days ago, the factory committee adopted a resolution demanding the development of trade with the eastern countries. On the same occasion, it called all the workers of the factory to a general meeting in order to discuss:

1. The struggle against unemployment,
2. The effects of rearmament on the workers' living standards,
3. The role of the workers in the struggle for peace.

A further example of the growing discontent of the working class and its awareness of the only truly effective solution to end unemployment is provided by the recent Congress of the Federation of Printing Workers, one of the most militant unions in the Danish trade union centre. A resolution, almost unanimously carried, protests against the economic policy of the government, resulting in a general rise in prices and unemployment, condemns the war budget which is over a thousand million crowns,[1] an enormous amount for such a small country, demands a policy of building houses and not barracks and blockhouses, and expresses the desire for a policy of peaceful co-operation with all peoples.

E.S.

1 One Danish crown is roughly equal to 1 English shilling or 47 French francs.

In British Guiana: Unemployed Demonstrate for Work or Relief

AS a result of the action of the unemployed themselves, demanding that action be taken to provide them the right to eat and live, the Trades Union Council, together with the People's Progressive Party, jointly helped organise the unemployed workers who demonstrated in the scorching sun on Sunday, July 20 —the first unemployed mass demonstration in British Guiana's history.

The demonstration marked a new and important stage in the struggle for better conditions. Placards read: "Give us Freedom to Live and Work," "Save us from Starvation," "We want Jobs. If none, then Unemployment Relief." Despite the presence of an unusually large number of police, large numbers of unemployed workers turned out and unanimously passed a resolution demanding that immediate action be taken.

Since the end of the war, unemployment has grown extensively. Crime and juvenile delinquency has spread, but the government was too pre-occupied refunding thousands of dollars to the big merchants as excess profits tax collections to pay any attention to the growing social

crisis in the country. But things were to become still worse. In 1950, the colony suffered a severe flood which destroyed food crops, cattle, poultry, rice, etc. Thus a daily meal, a necessity in the life of the unemployed, became still more a luxury.

In 1951, the U.S. government, in its rush to prepare a new world war, and in order to use cheap labour, made an arrangement for the importation of British Guiana unemployed to work as farm labourers. Two thousand five hundred Guiana workers answered the call. After waiting from early morning, 100 were selected. The rush was so great that the labour exchange had to issue leaflets stating no more need apply.

Even the capitalist organ *Chronicle* in its editorial of August 3, termed the situation a cancer in our midst, and urged the government to act.

Nevertheless, despite this so-called show of interest in the plight of the unemployed, it carried an article a few days later pretending that Guianese were willing to volunteer as soldiers of the Commonwealth to fight against the peace-loving peoples of Korea and Malaya, who are defending their country against the forces of imperialism. Such was their unique solution to eradicate the cancer of unemployment.

Surplus labour, especially on the sugar estates, is deliberately maintained by the employers to cut down wages to far below subsistence level. Reports from the docks state that workers are forced to cut prices for jobs as low as one-fourth the normal wage, so as to earn a meal and eke out a living.

As far back as 1951, the People's Progressive Party, at a demonstration on September 23, moved a resolution calling upon the government to take active and immediate steps to find work for the starving, pointing out that, if the problem is really to be tackled, then the fight against unemployment must include a fight against war.

Despite the harsh conditions which are pressing on the working people more and more, there is a general political awakening and a growing bond of unity being created between workers and farmers. The people are tired with the old order of things. They demand and are working towards a working people's majority in the forthcoming general elections, which will result in the introduction of laws in the interest of the people, and immediate unemployment relief and work for the unemployed.

E. Huntley.

Victory of Workers of Rio Grande Do Sul (Brazil) in the Struggle Against High Cost of Living

THE consequences of the policy of war preparation carried out by the Vargas Government, subordinated to the American imperialists, are being severely felt by the working masses of Brazil. The stranglehold of the American trusts on the bulk of the industries, their almost complete control of the railway network, and the absolute subjection of the national economy to the demands of the Wall Street imperialists is causing the rocketing of prices of essential consumer goods and is having the most tragic consequences on the living conditions of working class families.

Faced with such a situation, made still more unbearable by the regime of fascist terror and repression which exists in the country, the Rio Grande workers have courageously taken up the defence of their interests and have begun a heroic struggle against the high cost of living and for wage increases.

The culminating point of this struggle was reached on August 11 when the cities of Rio Grande, Santa Maria, Novo Hamburgo, Passo Fondon, Pelotas and Cruz Alta, that is, the most important industrial centres in the south of Brazil, were paralysed by general strikes called to demand a reduction in the price of meat and other foods. In the city of Santa Maria, 5,000 railwaymen started the movement, soon drawing in thousands of textile and metalworkers and workers in the liberal professions.

In Rio Grande, a unanimous decision to call a general strike for reduced prices was taken at a huge trade union meeting attended by delegates of more than 50 trade union district and factory committees. In the city of Novo Hamburgo a strike was called by the textile workers, who were soon joined by the whole working population of the town. Although on a smaller scale, the movement also spread to other cities in the State. Thus powerful demonstrations demanding a reduction in prices took place in the towns of Uruguayana, Bage, Caxias, Santiago, Sao Leopoldo and Porto Alegre.

Everywhere the striking workers had to cope with the brutal attacks of the police forces and the army hastily sent by Governor Dornelles. Several times the police fired on the strikers causing many casualties. The most serious incident took place on August 12 at Rio Grande. The workers, who assembled before the Prefecture of Police, were demanding the release of their arrested leaders when suddenly, without warning, the police opened fire into the crowd with machine guns. A large number of workers were injured and four were killed: two dockers, Jairs dos Santos and Elidio Rodriguez, a

In the streets of Rio de Janeiro workers, in solidarity with the strikers in the southern part of the country struggling against poverty, demand wage increases and trade union freedom.

tramwayman Antonio Puchal and a 17-year-old student Roberto Baum.

This monstrous crime aroused a great wave of horror and indignation throughout Brazil. The National Confederation of Workers of Brazil, as well as a great number of trade unions, sent energetic protests to President Vargas. The wave of anger did not stop at the borders of Brazil. The Confederation of Latin American Workers and several national centres affiliated to it also protested against the cowardly murders. And the W.F.T.U. has greeted the courage of the Rio Grande workers and has paid tribute to the victims of the shooting of August 12.

The struggle of the workers and people of Rio Grande was crowned with a great victory. The Vargas Government was compelled to retreat. It had to release the arrested leaders, and it authorised a 20 per cent reduction in the price of essential foods. Waving their banners, the workers returned to their factories, workshops and offices.

P.A.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

GREECE

The Greek People in the Fight for Bread and Peace!

THE strike movement is extending throughout the country. It is the workers' reply to the empty and deceptive promises of rulers and trade union traitors.

The staff of the Telecommunications Service applied the "2 days work, 3 days strike" policy for almost 4 weeks to support their demands. The strike was temporarily suspended after the promise made by Papakis, the Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Communications, to look into the strikers' demands with a view to satisfying them. The workers and office employees also obtained a special allowance equal to a fortnight's wage.

The strike of the Bank of Athens employees ended on July 19 after nearly a month. The strikers won partial satisfaction for their demands. The employees of the Ionian Bank in Athens and in Canée on Crete and those of the Peoples' Bank also went on strike. They demanded salary increases. The civil servants in the Headquarters of the Census Bureau went on strike for 24 hours demanding salary increases. The civil servants in the Ministry of Commerce went on strike claiming permanent status for temporary civil servants. The Social Insurance personnel stopped work for 4 hours to protest against the violation of their rights. The Salonika workers and office employees, the tobacco workers, and the workers and office employees of the paper industry, as well as in many other industries, are getting together to demand wage increases, to fight for their trade union rights and for an end to mass dismissals.

The Agrinion workers have protested to the government against the increase in the price of bread and a number of other articles of basic necessity.

Thanks to their fight, the victims of hailstorms in Adriani and Nikiphoros, villages in the Drama region, obtained loans of 100,000 drachmas per acre for the cultivation of tobacco.

The landless peasants of Nea Sykia of Chalcidicum are demanding the expropriation of 18,000 acres belonging to the Kassandra prison. The landless peasants are organising to win their rights.

Workers, peasants and shopkeepers of Patras sent a petition to the government demanding the abolition of the excessive taxation which is crushing them.

The Pyrgos growers at a big meeting protested against the government's policy which condemns them to poverty. The potato growers demanded that measures be taken to make the distribution of their products easier.

In protest against the attempt by the English Kopais company to collect non-existent loans, the peasants refused to harvest the company's wheat and declared that they would firmly resist the company's agents if they tried to collect the "debts."

A big protest meeting of the company's growers was also held in Erimocastro in Thebes.

On July 30, 30,000 shopkeepers and artisans went on a 48-hour strike in protest against excessive taxes.

La Voix de la Grèce,
August 1952.

GREAT BRITAIN

How To Fight the Slump

UNEMPLOYMENT is here again. It began in the textile industries, then spread to the industries supplying them with machinery and materials. Now it is affecting all consumer goods, and nibbling at the prosperity of the associated engineering industries. Even in favoured London and Birmingham the dole and the fear of the dole have come back.

What's the reason for this?

People's pockets are badly pinched by high prices, increased fares, and fantastic taxation. The money lifted in this way is spent on armaments, mostly using imported materials, in industries where wages form a very small proportion of total cost. The armaments produced are either blown up in the present wars, or stored up for some future holocaust. They feed nobody, they produce nothing further. They are work down the drain.

If the people are skinned to provide something which is no use to anybody; they can buy less for useful consumption. That is what has happened. Industries producing for the home market are having a thin time.

So if you want work you must have more wages.

That is why the wage increases being demanded all over Britain today are not only just and necessary for the workers and their families, they are also the only possible means of returning to full employment. The fact that the Tory-Unionist Government has set its face against them merely emphasises the urgency of bringing that Government down as early as possible.

The Tory-Unionist Churchill Government wants unemployment. It would suit such people to have every worker crawling on his belly for a job or a pittance. It would suit them to threaten every man in work with two unemployed men out of work ready to take his place.

They can't even wait. Already the Tories and their paid or unpaid hirelings are busy with "Sack the coloured workers," and "Why don't the Irish go home?." Their stooges, provocateurs and spies whisper it in the factories, where, to their lasting credit, British and Irish workers instantly recognise it for what it is—an artful attempt to divide the workers in the face of the employers' coming onslaught

How they would love to trap the Englishman into turning the Irishman out, and then threaten those same Englishmen with Irishmen off the dole! How they would like to create a Belfast in the principal cities of Britain!

That the workers are not falling for it is a great sign. But every manifestation of splitting tactics, whether under the guise of national prejudice, colour bar, or religion, must be fought instantaneously.

Irish Democrat, August 1952.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa Makes Crime Pay

THE South African Government has in the past year or two pursued a deliberate policy of building "outpost" prisons in rural areas, and allowing farmers to hire convict labour from them. There are now 12 such outpost jails in South Africa, but until recently there were none in the Free State. The farmers of the Kroonstad district therefore applied to the Government for an outpost prison in their area. As there was apparently some difficulty in finding the money for it, the farmers hit on an ingenious expedient. A leading Kroonstad farmer, Mr. George Verster, organised 22 other farmers into a private company, on a normal share-holding basis. The farmers subscribed £12,000 in £1 shares, and elected Mr. Verster their Chairman. Mr. Verster then approached the Government, with the proposal that the company should build and equip a prison, if the Government would stock it with convicts.

It so happens that Mr. Verster's uncle, Mr. Victor Verster, is the Director of Prisons. The Government was enthusiastic about the proposal, and it was arranged that when the new prison was built the Government would supply 350 African convicts whom the Kroonstad farmers' company could hire by paying the State 1s. 9d. per head per day (the convicts of course get nothing). Because of rapidly rising building costs, it was found that the £12,000 the farmers had subscribed was insufficient to build and equip a jail of suitable dimensions; the sum needed was £25,000. This difficulty was overcome, however, by the farmers being permitted to use convict labour from the already existing Kroonstad jail for the building of the new jail. On this basis, it was possible to erect a prison, whose value as property is £25,000, for £12,000. The new prison was called "Geneva"—perhaps in grateful recognition of the fact that the South African Government does not subscribe to the I.L.O. convention against the hiring out of convict labour for private profit.

In the view of Mr. George Verster and his fellow-farmers, the farm jail scheme has several merits. There is (they do not deny it) the merit of cheap labour; by getting convicts at 1s. 9d. a day, they are confident that their £12,000 investment will prove a good one. The convict labour will usefully supplement the labour they already have, and will make it unnecessary to raise wages to attract more. A further merit of the scheme is that it is "thoroughly democratic." By this is meant that, under the rules of the company, the farmers will be treated in exactly the same way as far as getting convicts is concerned, whatever the differences in the size of their contributions to the scheme. They also maintain that the plan has merits from the convicts' point of view, because it is, in fact, a "rehabilitation scheme." For the convicts are all to be first offenders...

At the beginning of August, the new Geneva jail was formally opened by the Minister of Justice Mr. Swart, who was accompanied by the Director of Prisons, Mr. Victor Verster. It was a gala day for the district. The farmers turned out wearing their best Sunday suits, and accompanied by their wives and children. Outside the prison, in the centre of an improvised garden, the South African flag flew from a tall white flagpole. It was quite like the opening of a new school or some other interesting addition to a flourishing district's amenities.

Mr. Swart arrived, and was cordially greeted by the farmers and their wives. He made a long speech, in which he stoutly defended the farm jail system, trounced the "misinformed critics" both inside and outside South Africa, who professed to be shocked by it, praised Mr. Verster and his fellow-farmers for their excellent idea (which he frankly confessed would save the State a lot of money), remarked laughingly that the convicts were lucky fellows who would get plenty of fine fresh country air, and finally promised that, as Minister of Justice, he would see to it that "many more" farm jails were built in the shortest possible space of time. After the conclusion of the opening ceremonies, which included the unveiling of a commemorative tablet, some farmers' wives who had tiptoed off during the speeches bustled forward with cups of coffee and plates of cake and with the prison as background, a little tea-party was held...

The Economist (London) 6.9.52

UNITED STATES

The Steel Strike: A Study in Strategy

ON July 25 the Steelworkers, C.I.O., began going back to work after a 53-day strike, the longest since the great steel strike of 1919. Their main gains were:

1. A wage increase, retroactive to March 1, 1952, ranging from 12½ cents per hour for the lowest paid workers to 28 cents for the highest paid, and averaging 16 cents per hour.

2. Fringe increases worth 5½ cents more; six paid holidays and double time when worked; an increase in shift differentials from 4 cents and 6 cents to 6 cents and 9 cents; a reduction in the southern differential; and three weeks' vacation after 15 instead of 25 years.

3. An improved union security clause which is more than maintenance of membership but less than the union shop.

4. A contract to run to June 30, 1954, with a wage opening on June 30, 1953, with the right to strike.

These gains represent a real victory, especially considering the character of the opposition. Big Steel is a tough opponent.

More could have been won if a different strategy had been followed by the Steelworkers' leadership, and it seems likely that many steelworkers throughout the country understand this.

1. Murray under-estimated the strength and character of the opposition. He didn't really think a strike would be necessary. He thought that, being a respectable head of a respectable union that had long ago kicked out the "reds," the industry would give in without a strike. His philosophy is one which denies there is any basic difference in economic interest between the workers and the bosses and favours a partnership on a friendly basis.

He found, in fact, that he was up against a united steel industry, resolved not to concede the union shop, and not averse to a strike if it would weaken the union. He found no sentimentality on the industry side of the table. Instead, he found a determination to further the economic interest of the companies at no matter what cost to the workers.

2. The Steelworkers' leadership ran into an economic trap. The industry wanted a strike. They needed a strike in order to reduce inventories. They were producing so much steel that prices had weakened. So what benefit could they get from the price increase which they were finagling for behind the scenes? Ever since the war, the industry has more than recouped itself for wage increases by getting price increases, as its rising profits show. But this time unless they reduced stocks on hand, a price increase wouldn't do them any good. The industry's public concern over the needs of the war industries was pure poppycock. They were glad that the strike occurred and only wound it up when inventories had been satisfactorily reduced and they had secured the price increase they wanted. They forced through a price increase averaging $5.60 a ton, of which nearly $2 was over and above what they were entitled to under Wage Stabilisation Board regulations.

3. Because they under-estimated the opposition and because they didn't want or expect a strike, Murray and the other leaders of the Steelworkers did nothing to mobilize the rank and file for a strike. No strike, as I.L.W.U. members well know, can be effective and successful when the rank and file is not organized for a long and tough fight. There was no lack of rank and file militancy in the steel strike. What they lacked was leadership and organization.

4. Instead of relying on the rank and file, Murray depended upon high level manoeuvres. He counted on the W.S.B., he was sure Truman would force the companies into line, his attorneys co-operated with Truman's attorneys in preparing the case to justify seizure.

The result shows what happens when the leadership doesn't depend on the united strength of the membership. Compare the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' wage campaign a few months earlier. Mine-Mill would have nothing whatever to do with W.S.B., mobilized its rank and file for a militant strike, forced a settlement during a Taft-Hartley 80-day injunction and had enough steam behind them so that W.S.B. had to break all its rules to approve the settlement. In the steel case, the government broke its price rules to give the industry what it demanded; in the Mine-Mill case the government broke its wage rules to give the union what it had won from the industry.

The Dispatcher (journal of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union), 15.8.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

September 14

DENMARK.—An important trade union conference of some hundred delegates of textile and clothing workers from all parts of the country meets in Copenhagen. The Conference expresses the workers' opposition to the government policy of rearmament and poverty and calls for wage increases and the extension of trade with Eastern countries to counteract growing unemployment.

September 15

U.S.S.R.—An Algerian trade union delegation arrives in Moscow.

WESTERN GERMANY.—Huge demonstrations in Dusseldorf demand the conclusion of a German Peace Treaty and negotiations between representatives of the whole of Germany.

INDIA.—Spread of ordnance factory workers' strike against dismissals and for higher wages. 37,570 workers are now involved.

September 16

U.S.S.R.—Important agreement signed between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic. The U.S.S.R. hands over the Chang Chung railway to People's China, and it is decided to continue the joint utilisation of Port Arthur.

GREAT BRITAIN—More than 3,700 employees of Standard Telephone and Cables Limited in North Woolwich, London, come out on strike against dismissals.

UNITED STATES.—John L. Lewis, President of the United Mineworkers of America sends the Convention of the ultra-reactionary American Federation of Labour proposals for the joint establishment of a formula which would make possible the unification of the trade union movement in the United States.

JAPAN.—The All Japan State Railway Workers' Union (affiliated to S.O.H.Y.O.) issues a three point election programme—withdrawal of the "subversive activities" Bill; trade with the Chinese People's Republic; opposition to the remilitarisation of Japan.

September 17

AUSTRIA.—The Executive Committee of the International Federation of Resistants meets in Vienna and calls for active preparation for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

GERMANY.—A delegation from the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, backed by the wholehearted approval of the people, hands the President of the Bundestag in Bonn a letter to all Deputies proposing a solution of the important question of German unity.

RUMANIA.—The plenary session of the Central Council of the Rumanian Trade Union Centre opens with an agenda containing questions relating to labour safety, Social Insurance, medical treatment for factory and office workers, etc.

The Rumanian Trade Union Congress is to meet in mid-December, 1952.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.—The Praesidium of the Czech and Slovak National Front discusses the preparation of the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

NORWAY.—The Congress of the Federation of Office and Commercial Workers decides to withdraw from "Folk og Forswar," war-mongering government organisation.

UNITED STATES.—Two trade union leaders are among the 18 arrested under the Smith Act. They are Karoly Larsen, of the International Woodworkers (C.I.O.) and William Sentner of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. Jack Hall, local leader of the Longshoremen and Warehousemen, Hawaii, is also threatened by the same measure.

ITALY.—In the Catania province of Sicily, more than 2,000 peasants and agricultural workers demonstrate for the observance of existing social legislation and the immediate introduction of agrarian reform.

September 18

WESTERN GERMANY.—In Dortmund, police attack a big youth demonstration calling for the conclusion of a German Peace Treaty and the freeing of imprisoned young patriots.

AUSTRIA.—Postal workers demand a wage increase and an immediate allowance of 200 schillings per month.

DENMARK.—Unemployed in the town of Alborg organise to demand jobs. They call for the immediate implementation of a plan to enlarge the port.

—Large-scale dismissals are operated in the Helsingor ship-yards. A shop steward declares that these reductions are due not to the absence of orders but to a shortage of raw materials, particularly steel plate, which Great Britain has failed to deliver.

September 19

CHINA.—It is announced that the nationalised coal-mines have exceeded the production target set for the first half of 1952 by 3.9 per cent, making an increase of 61.6 per cent over the corresponding period of 1951.

URUGUAY.—Spread of the Montevideo transport workers' strike. Tens of thousands of dockers, cold storage and oil refinery workers come out in solidarity.

September 20

UNITED STATES.—The leadership of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers' Union (31,300 members) issues a report declaring that the present policy of the American Government is the main obstacle in the way of improving the American people's living standards.

ITALY.—The Bruzzo steel plant at Balzanetto (Genoa), which the management had decided to close down, has been occupied for a week by the workers. A broad committee for the defence of the industry is set up, embracing representatives of all sections of the population.

September 21

ITALY.—In a speech made to the Railwaymen's National Congress, Giuseppe Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) announces that at its forthcoming Congress, the C.G.I.L. will propose a new Economic Plan, easier to execute than the 1949 Plan. The new plan would put an end to unemployment and considerably raise the workers' living standards.

PAKISTAN.—About 1,200 primary school teachers, dressed in black, go on a "funeral march" through the streets of Hyderabad, in the Province of Sind, in support of their claim for a living wage.

BELGIUM.—A national assembly of progressive trade unionists meets in Brussels to examine the united struggles waged by the workers for better living conditions and against the two-year period of military service.

FRANCE.—The Conference to combat unemployment and poverty called by the Textile Workers' Union (C.G.T.) takes place at Ivry (Seine).

September 22

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—Formation of a broad united action committee representing all parties, mass organisations, political figures, scientists and economists, to give impetus to the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

RUMANIA.—By secret ballot, the Grand National Assembly endorses the new Constitution of the Rumanian People's Republic. Ten million men and women have discussed the provisions of the Constitution.

U.S.S.R.—The Praesidium of the A.U.C.C.T.U. sends a Soviet delegation with two ship-loads of foodstuffs to the Indian Red Cross as aid from the Soviet Trade Unions to the starving Indian population.

JAPAN.—Japanese workers employed in American occupation forces' car parks in Yokohama strike for higher wages.

September 23

GERMANY.—Meeting in Berlin of representatives of steel workers in countries belonging to the Schuman Plan and other West European countries to discuss the extension of the campaign against this plan of poverty, war and the enslavement of the working class.

FINLAND.—Agreements are signed in Helsinki for the expansion of trade between the U.S.S.R. and Finland between 1952 and 1955. The U.S.S.R. will supply Finland with cereals, sugar, cotton, petroleum products, industrial machinery, automobiles, chemical products, etc. Finland will supply the U.S.S.R. with tankers, diesel-engine shipping, industrial equipment, prefabricated houses, building timber, etc.

September 24

DENMARK.—The newly constituted Fredrikshavn Unemployed Workers' Association goes to the Municipal Council to demand the introduction of measures to combat unemployment. Their proposals are accepted.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Employers in the ship-building industry propose to submit to arbitration the wage claim put forward by 200,000 ship-building workers who are demanding an increase of £2 per week.

NORTHERN RHODESIA.—Partial agreement is reached between the copper-mining companies and the workers. A settlement has still to be achieved on the European miners' claim for a 25 per cent increase in basic pay and the African miners' claim for a 2/8d. increase per shift for all African workers.

September 25

ITALY.—A general strike is announced in Pavia by the three trade union organisations to oppose the attempt to close down two firms.

— A united general strike of all sections takes place in Gorizia against the threat to industry and against speed-up.

NORWAY.—At a factory club meeting, the metalworkers of the Sveisebedrift plant in Oslo protest against the inadequacy of their wages and calls for a special conference of all metalworkers throughout the country.

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Take an active part in the preparations for the World Congress of the Peoples for Peace!

(Appeal by the W.F.T.U. on its Seventh Anniversary to Men and Women Workers of the World—Vienna, September 18, 1952).

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor:
T. F. McWHINNIE

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EDITORIAL

THE ROAD TO PEACE

TO do still more in support of peace, and to prove themselves more convincing to the great mass of workers in order to draw them into its active defence is the main line of policy which members of our organisations must follow in order to fulfil their responsibilities towards preparing the Peoples' Congress for Peace, called by the World Peace Council.

To achieve this objective, one thing must be very clear in everyone's mind.

This Congress will not only be a Congress of those who have organised and taken part in the vast World Movement of Defenders of Peace during the last few years. It will be a Congress with a different quality, and on a very much wider scale. We must go forward to a *Congress of the Peoples* next December in Vienna, and not to a Congress of any specific organisation or movement.

That means that trade union organisations affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions must see their role in the preparation of this Congress as being that of giving the utmost help to men and women workers of all occupations who are searching for the road to peace and who are seeking to understand the significance of this Congress.

The more clearly the Congress is explained to them, or better still, *shown to be "their" Congress,* since it is a Congress involving the peoples, the better they will understand its significance.

We consider it fundamental that every trade union organisation, regardless of its international affiliations or its political preferences, should acknowledge that its first duty is to make its view on this basic question of the defence of peace known to the Congress of the Peoples next December, if it is anxious to prove the sincerity of its resolutions expressing the desire that peace be maintained, consolidated and made less precarious than it is at present.

WE say quite deliberately "to make its view known." There are many ways to do this. All obstacles can be overcome once the decision has been taken; approval can be given to the proposal to hold this Congress and resolutions and suggestions are now being accepted by the Organising Committee. Delegations will be subject only to limitations of an organisational nature laid down by the convenors.

Yes, the opinions of all must be brought together, for, on the occasion of this Congress, no solution, no suggestion can be rejected as long as it is put forward in a sincere desire to help to *"make the spirit of negotiation prevail over solutions by force."*

Who will determine the sincerity of these views, some will say?

Sincerity will stand out quite clearly when people agree to discuss the question of the defence of peace, knowing themselves to hold different opinions, or opinions which might appear to be fundamentally opposed, simply because they have not yet been discussed together.

The World Council of Peace was right in saying that the Congress of the Peoples would not be a Congress of one opinion, one ideology. We are convinced that in the great variety of trends of opinions, ideologies, and religious beliefs, will be found the true justification for the Congress of the Peoples which "in a free and effective discussion, will strive to find reasonable solutions to the questions dividing the world."

☆ ☆ ☆

STARTING with the perfectly correct idea that the present international situation cannot go on as it is, an idea expressed by millions and millions of human beings haunted by the danger of war, or absorbed in the unceasing fight to defend peace, we are certain that the World Congress of the Peoples will be instrumental in creating new conditions. It will create conditions in which millions of men and women, men and women workers, will be filled with the confidence they ought to have in themselves, and will become aware of the decisive role they have to play to preserve peace and defend it to the end.

It is a fact that millions of human beings can now no longer bear to live in the atmosphere of constraint, hatred and fear engendered by the policy denounced in Washington as long ago as 1946 by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, when it appealed to the governments and the working men and women of all countries to fight against the reactionary policy which was tending to make people believe in "the inevitability of a third world war."

Since then, it is certainly a fact that recourse to a policy of force in the relations between nations has increased international tension. It is no less true that in this international tension, the United Nations has forgotten that the Charter begins with the words: "We, the peoples of the United Nations." This forgetfulness has meant that the policy of the United Nations no longer represents the wishes and desires of the peoples of the whole world.

But if, on the one hand, the dangers have increased, it is worth noting, on the other, that in many political, trade union, religious and pacifist circles, there is one question which insistently arises and recurs in every discussion—how to get out of the present deadlock and go forward to a stable and lasting peace!

To be sure, we know that there are forces, both overt and hidden, that are continually conspiring against peace. To be an active fighter for peaceful understanding between the peoples and for co-operation on a basis of equal rights among all nations can appear to be a crime to those who do not hesitate to imprison the best representatives of those who willingly give their intelligence, faith and activity to serve the cause of peace.

The arrest of our brother Alain Le Leap in France has a specially significant and eloquent bearing on this subject. We shall continue to fight until we free him from prison. And if those same forces hope that in striking at him they will be able to discourage, frighten and intimidate us from carrying out the task we consider above all else to be the noble and common task of all workers—to defend peace— they are sadly mistaken!

☆ ☆ ☆

THE Executive Bureau of the World Council of Peace, in its resolution adopted on October 16, 1952, raises questions of an importance which will escape no one. Their importance will not escape the millions and millions of working men and women who are suffering from the brutal consequences of war economy in the capitalist and colonial countries.

The Executive Bureau of the World Council of Peace asks: "*How can the wars now taking place be stopped? How can the cold war be ended? How can the national independence of all countries be ensured and their security guaranteed?*

The Congress of the Peoples next December, in broad discussion, will make it possible for the will of the peoples for peace to find the correct answers to these questions.

But at this moment, the World Federation of Trade Unions considers that the working men and women of the world, whatever their national or international trade union affiliations, or whether they are organised or not, can help the Congress of the Peoples considerably in finding this correct answer.

To do that, international working class solidarity must be raised to a still higher level. To do that, the barriers of misunderstanding, which some wish to erect between the workers, must be broken down. The idea must also be driven home more clearly and more attractively than ever that all the workers of the world have common interests which can be more easily satisfied when, by their common will, they finish once and for all with the policy of armaments and war.

The working men and women of the whole world want peace. Their role is decisive.

This dominant, essential idea must not be lost sight of by a single trade union official or by a single member of a trade union organisation. The way in which trade union organisations serve the cause of peace will be judged by the activities they are capable of initiating to promote a better knowledge and better understanding between the workers of all countries; by their attitude towards what should be for them a great duty. that of helping the Congress of the Peoples to stop the wars now in progress, to end the cold war, and to guarantee the security of all countries and the national independence of each one of them.

Throughout its history, the international trade union movement has always considered its main role to be to defend peace between the peoples. The international trade union movement will fulfil its role and its mission by taking part in the activities required to put the peoples on the road to peace.

The Congress of the Peoples, convened in Vienna on December 12, is a step along this road.

Louis Saillant

Statement of the Bureau of the World Peace Council on the Preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to be held in Vienna, December 12th, 1952

THE Appeal for a Congress of the Peoples, issued by the World Peace Council, is arousing great interest in all countries, and is already evoking a considerable response.

The resort to a policy of force in international relations has resulted in tension, the effects and dangers of which are daily more obvious. Faced with this situation, social groups of the most varied kinds, in particular political, trade union, religious and pacifist, agree that a way must be found to break the deadlock.

How can the wars now going on be stopped?

How can the cold war be brought to an end?

How can the independence of nations be safeguarded and the security of every country be guaranteed?

The answers to these questions can only be found through genuine discussion among forces truly representative of the peoples' desire for peace.

The Congress of the Peoples called by the World Peace Council will be an international assembly bringing together men and women of different countries and devoted to different ways of life.

The participation of delegates, guests and observers will not imply their adherence to the Peace Movement.

The Congress of the Peoples will try to find, in free and effective discussion, reasonable solutions to the questions today dividing the world.

Agreement reached, even on a single point, will make easier understanding on further points and contribute to a lessening of international tension.

The peoples will find the road to peace together.

Adopted unanimously.
Vienna, October 16, 1952.

J. Stalin's Important Speech

19th Congress of the Comm

Comrades,

Allow me on behalf of our Congress to express thanks to all the fraternal Parties and groups, whose representatives honoured our Congress with their presence or who sent messages of greetings to the Congress —for their friendly greetings, wishes of success and for their trust. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation).

Of special value for us is this trust which signified readiness to support our Party in the struggle for the radiant future for the peoples, in its struggle against war, in its struggle for the preservation of peace. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

It would be a mistake to think that our Party, having become a powerful force, no longer needs support. This is not correct. Our Party and our country have always needed and shall need the trust, sympathy and support of the fraternal peoples abroad.

A peculiarity of this support is that all support for the peace-loving aspirations of our Party on the part of any fraternal Party signifies at the same time support of its own people in their struggle for the preservation of peace. When the British workers in 1918-19, at the time of the armed attack of the British bourgeoisie on the Soviet Union, organised the struggle against war under the slogan "Hands Off Russia," this was support, first of all support of the struggle of their people for peace, and then support of the Soviet Union. When Comrade Thorez, or Comrade Togliatti declare that their peoples will not fight against the peoples of the Soviet Union (tumultuous applause) this is support, first of all support of the workers and peasants of France and Italy fighting for peace, and then support of the peace-loving strivings of the Soviet Union. This peculiarity of the mutual support is explained by the fact that the interests of our Party not only do not contradict, but, on the contrary, merge with the interests of the peace-loving peoples. (Tumultuous applause). As for the Soviet Union its interests in general are inseparable from the cause of world peace.

Naturally, our Party cannot remain in debt to the fraternal Parties and it must in turn support them and also their people in their struggle for liberation, in their struggle for the preservation of peace. As is known, that is precisely what it does. (Tumultuous applause). After our Party took power in 1917 and after the Party took real measures to do away with the capitalist and landlord oppression, representaives of the fraternal Parties, admiring the valour and successes of our Party, named it the "Shock-brigade" of the world revolutionary and working class movement. In this way they expressed the hope that the successes of the "Shock-brigade" would facilitate the position of the peoples groaning under the yoke of capitalism. I think that our Party justified these hopes, especially in the period of the second world war when the Soviet Union, by smashing German and Japanese fascist tyranny, delivered the peoples of Europe and Asia from the menace of fascist slavery. (Tumultuous applause).

Of course, it was very difficult to fulfil this honourable role, so long as the "Shock-brigade" was all alone and had to carry out this leading role practically single-handed. But this belongs to the past. Now things are altogether different. Now, when from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary new "Shock-brigades" have appeared in the shape of the people's democratic countries—now it has become easier for our Party to fight, and indeed work is going with a swing. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause).

Those Communist, democratic or worker-peasant Parties which have not yet come to power and which are still working under the heel of the draconic laws of the bourgeoisie, deserve special attention. For them, of course, the work is more difficult. But it is not as

at the Closing Session of the unist Party of the U.S.S.R.

difficult for them as it was for us, the Russian Communists, at the time of tsarism, when the slightest forward movement was proclaimed a heinous crime. However, the Russian Communists stood firm, were not afraid of the difficulties and won victory. The same thing will take place with these Parties.

Why, then, will it be less difficult for these Parties to work than was the case with the Russian Communists at the time of tsarism?

Firstly, because they have before their eyes examples of struggle and successes such as we have in the Soviet Union and in the people's democratic countries. Consequently, they can learn from the mistakes and successes of these countries and in this way make their work easier.

Secondly, because the bourgeoisie itself—the main enemy of the liberation movement—has changed, changed substantially, has become more reactionary, has lost contact with the people and by doing so has weakened itself. Obviously, this circumstance, too, is bound to make the work of the revolutionary and democratic Parties easier. (Tumultuous applause).

Formerly the bourgeoisie permitted itself to be liberal, championed bourgeois-democratic freedoms and in doing so created for itself popularity among the people. Now, not even a trace of liberalism remains. Gone is the so-called "freedom of the individual"—the rights of the individual now are recognised only in the case of those who have capital, while all other citizens are regarded as human raw material fit only for exploitation. The principle of equality of people and nations has been trampled underfoot; it has been replaced by the principle of full rights for the exploiting minority and no rights for the exploited majority of citizens. The banner of the bourgeois-democratic freedoms has been thrown overboard. I think that you, representatives of the Communist and Democratic Parties, will have to pick up this banner and carry it forward if you wish to rally around yourselves the majority of the people. There is no one else to pick it up. (Tumultuous applause).

Formerly the bourgeoisie was considered the head of the nation, it championed the rights and independence of the nation, placing them "above everything." Now, not a trace remains of the "national principle." Now the bourgeoisie sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars. The banner of national independence and national sovereignty has been thrown overboard. There is no doubt that you, representatives of the Communist and democratic Parties, will have to pick up this banner and carry it forward if you wish to be patriots of your country, if you wish to become the leading force of the nation. There is no one else to pick it up. (Tumultuous applause).

That is how matters stand at present.

Clearly, all these circumstances are bound to facilitate the work of the Communist and democratic Parties which have not yet come to power.

Consequently, there is every reason to count on success and victory for the fraternal Parties in the countries dominated by capitalism. (Tumultuous applause).

Long live our fraternal Parties! (Prolonged applause).

Long life and good health to the leaders of the fraternal Parties! (Prolonged applause).

Long live peace among the nations! (Prolonged applause).

Down with the warmongers! (All rise. Tumultuous, prolonged applause growing into ovation. Cries: "Long live Comrade Stalin!", "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!", "Long Live Comrade Stalin, great leader of the working people of the world!", "Hurrah for the great Stalin!", "Long live peace among the nations!" Cries: "Hurrah!").

LET THIS CRY RESOUND THROUGHOU

"FREE ALAI

From All Countries a

IN gross violation of democratic rights and liberties and trade union rights, Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., was arrested on Friday, October 10, at 4 p.m. and imprisoned for his courageous activity for peace and against the dirty war in Viet Nam, an activity which has always been part of the traditions of the French C.G.T.

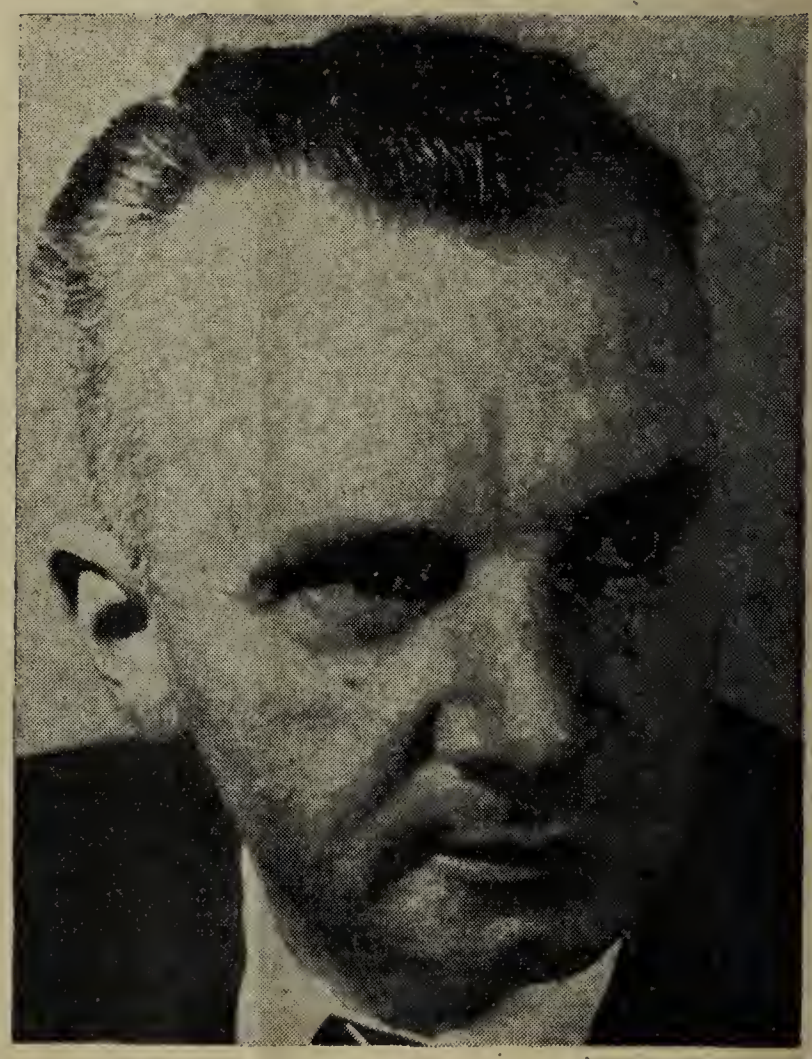
This illegal arrest of a great French patriot, with no political affiliation, a great leader of the international trade union movement and a champion of trade union unity, is a fascist-like police manoeuvre and an attempt to intimidate the working masses by the Pinay Government, maddened by the wave of anger which its policy is arousing. The overwhelming majority of the workers and the French people, united in struggle, are increasingly demonstrating their determination to fight for wages, salaries and pensions, against the consequences of the policy of war preparation, and are demonstrating their determination to have the right to defend peace.

In addition, this provocation, which is aimed at the entire trade union movement, French as well as international, has aroused and is arousing great feeling, both in France and throughout the world.

The working class in every country is reacting with speed and indignation. In all countries, workers of all political and religious opinions and all trade union affiliations are adding their protests, their demonstrations of every kind, their messages of solidarity to those of the French people to secure the release from military prison, and to prevent the trial behind closed doors, of this greatly esteemed working class leader, this courageous fighter for peace, Alain Le Léap.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, interpreting the feelings of tens of millions of workers throughout the world, demands the immediate release of its Vice-President, Alain Le Léap, and

ALAIN LE LÉAP, ZEALOUS
HAS DRAWN THE HATRE



THE WORK PLACES OF THE WORLD

N LE LÉAP!"

uge Flood of Protests

his return to his post to carry on his fight for the workers' bread, for freedom and for peace.

Let the cry "Free Alain Le Léap" resound throughout the work places of the world!

EFENDER OF THE WORKERS OF THE RULING CLASS

ALAIN LE LEAP, born on September 29, 1905, in Lanneur (Finistère), is a tax inspector.

He was a member of the Executive Committee of the School Tutors' Trade Union in the Academy of the Rennes Educational Administrative Region in 1926-27, then member of the National Executive Committee of the Inland Revenue Employees' Trade Union in 1938 and 1939.

During the clandestine period, he helped to re-establish the civil servants trade union movement.

After the Liberation, he was successively General Secretary of the Inland Revenue Employees' Trade Union, Secretary of the General Federation of State Employees and in March 1946, was elected General Secretary of the Trades Council of Civil Service Employees' Unions. He was then a member of the C.G.T. Administrative Commission.

In December 1947, when the splitters attempted to strike a blow at the C.G.T., he courageously took up a position for working class unity.

He was elected General Secretary of the C.G.T. in January 1948.

Alain Le Léap is Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions and a member of the World Peace Council.

AS soon as the arrest of Alain Le Léap became known, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat sent a message of solidarity to the C.G.T., protests to the French Government and to the United Nations, and telegrams to the National Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals and to the non-affiliated organisations.

In France and throughout the world, the feeling aroused by the government's attack against democratic and trade union liberties is becoming intensified.

Resolutions, petitions, delegations and work stoppages are constantly increasing in number, uniting men and women of all beliefs, all trade union affiliations and political viewpoints. A variety of trade unions, democratic organisations and public leaders are rallying around this great movement, which has assumed the character of an international protest movement. News is daily reaching us from all countries of solidarity campaigns for Alain Le Léap, the increasingly widespread character of which will force the grave-diggers of freedom to retreat.

★ ★ ★

Telegram to Benoit Frachon, General Confederation of Labour, Paris

The workers of all countries, roused to indignation, strongly protest against the arbitrary arrest, in violation of constitutional legality and trade union rights, of Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of French C.G.T., Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., courageous and highly esteemed fighter of the working class of France and the whole world. The arrest of Alain Le Léap is a fascist-like police manoeuvre and an attempt to intimidate the workers of France of all viewpoints united in the defence of peace, against poverty and attacks on economic and social rights, the consequence of war preparations and the unpopular colonialist war against the fraternal people

of Viet Nam. In the name of its 80 million members, in all countries and of all opinions, the W.F.T.U. transmits the powerful protests of workers of the whole world and affirms its solidarity with the French working class, the C.G.T., and Alain Le Léap, whose immediate release it is demanding in its protests to the French government and the United Nations.

☆ ☆ ☆

Telegram to The Prime Minister of France Hotel Matignon Paris

The news of the arbitrary and illegal arrest of Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the French C.G.T. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., has aroused the indignation of workers throughout the world. At the moment when the French working class, defending its bread and freedom, is fighting courageously against poverty and for peace, the arrest of the C.G.T. General Secretary clearly appears as a provocative diversion in the eyes of the workers of all countries. Expressing the censure of the workers of the world, the W.F.T.U. strongly protests against this fascist-like measure which constitutes a flagrant violation of trade union freedom and freedom of opinion. In the name of its 80 million members, the W.F.T.U. asks the immediate release of its Vice-President and an end to these arbitrary measures of which the real aim is the attempt to intimidate the mass of the people who are demanding an end to colonialist wars and want to finish with the policy of war and poverty.

☆ ☆ ☆

Telegram to Mr. Trygve Lie, United Nations, New York, U.S.A.

The French government has just illegally arrested Mr. Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the French C.G.T. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., for his action against war and in particular against the war in Viet Nam. The W.F.T.U. strongly protests against this arbitrary arrest, which constitutes an act of intimidation against the French workers struggling against their government's policy of war and poverty, in order to defend their bread and freedom. In the name of its 80 millon organised workers, the W.F.T.U. comes out strongly against this new form of violation of democratic liberties and trade union rights and urges your intervention to secure the immediate release of the General Secretary of the French C.G.T.

United in Action we Shall Liberate Alain le Léap

On the day of Alain Le Léap's arrest, the Bureau of the French C.G.T. published an important message, from which we give the following extracts:

The Bureau of the C.G.T. draws the attention of all workers to the serious dangers which hang over their heads as a result of this conspiracy of reaction.

It is not only the C.G.T. and its militant members who are attacked and threatened. It is the whole trade union movement which is menaced.

It is our concern today to defend all our liberties; liberty to defend our wages, our benefits, our pensions and savings, liberty to defend peace.

The Bureau of the C.G.T. calls on all workers, whatever their opinions or trade union affiliation, to raise a powerful and unanimous protest. Let every worker and every trade union organisation, in factory, shop, public service, and local government office, unite in protest to the Government, to the Military Tribunal, to the people's elected representatives; let them demand Le Léap's immediate liberation, and along with him, that of everyone imprisoned as a result of the conspiracy launched by reaction against our liberties.

Let trade union organisations everywhere rally the workers to make their protests, and to demonstrate in different ways, such ways as stoppages of work, as did the dockers of Rouen and Bordeaux, drawing into their support the workers in the factories.

Let the voice and the action of the working class be heard and felt in all their strength; so can those who seek to undermine our liberties be forced to retreat. The working-class, in unity with all good republicans, will snatch Le Léap from the claws of reaction, will expose and scatter the conspiracy of the people's enemies.

The Bureau of the C.G.T. sends its hearty congratulations to the dockers of Rouen who unanimously carried out an initial 24-hour strike in protest at the raids carried out on their union. By this they have taken a great step in the defence of their working-class liberties.

Working men and women of France! If we all unite in action we shall free Le Léap, send packing the police provocateurs, save our trade unions, and victoriously defend our bread, our liberties and peace.

The Federal Bureau declares its complete solidarity with Alain Le Léap, and assures him of its deepest sympathy and friendship.

The Soviet Peoples' Great Plan of Work

By N. PETROV

THE Soviet people have welcomed with a feeling of deep satisfaction the decisions of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which constitute a great programme for the continuous development of the country and the improvement of the material well-being and cultural level of the workers of the U.S.S.R. The directives of the 19th Congress of the Party concerning the 5th Five Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-1955 are a new and tremendous step forward on the road to communism.

On the eve of the Congress, J. Stalin's work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," was published.

This work analyses all aspects of the laws of social production and distribution of material wealth in a socialist society, determines the scientific bases of the development of socialist economy, and shows the paths to be taken in the progressive transition from socialism to communism.

J. Stalin has proved the objective character of economic laws. He has shown that the laws of economic development, whether they concern capitalism or socialism, are objective laws which reflect the process of economic development which takes place independently of the will of man. Economic laws are not created according to the desires of men, but spring from new economic conditions.

A very important contribution to Marxist political economy is made by J. Stalin's discovery of the fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism and the fundamental economic law of socialism.

The fundamental economic law determines the nature of a given mode of production, all its main aspects and the most important process of its development; it gives the key to the understanding and explanation of all the laws which govern any economic system.

The basis of the main economic law of contemporary capitalism is to ensure the maximum capitalist profits by means of the exploitation of man by man. Contemporary capitalism obtains all its profits "by the exploitation, ruination and impoverishment of the majority of the country's population, by the enslavement and the systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, particularly the backward countries, and finally by wars and the militarisation of the national economy, all of which are used to secure the highest profits." (J. Stalin.)

The fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism reveals the glaring contradictions of capitalism. This law reveals and explains the reasons and the roots of the aggressive policy of plunder carried out by the capitalist states. The operation of the fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism leads to the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and an inevitable accumulation and explosion of all the contradictions in capitalist society.

The characteristic of the fundamental economic law of socialism is "the guarantee of the maximum satisfaction of the ever-growing cultural and material needs of the whole of society by an uninterrupted growth of socialist production on the basis of the highest technique." (J. Stalin.)

Therefore, the aim of the socialist mode of pro-

duction is not profits, but the satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of man. The operation of the fundamental economic law of socialism leads to a continuous elevation of the material well-being and cultural level of the workers.

The discovery by Stalin of the fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism and that of socialism deals a decisive blow to the agents of capitalism. The fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism demonstrates the fact that, in capitalist society, man is subjected to a ruthless law for the extortion of maximum profits. For the sake of these profits men are reduced to unemployment, poverty and terrible sufferings. For the sake of these profits, devastating wars are waged. At the same time, the fundamental economic law of socialism shows that in a socialist society all production is at the service of man, to meet his growing needs. It is precisely this which makes the new social order, communism, superior to capitalism.

A striking confirmation of this is provided by the situation of the workers in the Soviet Socialist State, which is about to celebrate its 35th anniversary.

Socialist industrialisation was achieved in the U.S.S.R. during the pre-war five year plans. The Soviet State was transformed from a backward agricultural country, as it was during the first years of the revolution, into a powerful industrial State which showed itself capable of resisting the aggression of the Hitlerite hordes and of annihilating them.

The war forced on the Soviet Union by Hitlerite fascism slowed down the development of Soviet industry by 8 to 9 years, that is, a period covering approximately two 5-Year Plans. The Hitlerite monsters inflicted great damage on the Soviet people's economy. But in spite of this, as a consequence of the successful reconstruction and development of industry during all these years, the present level of industrial production in the U.S.S.R. is considerably higher than it was in the pre-war period. According to the plan for 1952, production for the whole of Soviet industry had reached a level 223% higher than for the pre-war year of 1940; this includes an increase of 276% in the production of capital goods, and a 150% increase in the production of consumer goods.

Here are some figures which characterise the development of production in the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries:

Increase in the Industrial Production of the U.S.S.R. and Capitalist Countries during 1929-1951.

(1929 Index=100)

	1929	1939	1943	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
U.S.S.R. ...	100	552	573	466	571	721	870	1082	1266
U.S.A.	100	99	217	155	170	175	160	182	200
Great Britain ...	100	123	*	112	121	135	144	157	160
France	100	80	*	63	74	85	92	92	104
Italy	100	108	*	72	93	97	103	118	134

* No figures published.

These figures testify to the fact that Soviet industry, both before the war and in the post-war period, has been constantly expanding.

The production of capital goods is developing at the greatest pace in the Soviet Union. In 1946-1951 alone, almost 7,000 big State industrial enterprises were rebuilt. The number of machine tools increased during this period 2.2 times, thanks to new and more productive machine tools. During 1952 alone, many more machines and much more equipment will be produced than during the first and second five-year plans taken together.

The Soviet State has achieved great successes in the restoration and development of agriculture which was heavily hit by the war. In 1952, the total harvest of coarse grains erached eight thousand million poods with a 48% increase in the total wheat yield as compared with 1940. The yield of cotton, sugar beet and other crops has been considerably increased.

The increase in the production of capital goods and in agricultural production have established a solid basis for the development of the consumer goods' industries. In 1951, these industries increased their production by 43% as compared with the 1940 level. The successes in the reconstruction of industry and the restoration of agriculture have enabled the Soviet Government, since 1947, to abolish rationing of food and industrial products and achieve monetary reforms. The successes achieved in the Soviet economy have made it possible for the State to undertake only a few years after the end of the war, the construction of powerful hydro-electric stations on the Volga and Dnieper, the construction of great canals for navigation and irrigation, the planting of forest belts to protect the soil against drought.

The natural result which springs from the fundamental economic law of socialism is the continuous raising of the material well-being and cultural level of Soviet society. The national income of the U.S.S.R. for the period from 1940 to 1951 has increased by 83%. In the Soviet Union, three-quarters of the national income is used to meet the personal, material and cultural needs of the workers and the other quarter for the expansion of socialist production and for other needs of the State and society as a whole.

The real income of workers and office employees, based on what a worker received in 1951, is 57% greater than that of 1940 and the real income of the peasants in 1951, on the same basis, is almost 70% greater than that of 1940.

In addition, the Soviet workers and office employees benefit at State expense from social security and social insurance allowances and benefits; they can go to sanatoria and rest homes and send their children to children's establishments, either free of charge or at very low fees; workers and office employees enjoy annual holidays with full pay. During 1952 alone, 4½ million workers and office employees will have spent their holidays in healthy surroundings throughout the country, at spas, the seaside, etc.; 2,800,000 workers will be sent by the trade unions to these places free of charge or for a modest sum, the cost being borne by the State social security system.

More than five million children of workers and office employees spent their holidays in 1952 in Pioneer camps and other children's establishments.

All workers in the towns and country receive free medical care. The State pays allowances to mothers of large families and to unmarried mothers. It provides free education for the 7-year primary school and grants scholarships to pupils and students.

The workers of the U.S.S.R. received allowances and facilities in 1940 amounting to 40.8 thousand million roubles, and in 1952 a sum of 125 thousand million roubles.

There has been a great development in State building of houses in the Soviet Union. In the post-war years alone, in the towns and villages, workers' housing estates have been built with a total housing surface exceeding more than 510 million square yards and more than 3.8 million houses have been built in the villages and countryside.

During the post-war years, the number of hospital

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RIGHT: The building sites of Communism have become a bright reality in Soviet life. Our photo shows a section of the underground irrigation canal which forms part of the Don-Volga irrigation system.

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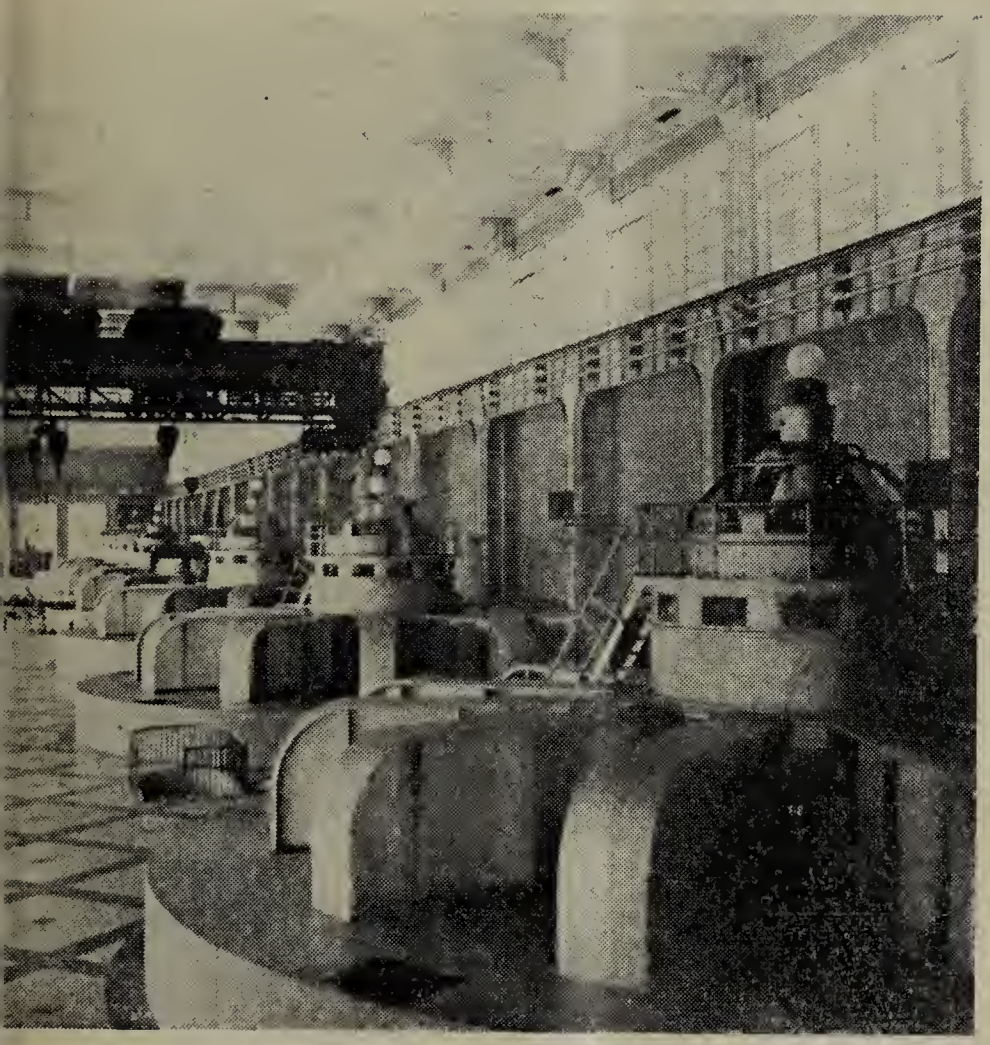

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LEFT: Increased electrification in all the Republics of the Soviet Union is one of the principle objectives of the 5th Five-Year Plan, leading to communism. Our photo shows machinery of the V. I. Lenin hydro-electric plant at Zaporojhe (Dnieprogues).

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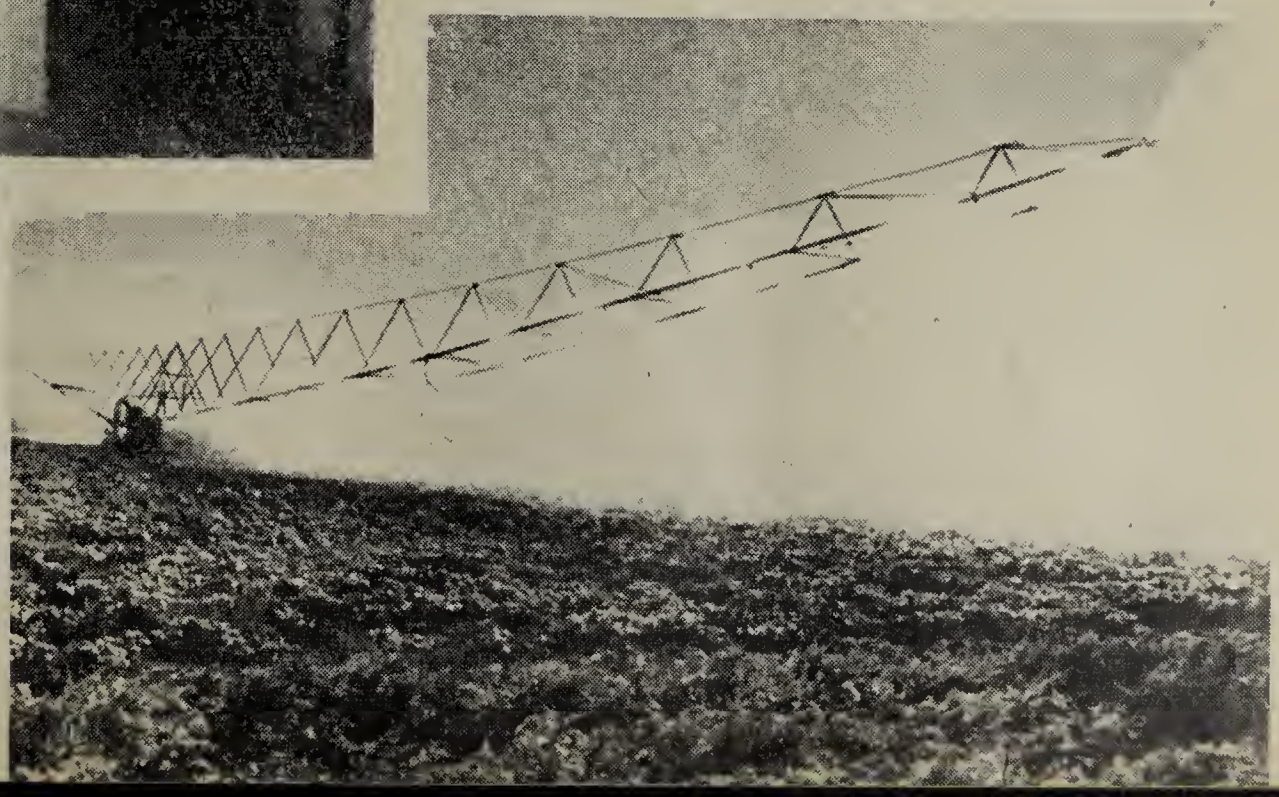

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RIGHT: Soviet technique in the service of man. In one of the State farms in the vicinity of Kuibyshev, artificial rain makes possible a sizeable increase in the harvest of vegetables.

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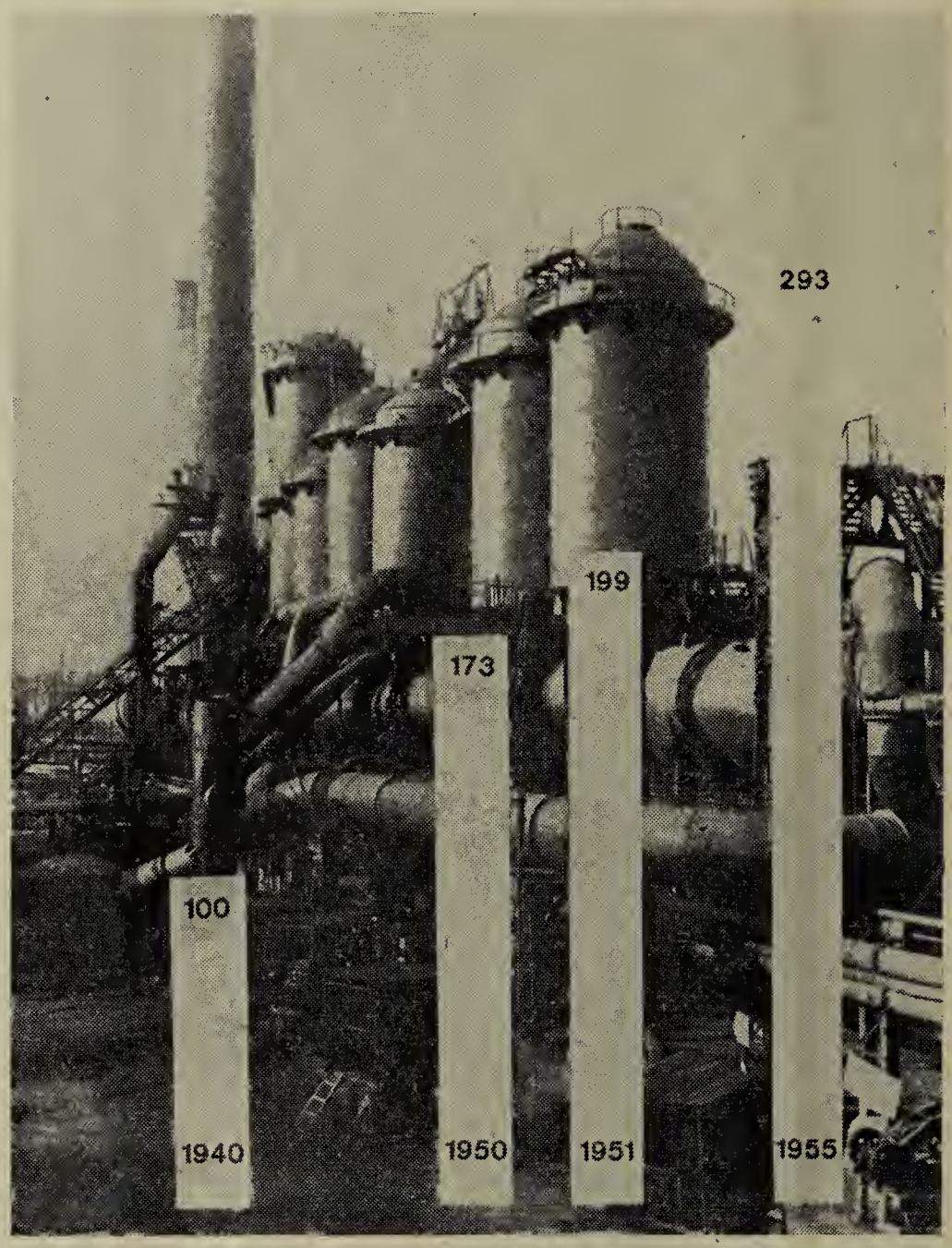
beds in the towns and country has risen by 30% compared with 1940 and the number of doctors by 80%. Expenditure on education has increased more than 2.5 times and the number of pupils and students has reached 57 million or almost eight million more than in 1940. The network of cultural and educational institutions in the towns and country, theatres, clubs, libraries, cinemas, etc., has been greatly extended.

In addition to the increase in their pay packets, the most important source of the increase in real wages of the workers and office employees, as well as the increase of the real income of the peasants, has been the fall in the prices of essential consumer goods which has been systematically carried out by the Soviet Government.

In the capitalist countries, the capitalists, helped by the governments, are carrying out a policy of price increases hand in hand with the freezing of wages so as to obtain the maximum profits. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, the policy in operation is that of reducing prices at the same time as increasing wages.

As the result of the reduction in the State's retail prices, which has taken place five times during the period from 1947 to 1952, prices for food and industrial products have fallen on an average by 50%.



The objectives fixed for increasing industrial production mean that in the year 1955 the volume of industrial production will be tripled in comparison with 1940. (From the report of G. Malenkov to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.).

Here are some figures which compare the position of prices for essential foodstuffs in the course of these years in the Soviet Union and in several capitalist countries. Figures represent price indices for essential foodstuffs in 1952, with 1947=100:

	U.S.S.R.	United States	Gt. Britain	France
Bread	39	128	190	208
Meat	42	126	135	188
Butter	37	104	225	192
Milk	72	118	130	174
Sugar	49	106	233	376

The continuous rise in prices in the capitalist countries is leading to a decline in consumption. In the Soviet Union, the continuous fall in prices and the increase in earnings and in real wages of the workers and office employees and the income of collective farmers is leading to a constant increase in consumption. The State and Co-operative retail trade has doubled in 1952 compared with 1948 (the first year after the abolition of rationing). While the production of essential foodstuffs—meat, butter, sugar, beetroots and other products—in the United States, England and France is steeply falling each year in comparison with prewar levels, the Soviet Union is constantly increasing production of these goods.

Here are a few figures showing the increase in consumption in the U.S.S.R. In 1951, the population bought in the State and co-operative shops 80% more meat and pork products than in 1940, 60% more fish and tinned fish—60% more butter—and almost double the amount of oil and other fats, 70% more sugar, 80% more cloth and 50% more footwear than in 1940.

More than 60 nations, national groups and peoples, emancipated by the great October revolution, which abolished capitalism, live and work in the Soviet Union. The development of these nations under socialism is a striking example of the application of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin.

Under the Soviet System, all peoples previously oppressed by Russian capitalism and the Tsarist autocracy, have reached equality of status and are developing their existence as a State. The various nationalities living within the country which had colonial and semi-colonial status were transformed after the October revolution into Soviet Republics. During the Stalin Five Year Plans, new industry was established in these republics which developed more rapidly than that of

the Soviet Union as a whole. For example, in the Uzbek, Kazah, Khirghiz, Turkmenia and Tadjik Republics, a 22-fold increase in industrial production took place from 1928 to 1951 compared with the 16-fold increase for the Soviet Union as a whole.

Not very long ago, it was almost impossible to see any difference between the industrial production of these five Soviet Republics and their neighbours—Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey—and now these Republics, with a population of nearly 17 million, produce three times more electric power than Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan taken together, with their combined population of 156 million.

As a result of the victory of the collective farm system in the U.S.S.R., all Soviet Republics now possess a highly productive agriculture of a large-scale character. Before the establishment of Soviet power, the eastern Soviet Republics had the most backward agriculture, but now tens of thousands of tractors and combine harvesters are being used. From the point of view of the level of their technical equipment in agriculture, these Republics far outstrip the most developed European capitalist countries to say nothing of the dependent and colonial countries in the East.

For example, in Soviet Uzbekistan, there are fourteen tractors for every 2,500 acres of sown land, whilst France has only seven tractors for the same area and Italy has for the same area four much less powerful tractors.

In all the Soviet Republics, a real revolution has taken place in the sphere of culture.

During the years of Soviet power, 48 nationalities who previously had no written alphabet have created them, and now publish textbooks, books and newspapers in their own languages. Everywhere, the seven-year general schooling has been achieved. In the five Central Asian Republics alone, 104,000 persons are studying in schools and institutions of higher education.

Before the October revolution in Uzbekistan there was only one doctor for 31,000 inhabitants, now there is one for 895 inhabitants. In the Azerbaidjan Republic, there is one doctor for 480 inhabitants, in the Armenian Republic one for 483, in the Georgian Republic one for 373.

The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union which arose and is developing as a result of the realisation of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, is a powerful lever for socialist development and the might of the Soviet State.

The fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the peoples' economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-1955, opens up new and magnificent perspectives for the continued advance of Socialist economy and culture, for the constant raising of the material well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people.

The plan provides for the continuous development and improvement of socialist production on the basis of the highest technique which will ensure a still greater satisfaction of the growing needs of Soviet society and will shorten the transition period from socialism to communism.

At the end of the new Five-Year Plan, the level of industrial production will exceed that of 1950 by 70%; this means that the volume of industrial production will be three times greater than that of 1940. The Five-Year Plan provides both for a continuous expansion in the production of capital goods and a rapid growth in the production of essential consumer goods. The production of the light industry and the food industry will increase by at least 70%.

The new Five-Year Plan provides for the construction of thousands of new enterprises equipped with the most modern technique, powerful hydro-electric stations on the Volga, Dnieper, Irtysh, Angara and other rivers, the construction of new navigation and irrigation canals, railway lines and roads, and new forest belts for the protection of the soil.

The construction of the Kuibyshev hydro-electric station will be completed during these five years, and it will have a capacity of 2,100,000 kilowatts, as well as the Kama, the Gorki, the Mingoshaur, Ust Kamenogorsk and other stations, having a total capacity of 1,916,000 kilowatts. The total capacity of the electric stations will be almost doubled during the Five-Year Plan, and there will be a three-fold increase in the capacity of hydro-electric stations.

At the same time, the Five-Year Plan provides for a continuous and substantial rise in the people's well-being, the health services and the cultural level of the population.

The national income of the U.S.S.R. will be increased by at least 60% during the Five-Year Plan. Real wages, taking into account the reduction in the State retail prices, will increase by at least 35% and the incomes of the collective farmers by not less than 40%. The amount of money set aside by the State to meet the needs of social security will be raised by approximately 30% as compared with 1950.

The number of industrial workers of the U.S.S.R. will be increased by 15% towards the end of the Five-Year Plan.

During this Five-Year Plan, great blocks of flats are to be built covering a total area of almost 125 million square yards, the network of health institutions for adults and children is to be extended. The number of doctors is to rise by at least 25%, education, which now lasts seven years, is to be replaced by a general ten-year secondary education towards the end of the Five-Year Plan in the capitals of the Republics and the principal regions and industrial centres of the country; the number of specialists coming out of higher and special schools will increase by 30 to 35%; the network of peoples' libraries, clubs and other institutions to raise the material well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people will be extended.

The tremendous perspectives of the continuous advance of the Soviet Union on the road towards communism, outlined at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party, have inspired the Soviet people to accomplish new feats in their work.

As soon as the draft directives of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party concerning the Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-1955 were published, millions of Soviet workers responded to it by a powerful movement of socialist emulation to complete in advance the production plans for 1952—the second year of the Five-Year Plan. After the approval of the directives by the Party Congress, the whole of the Soviet people have taken up the struggle for the successful and early fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. The workers of the Soviet Union welcome the 35th anniversary of the great October Socialist revolution with the firm conviction that the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the Soviet Union, like all the preceding Five-Year Plans, will be fulfilled ahead of schedule.

Second International Conference of the Clothing and Textile Workers' Trade Unions International

Clothing and Textile Workers Faced with Poverty Show Fighting Spirit

From Our Special Correspondent

JEAN WETZLER

IF there is still the slightest doubt in any normal person's mind of the impossibility of manufacturing guns and butter, that is, of the impossibility of turning the economy of a country completely over to war preparation, and parallel with this, meeting the needs of the population, the second International Conference convened by the Textile and Clothing Workers' Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.) would have effectively swept any such doubts away.

The Conference, which met in Berlin from October 1st to 5th with 137 delegates from 29 countries, brought out all the tragic aspects of this incompatibility. It furnished figures and percentages on the fall in living standards, on super-exploitation, and on the staggering climb in unemployment figures in the textile and clothing industries of the capitalist and dependent countries. It also revealed the amount of human suffering which is hidden behind the statistics.

It proved that the war policy was of necessity reviving the most loathsome forms of fascist oppression.

It showed the fight being waged by the textile and clothing workers of these countries against the living and working conditions being forced upon them.

It also brought out the necessity for these workers to co-ordinate their struggles in a better way on an international scale, to support each other more effectively by a more systematic exchange of experiences as well as on information on concrete methods of struggle which have been evolved.

The necessity for continuously extending co-operation and united action with other categories of workers was also emphasised, in particular with the leather workers who are themselves just as much victims of the policy of war preparation; the need to work untiringly to unite the workers whether they are organised or not, and where organised, regardless of their trade union affiliations; the need to win the support of all sections of the population stricken by the crisis and concerned with the maintenance of peace.

Finally, the Conference gave striking evidence not only of the unswerving will for peace of the workers, the Soviet State, the People's Democracies, new China

A view of the conference hall and the speakers' rostrum. From left to right: Piwowarska, who was elected General Secretary of the Textile and Clothing Workers' Trade Unions International, Aubert, General Secretary of the French Textile Workers' Federation, Chen Chao-Min, President of the Chinese Textile Federation. At the right, next to WFTU General Secretary Louis Saillant, is Herbert Warnke, President of the Trade Union Centre of the German Democratic Republic, and Teresa Noce, President of the Textile and Clothing Workers' Trade Unions International.

and the German Democratic Republic, but, in addition, of the constantly growing prosperity of these countries. This is a prosperity for all which includes the absence and impossibility of any unemployment and a continuous improvement in working conditions. All that is based on an economy centred on the satisfaction of man's needs.

Thus, through the many and often poignant contributions made, there appeared a concentrated view of the ruin of an industry in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, which is particularly vital to people's well-being; an overall view of the struggle being waged by working men and women against this state of affairs also appeared; and finally the support which is being given this struggle by workers in the countries where Socialism has already been achieved or is on the way, with the wonderful prospects their example holds out.

* * *

IT was in June 1949 in Lyons, that the Textile and Clothing Workers Trade Unions International was set up. Since then its activities have extended. The disastrous consequences of the imperialist policy of aggression have increased to an appalling degree, and as a result of this, the fight against this policy has broadened. The membership of the Trade Unions International has now grown from 1,200,000 members to 5,000,000 belonging to 25 trade-unions in 19 countries.

But the influence of the Trade Department, inspired and directed by the great principles of the World Federation of Trade Unions, extends far beyond its affiliated bodies.

Workers, said Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., *may be unorganised or belong to trade unions whose leaders refuse affiliation to the W.F.T.U. and its Trade Departments. But as soon as they go into action these non-affiliated workers adopt the programme and methods of action of the W.F.T.U. even though they do not belong to it.*

Such is the case in Japan, to cite only this particularly significant example, where magnificent struggles are organised by the workers while the trade union leaders refuse to affiliate to the W.F.T.U. and to its Trade Departments.

The influence of the Trade Unions International keeps on growing. How could it be otherwise? Do the working men and women of Italy and France (where the C.G.I.L. and C.G.T. are part of the T.U.I.) experience unemployment, poverty and super-exploitation, in a different way from that of their brothers in Japan or in Western Germany? And are not effective methods of struggle the same in all countries, that is, based on seeking united action in all circumstances and by every appropriate means?

The extent to which the need to fight on the platform of the W.F.T.U. and its Trade Department is imperative is demonstrated in the case of the Textile Trade Union of Finland. Affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. International Trade Secretariat, it maintained friendly relations and collaborated with the Trade Unions International of the W.F.T.U. in spite of unparalleled pressure from the trade union pontiffs. Eventually expelled from the I.T.S., then from the Secretariat for Co-ordinating the Scandinavian Textile Unions, and finally from the Finnish Trade Union Centre, the union recently officially applied for affiliation to the Trade Unions International.

IN an important report T.U.I. President, Teresa Noce, gave a picture of the economic, social and political situation in which the struggles of the textile and clothing workers are taking place and developing.

Here are some figures :

In *Belgium*, 60,000 men and women textile workers out of 150,000 are totally or partially unemployed, which is 40% of the labour force. The same percentage is unemployed among clothing workers.

In *Great Britain* the Minister of Labour has admitted 180,000 unemployed as compared with 10,000 in May 1951.

In *France* the number of totally or partially unemployed in the textile industry rose from 120,000 in January 1952 to 300,000 in April, and to 500,000 at the present time, that is a 75% increase.

In *Italy* about 330,000 were totally and partially unemployed in June 1952.

In *Western Germany*, 240,000 unemployed, and in *Japan* more than 130,000 or about 40% of the textile workers.

In the *United States* the figures issued show for 1951, 149,000 dismissals in textiles and 100,000 in clothing.

As appalling as these statistics are, they nevertheless do not give the whole picture. Thus they say nothing about the state of thousands of young people, and especially young girls, searching for their first job, and who should normally have been able to find work in textiles and clothing. The falsity of the official figures was illustrated by Teresa Noce who quoted the case of the worker in Western Germany who, although having worked only one single day in two weeks, was not allowed to go on the unemployed list.

The workers in one of the largest American textile combines, the Woollen Company, work only two or three hours a day, thus finding themselves on the border-line of total unemployment. There isn't a country in which the situation is not infinitely worse than the official statistics would have us believe.

The textile and clothing industry, above all a peacetime industry, is coming apart at the seams under the gigantic pressure of the warlords. Small and medium-sized enterprises are collapsing one after another. With a ruthless hand, monopoly capital is bending this peacetime industry to its warlike will. It restricts it in order compress it into a narrow mould where intensive exploitation makes it possible to extort high super-profits.

In Japan, 72 enterprises went bankrupt in November and December 1951. In the Tokyo region at Hachioji 90 per cent of the looms are standing idle.

To take Italy; in the Jesi commune in Ancona Province 12 factories out of 23 have closed down, in Bergamo, 8 have partly or completely closed down, 25 in Varesa, 21 in Como, etc. In Omegna and Aglia the workers in the Angeli Frua trust have been carrying on a fight against the closure of the factory for the last three months.

In those enterprises which are still working, production capacity is not used to the full. The capacity used is 60 per cent in Great Britain, Belgium and Japan, 50 per cent in Austria, and 25 per cent in France. As for Italy, the industrialist Marzotto, who to their sorrow is known to the workers for the viciousness of his exploitation methods, admits that the Italian woollen industry is only working at 50 per cent of capacity. Even then it is the most prosperous section of the Italian textile industry.

Although production is falling, products are ac-

A workers' delegation from the German Democratic Republic presents the French delegation with an emblem symbolising the WFTU as the builder of solidarity between workers of all countries.

cumulating in the warehouses and shops. This apparently paradoxical situation shows quite simply how far the purchasing power of the masses has fallen. It is self-evident that the unemployed worker cannot buy what his fellow worker who is still working produces. And what can the latter buy with his inadequate wage?

In Great Britain on the home market wholesale transactions in textiles fell between February 1951 and February 1952 by 17 per cent and sales of ladies' clothing by a third. In Italy, according to the figures given by the Association of Cotton Industrialists, the sale of cotton thread for the first quarter of 1952 is 27 per cent lower than for the first quarter of 1951. Here the statistics illustrate the distress of the mass of the people and there is no need to supply others to show the catastrophic fall in purchasing power in all capitalist countries without exception.

So much for figures! And now for a brief comment:

(1) The guns so beloved of the imperialists with their criminal dream of warlike conquests can neither feed nor clothe the workers.

(2) Monopoly capital is happy to see the army of unemployed it is creating by its policy of cutting down peace time industries. The intention is to use this army to bring pressure on those who are still working, to reduce their wages with impunity and to intensify exploitation. This army of unemployed is also intended as an instrument of fascism, which at this moment is already being revived in the countries under the influence of American imperialism.

(3) The closure of factories, and the fall in production and sales does not prevent the big trusts from pocketing fabulous profits. This is explained by the more and more vicious exploitation of the workers based on the most abominable methods.

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THE super-exploitation of the workers, a consequence of war economy, is particularly cruel in the textile and clothing industry and if that is possible, even more savage in relation to women.

The Italian industrialists, reported Eugenia Chiostergi, member of the Executive Committee of the Italian Textile Federation, in her contribution, *in order to avoid observing the new maternity law have reached the stage of demanding that women workers undertake not to have children for a certain number of years if they do not want to be dismissed.* She also told the delegates that: *At the Faini enterprise in Vercelli the management strictly forbade talking during work. One woman worker having said "Bless you" to another who had sneezed was docked three hours pay. In a factory in the Verona province a working woman, surprised with a piece of bread in her mouth, was dismissed for infringing the rule forbidding eating while working. Almost everywhere it is usual for the overseers to watch the women when they go to the lavatories by opening the doors.*

In Western Germany, the Kumpers dynasty plans the rationalisation of work in the following way: in one of its spinning mills, there is a central post where

Amidst the applause of the whole conference hall, the delegate of a textile factory in the German Democratic Republic presents the Korean delegate with gifts for the children of her country.

automatic devices connected to the machines signal the slightest slowing down to the overseer.

Takako Matsumoto, the Japanese delegate, described the feudal working conditions in the textile factories of his country: *The yoke of feudalism in the villages is carried over into our factory life. After having been recruited from rural communities we are put to compulsory residence in dormitories. We are confined to a living space of only two and a half square yards each, we are watched by dormitory inspectors even while we are in bed. These dormitory inspectors even censor letters from our parents. Our wage is so low that we cannot afford to buy sufficient daily necessities if we need to make a certain remittance to our parents. There has been a case of a young girl worker who was chained to a* 40,000 *yen debt and who prostituted herself to pay it off.*

A particularly serious aspect of the exploitation in the textile and clothing industry where the women represent from 70 to 80 per cent of the total number of workers, is the discrimination exercised against them. In the majority of capitalist countries women's wages are from 20 to 25 per cent lower than men's wages for the same work. Added to this disparity in wages are other forms of discrimination, as for example in the training of women for different trades.

In Japan employers generally do not take on either married women or young girls under 20.

Other customary forms of exploitation in textile and clothing are: taking work to do at home, child labour (India, Egypt, Iran, etc.), racial discrimination with all its attendant infamies, and finally terrible speed-up with an accompanying reduction in wages.

If we add to all this the systematic attacks against trade union and democratic liberties, dismissals for reading a progressive newspaper, the attempts to divide the workers, in short the employers' efforts to undermine the workers' counter-attack, a picture emerges of the essential features of the economic and social situation in which the men and women workers in the textile and clothing industry are fighting.

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WE shall not attempt to examine the struggles being waged by textile and clothing workers throughout the world. Some of the most characteristic will have to be analysed carefully in order that lessons valid for other countries can be drawn from their example.

Thus, for example, the struggle in France is being waged for unemployment benefit amounting to 75 per cent of the guaranteed wage in the industry, a demand which, once it is won, will enable the workers to confront the employers with greater strength without the fear of hunger on the morrow; from this they can go forward to other basic demands.

There are also the powerful strikes organised in Italy for the application of the principle of "equal pay for equal work," the struggle against the closure of certain factories of the Angeli Frua combine, in defence of "home workers," of methods used to create unity of action.

There have been a veritable flood of strikes in the textile industry in Brazil, which have led to big successes in the field of defending trade union rights.

There is practically no country where there is not a continuous development in fighting spirit. This fighting spirit must be directed towards correct targets. The Berlin Conference discussed these, and then embodied them in its final resolution.

First of all, to fight against the cause of the crisis, which is the rearmament policy imposed by American imperialism. Then to fight for economic demands, against unemployment, for investments in peacetime production, against the super-profits of the national and international trusts, for the resumption of trade between all countries, against all forms of colonial and semi-colonial exploitation.

In the field of practical measures, the need to maintain permanent and close contact between the workers in textile and clothing in all countries was apparent to all the delegates. Not a single experience in any country, where positive or negative, should be lost by the others.

Before taking leave of each other, the delegates stood and joined hands in a long chain, symbolising by this gesture the fraternal solidarity and co-ordinated struggle of all textile and clothing workers.

The Struggle for Unity in the United States

By JOHN WOLFARD

IN the great world-wide struggle of workers to preserve peace, to improve their economic conditions and to secure their democratic liberties, the role of American workers is of great importance. It is important because it is the imperialist and war policies of the rulers of the United States which constitutes the greatest threat to the interests of workers throughout the world. American imperialists fully understand the great force for peace which a militant and fully united American labour movement can be. For that reason, they try desperately to smash the effectiveness of American trade unionism, to divide American workers, and to gain their support for their war plans, making use, for this purpose, of their agents, the right-wing labour leaders of the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) and the Congress of Industrial Organisations (C.I.O.).

A correct appraisal of the struggles being waged by the American working class must necessarily be made against the background of the economic and political policies of the U.S. government in its drive for world domination.

A War Economy and Its Consequences

THE economy and resources of the United States are controlled, by and large, by monopoly capitalists, with only 139 large corporations controlling about 45 per cent of American industry. The relatively small handful of bankers and industrialists who, through their control of these corporations, virtually control the economy of the United States, are dictating their policies in the interests of ever higher profits, wage freezes, the transformation of the economy into a war economy, imperialist exploitation throughout the world and the imposition on the masses of the American people of ever higher burdens in taxes and reduced living standards as the cost of their mad schemes.

What are the results of the policies of monopoly capital? They are, on the one hand, the highest profits in history for Big Business, and on the other, rapidly rising prices of the necessities of life without adequate compensating wage increases, reduced housing construction and a general lowering of the standard of living for the American people. The following table shows profits in billions of dollars received by U.S. corporations before paying corporate income taxes:

1929	...	9.8	1948	...	33.9
1939	...	6.5	1949	...	27.6
1946	...	23.5	1950	...	40.2
1947	...	30.5			

The figure for 1951 was nearly 43 billion dollars. While profits have increased 643 per cent since 1939, the purchasing power of the consumer's dollar has de-

clined steeply, a dollar buying only 32 per cent as much food today as in 1939. While money wages have increased they have not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living.

In mid-1952, when the phony Consumers' Price Index of the Bureau of Labour Statistics (used to hold wages down in the wage stabilisation programme), registered the all-time high of 191.3 (1935-39 equals 100), the more accurate index of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (U.E.) stood at 282.4. U.E. estimates that since January 1950, workers have lost over $11 billion in wages through use of the government index which deliberately understates the true rise in living costs.

The monopoly capitalists of the U.S. and their agents in the government are the most ruthless imperialists in the world today. They are engaged in a ferocious drive to destroy those countries where the working classes have thrown off the shackles of capitalism and are building socialism. They are attempting to impede the national liberation movements of the colonial peoples and by economic penetration, secure a stranglehold over economic resources, markets and investment outlets by means of financial "aid," point four programmes, one-sided economic agreements and other devices. In this way they hope to dominate the economic, social and political policies of the whole world.

The war economy is, of course, an aspect and a symptom of the general crisis of capitalism, which characterises the capitalist world today. But within the framework of the general crisis evidences of growing economic crisis are appearing in many countries of the world, including the United States. In the U.S., these evidences are the low level of output in textiles, clothing, automobiles, household appliances and many other consumer goods industries, continued unemployment and short time despite high over-all employment, and new outbursts of runaway inflation as food prices, rents and other living costs continue to rise. As of June 1952 there were 22 major and 29 minor areas certified as having substantial labour surpluses, a situation comparing unfavourably with the beginning of the year. About 15 per cent of those counted as employed work less than 35 hours a week.

The worsening of the economic position in the United States, like that throughout the capitalist world, confirms anew the contentions of the W.F.T.U. that a war economy, far from solving the economic crisis and creating employment as the war propagandists would have the workers believe, lowers living standards by curtailing the production of consumer goods, raising prices and taxes and leading ultimately to unemployment.

Growing Attack on Labour

THE history of the American trade union movement is a history of defeating the capitalists' attempts to destroy it. The trade union movement has thus been forged over the years in hard and often bloody struggles waged with a militancy that has become traditional. The growing strength of the movement (about 15 million, which represents almost a five-fold growth since the early nineteen-thirties) and consciousness of its strength, makes it more difficult to destroy it without strong measures of a fascist nature.

Recent years, and particularly the last two years, give evidence of a growing drive to smash the labour movement, to divide it, and render it impotent. This is a two-pronged attack. On the one hand, the employers are stiffening their resistance to granting wage increases and other demands, trying to freeze wages and place the entire burden of their war programme on the backs of the working class. The recent steelworkers' struggle showed that the attack was spear-headed by the steel owners and is being joined by other sections of employers.

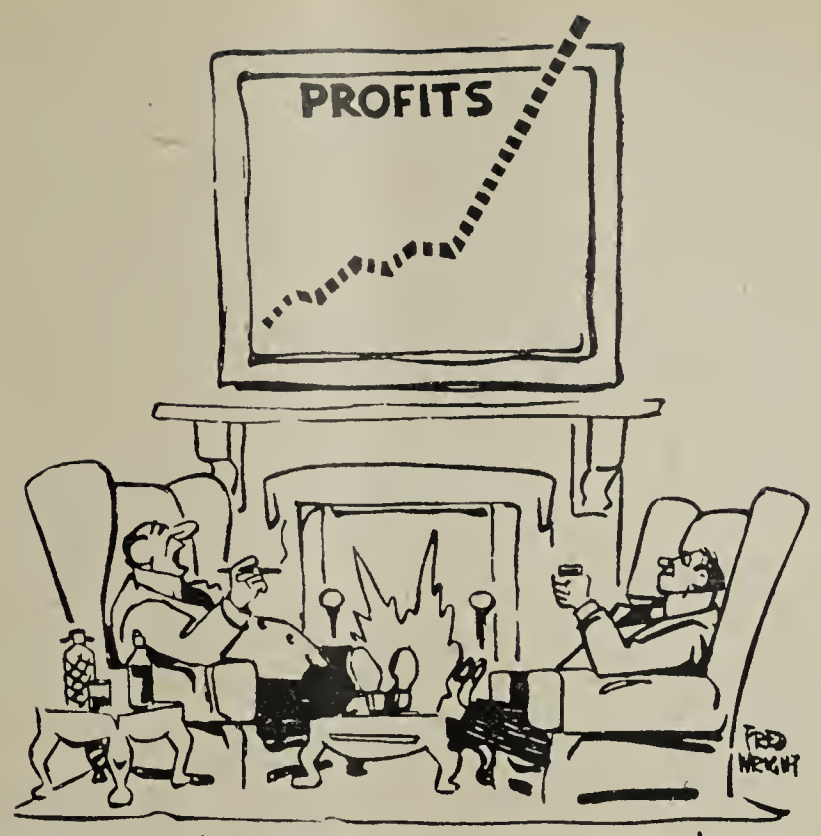
On the other hand, the government is supporting the attack with its wage freeze policy, its attacks on progressive unions, its use of the anti-labour Smith and McCarran Acts, its attempts to enact other anti-labour legislation to supplement the Taft-Hartley Law, its phony "seizures" to break strikes, its drive to deport militant labour leaders who are aliens, the union-busting activities of the Un-American Activities Committee and the McCarran Subversive Activities Committee in "investigating" such unions as the United Electrical Workers and others at crucial moments when the unions are engaged in negotiating important contracts, the screening (blacklisting) programme of the Coast Guard aimed at the Marine Cooks and Stewards and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and other measures. It is no accident that the McCarran Committee recently subpoenad four top officials of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (Mine-Mill) to "hearings" on October 7 at a time when three of these leaders, the co-ordinators for bargaining in three of the largest copper mining chains, are just reaching the climax of the 1952 bargaining programme.

The onslaught on American trade unionism is no longer just an attack on the progressive unions, it is no longer just an attack on the progressive sections of unions under right-wing leadership, it is now a full-scale attack on the entire trade union movement, an attack in which the monopoly capitalists and their agents in the government are attempting to destroy civil liberties, trade union rights, restore the blacklist and force unions to elect officials which have the approval of the McCarrans, the Smiths, the McCarthys and all the other henchmen of the most bitter enemies of labour.

The drive against labour has been shamefully aided by the "leaders" of the A.F.L. and C.I.O., who, in fact, are agents of Wall Street within the trade union movement. They have supported the Truman-Wall Street war programme and have tried to hold back the workers' struggle for wage increases. Right-wing C.I.O. leaders have forced international unions to support the government's war programme or, like a number of unions, be expelled from the C.I.O. for following so-called "communist" policies—that is, for supporting union autonomy, rank-and-file democracy, Negro-white unity, better wages and working conditions and world peace. These "labour statesmen" have dissipated funds and organising efforts, not in trying to organise the unorganised (the old slogan of the C.I.O.), but in conducting expensive, and largely fruitless, raids on the expelled unions, shamelessly accepting the aid of the

Un-American Committee in these attempts. The significant gains made by the steelworkers in their recent strike would have been even greater had it not been for the betrayal of Philip Murray, who delayed strike activity while he conducted manoeuvres with President Truman instead of relying on the great will of the rank and file to enforce their demands by their strength. At the same time, the A.F.L. leaders spend time and millions of dollars from the pockets of American workers plotting sabotage and subversion in the socialist countries, financing trade union disruption and peddling the State Department line to workers in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This is an election year. The basic issues facing the American people are war or peace, fascism or democracy. On these issues there is little to choose between Wall Street's two parties, the Democrats or Republicans. Both support the war programme, both are anxious to destroy civil liberties; they differ only in tactics and in their demagogic statements. Most American imperialists prefer their war-monger Eisenhower, but they would be almost equally satisfied with their other man, Stevenson. The C.I.O. Executive Board and the right-dominated A.F.L. convention have endorsed Stevenson, who stands on the pro-labour talk, anti-labour action of the Truman regime and who is unwilling to come out forthrightly on a genuine Fair Employment Practices Law for Negroes, but who has half-heartedly opposed the Taft-Hartley Law. Thus the betrayal of the workers continues.



PERSONALLY I'M AGAINST FREEZING WAGES... I'D SAY LET'S ABOLISH THEM ALTOGETHER.

(Cartoon by Fred Wright).

Growing Recognition of Need for Unity

THE American trade union movement is seriously disunited. This disunity naturally weakens the defence against the employer-government onslaught. Within the recent period, however, there are growing signs of rank and file unity and a growing awareness of the danger which threatens the entire labour movement. The progressive unions—those expelled from the C.I.O.—have held meetings which wisely refrained from setting up still another national centre, but which have co-ordinated their own activities around a basic programme of fighting the wage freeze, attempting to draw into this struggle A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions. In several important industrial areas United Labour Action Committees have been set up to co-ordinate work on issues of common interest. But still more needs to be done.

There have in the past year been a large number of important strikes for wage increases and other demands, among which were the steelworkers' strike, the Mine-Mill strike against the big copper chains, supported by A.F.L. unions and independent railway workers, the oil workers' strike which united in common action 22 A.F.L., C.I.O. and independent unions in the oil industry, the timber workers' strike, and strikes in rubber, aircraft and many other industries. One of the most recent was the strike against the International Harvester Company by 30,000 U.E. Farm Equipment workers and C.I.O. Automobile Workers. The Un-American Activities Committee attempted to break this strike by attacking members of these two unions as well as the C.I.O. Packinghouse Workers. The solidarity of Chicago workers of all trade union affiliations administered a smashing defeat to the Committee. By picketing and by refusing to answer questions, they forced it to cancel its scheduled two weeks' hearing and steal out of Chicago after 3½ days. Many, many instances of such solidarity and unity in strike action in the lower echelons of the trade union movement could be given if space permitted.

In his Labour Day speech, United Mine Workers' President John L. Lewis made a stirring appeal for labour unity which has aroused much support. U.E. President Fitzgerald, addressing the annual convention of his union, declared that "Lewis could fill Yankee Stadium with that kind of talk" and the convention tumultuously responded to the declaration favouring unity and saying that "differences with the policies of certain top officials must not stand in the way."

That workers are increasingly realising the connection between their falling living standards and the war programme and attack on civil liberties is shown in the growth of opposition to the Smith Act trials with important A.F.L. and C.I.O. unions and leaders calling for the repeal of this law and the McCarran Act, although this connection needs to be still more clearly drawn. It is a healthy sign that even unions under right-wing leadership are realising that an attack on communists and progressives presages broadened attacks on all labour.

None of the several anti-labour laws introduced in Congress in recent months was passed, owing largely to the fact that for the first time in several years organised labour rallied to fight anti-labour legislation.

Among several practical measures for unity is the proposal by the International Longshoremen's and

Warehousemen's Union for a Maritime Federation of the seven maritime unions on the Pacific Coast. The proposal guarantees union autonomy, provides for common expiration dates of contracts, joint or simultaneous negotiation of contracts and no jurisdictional raiding.

The struggle of the Negro people for first-class citizenship is proving the mettle and leadership qualities of this section of the American people. Within the labour movement, Negro-white unity is being forged within the progressive and other unions and through the formation of the National Negro Labour Council.

Some Problems of Unity[1]

THE forging of unity is one of the most urgent tasks of American labour. Obviously, the progressive independent unions have a special responsibility in this task. Forging unity is a hard task, it does not come by itself. This was pointed out by President John Clark in his report to Mine-Mill's annual convention when he said: "Motions, resolutions, policy statements are by no means enough. They are only a beginning. Genuine unity is won only in stubborn, long, persistent work, and through common struggle on issues which vitally affect the common welfare of workers."

But it must not be overlooked that the progressive independent unions, such as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Longshoremen and Warehousemen, Marine Cooks and Stewards, United Electrical Workers, Fur and Leather Workers, Public Workers, etc., are not the only progressive labour forces in the U.S. Within many right-wing-led international unions are progressive local unions, and within right-wing local unions are many progressive workers, from which the basis of solidarity and unity can be ever widened.

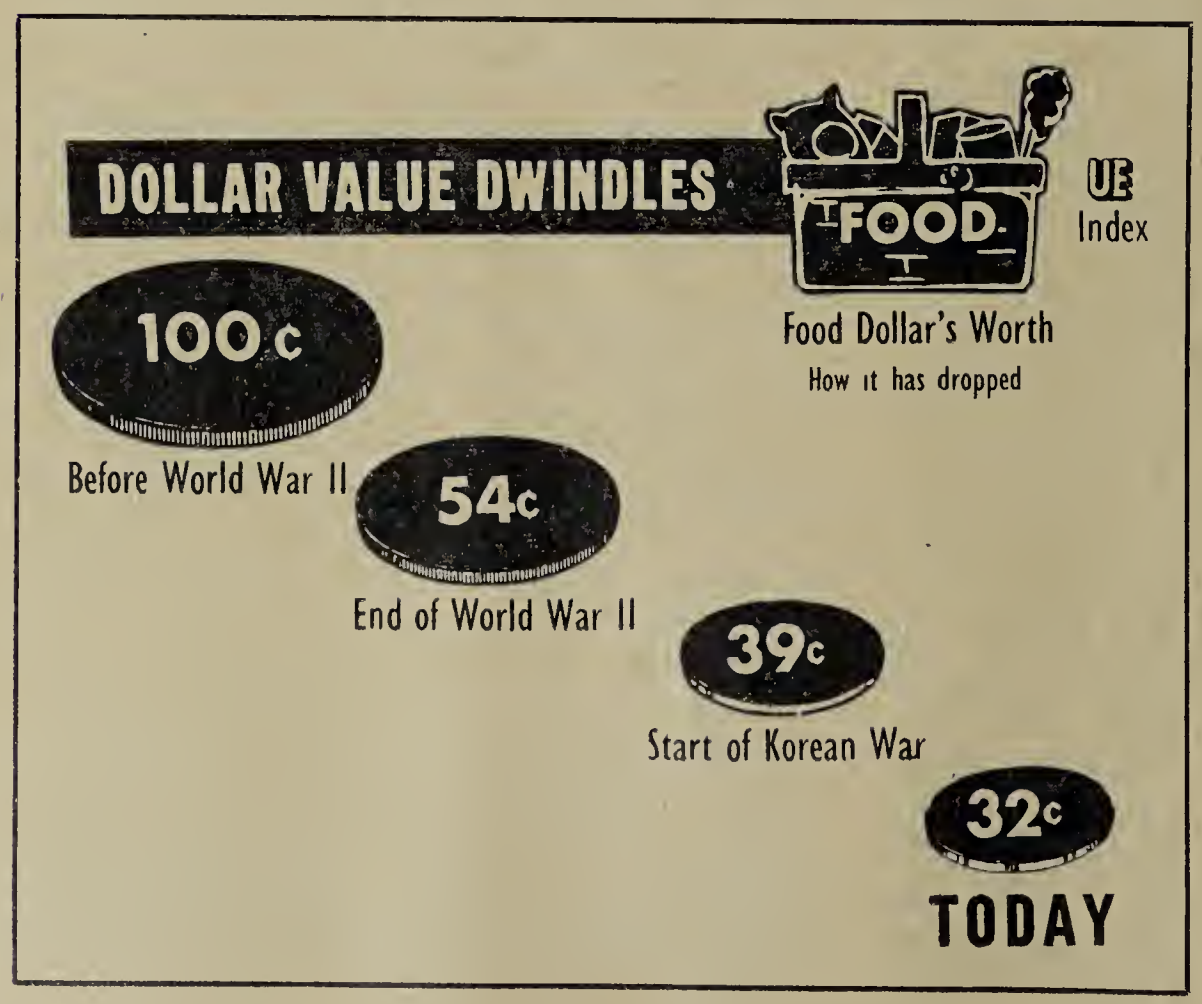
Unity does not require complete ideological unity. Ideological differences must be put aside and unity forged on the basis of immediate objectives which reflect the demands and needs of the mass of the workers. As John Clark notes in his report: "Experiences demonstrate another truth which all of us must learn thoroughly. They show that when we work for labour unity, it cannot be on the basis of insistence that our whole Mine-Mill programme be accepted by those with whom we are working."

Unity requires agreement that there is room within one labour movement for different ideological views and for a conflict of such views, but that despite such differences the unions must work together around a minimum programme mutually agreed upon.

John Swift emphasises the prevalence of a false approach to right-led unions. Such unions have two sides; the elementary class struggle origin and nature, and its class collaboration policies and leadership. The contradiction betwen the two must ultimately be resolved in the interests of the workers, but a failure to consider these dual features leads to errors in policy and tactics. To see only the class origin of the trade unions without seeing by whom, and how they are led, and to follow this leadership, leads to opportunism and a strengthening of class collaboration, thus betraying the workers, but to see only the reformist leadership and not the rank and file is to take a sectarian position which results in isolating the workers in these unions.

Unity is not something that can be fought for on special occasions, when strikes are being called or

[1]This section is based in part on the excellent pamphlet by John Swift, **Some Problems of Work in Right-Led Unions**, published by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3.



From a leaflet published by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

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LEFT: Drawing reproduced from "A World At Peace," booklet published by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

BELOW: A united and progressive union membership defends itself against attacks on trade union rights. Members of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards demonstrating against the screening (blacklisting) of militant trade unionists by the U.S. Coast Guard.

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TIME FOR US TO GET TOGETHER, TOO

labour struggles being undertaken. It must be a daily struggle, a struggle which begins at the rank and file level, among the rank and file, in every shop, mine, mill and work-site.

Of great importance is the struggle for Negro-white unity. Here the key problem is to make the white worker understand that he should fight for Negro-white unity, *not just to improve the status of his coloured brother, but because his stake in such unity is as great as that of the Negro worker.* Among such unions as Mine-Mill, Marine Cooks and Stewards, Longshoremen and Warehousemen, and the C.I.O. Packinghouse Workers, this lesson is paying off in good results.

The movement for unity should begin as a *positive* movement *for* something, for a common demand, and not simply as a *negative* criticism of the reactionary leaders.

Even reactionary leaders are forced by pressure of the workers to take a progressive stand on some issues, and one of the aims of broad rank and file unity is to force them to take progressive stands on an ever-larger number of issues. In order to do this there should obviously be continued criticism of those acts of the leaders which are detrimental to the working class. To criticise reactionary leaders in a factual and detailed manner is one of the requirements for the achievement of true unity. When a reformist leader takes a progressive stand, it is usually unwise to call him a hypocrite. Instead his stand should be heartily endorsed and *concrete* proposals made to implement the stand. Thus progressive proposals can be pinned down to specific *actions.*

The signs in the United States today are hopeful. Much has been done within the past two years. But much more remains to be accomplished for only a beginning has been made.

"When American labour takes an independent political position, when it refuses to go along with the war policies of monopoly capital, when it starts to fight all-out for economic security, Negro rights and civil liberties, then the last stronghold of world imperialism begins to crumble and the danger of a new world war will fade from the earth."[2]

2From pamphlet cited in footnote 1.

Some Aspects of the Present Situation in the Capitalist Countries

● By JAN DESSAU

THE table below, based on facts taken from the United Nations Bulletin of Statistics, gives an idea of the changes which have taken place during the last year in the production levels of the capitalist countries. It illustrates, together with other statistics given in this article, the general trend of capitalist economy, an economy which is floundering in the midst of the ever-deepening general crisis of capitalism and recurring economic crises :

Indices of Industrial Production in 1951 and 1952
(1948=100)

Belgium (May)	123	114
Belgium (May	123	114
Canada (June)	121	120
Denmark (June)	121	116
Finland (June)	136	108
France (June)	130	132
Western Germany (June)	217	229
Italy (April)	146	143
Japan (June)	205	210
Holland (June)	127	120
Norway (June)	123	123
Sweden (June)	116	180
Great Britain (June) ...	122	110
United States (June) ...	116	106

It can thus be seen that production has fallen in most countries.

The world's industrial production, according to the United Nations general index, fell by 2 per cent between the first and second quarter of this year, in spite of the great increases which took place in the Soviet Union, China and in the Peoples' Democracies.

In Great Britain, the drop in the second quarter of 1952, according to the most recent figures, is 7 per cent compared with the preceding quarter, and 8 per cent compared with the second quarter of last year. In the United States, production fell by more than 9 per cent between June 1951 and June 1952; the industries producing mainly for civilian consumption are in a difficult situation; industries working for the most part on rearmament are just holding their own, in spite of the increased war production (see accompanying graph).

In France, the relative increase in production compared with 1951 is due to certain purely temporary factors and production has fallen continuously since February.

In Western Germany :

- from 1948 to 1949, production increased by 26 per cent.
- from 1949 to 1950 production increased by 19 per cent.
- from July 1951 to January 1952, by 2.8 per cent.
- from January 1952 to July 1952, by 1.4 per cent.

The rates of increase are therefore undergoing a veritable breakdown as a forerunner of a coming fall in production.

As for the United States, the development is very unequal both in the industries connected with war production (steel rolling mills, chemical industry, oil, electro-technical), and industries producing in the main for civilian consumption (paper, leather, footwear, textile.).

The same applies to Japan, where between 1950 and 1951 production increased by 31 per cent; between 1951 and 1952 it only increased by 2.5 per cent. During this latter period, the official number of unemployed rose by almost a third.

It can thus be seen that there have been production difficulties in all capitalist countries. The reduction has now been great enough to cause millions of workers to become totally or partially unemployed.

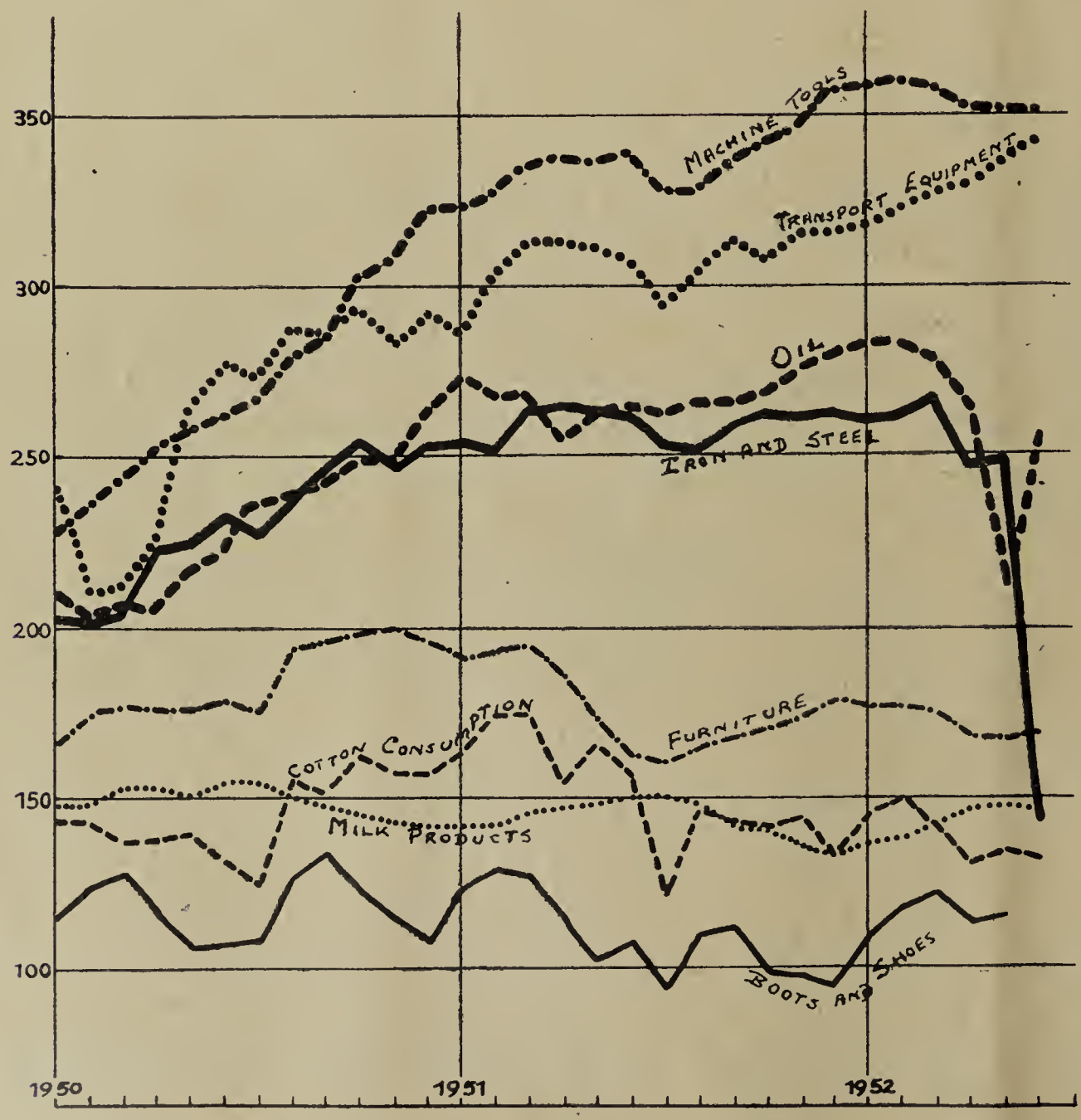
Unemployment Increases

ACCORDING to government statistics, unemployment increased at the end of the first half of 1952 compared with the corresponding period of 1951 in nearly all capitalist countries. There are a few exceptions, of which Western Germany is one. What these exceptions are worth can be judged by the fact that it is known that at least two million unemployed in Western Germany are not included in the official statistics, which is one way of solving the question. With regard to the Saar and Sweden, the metal industries of these countries are experiencing a favourable combination of circumstances because of the export for armament, circumstances which are entirely temporary.

The following are the rates of increase according to official figures (the latest known month in 1951 = 100):

Australia (May)	772	Italy (May)	107
Austria (June)	148	Japan (April)	131
Belgium (May)	128	Holland (June)	174
Canada (March)	123	Norway (June)	117
Denmark (June)	196	Switzerland (July)	216
France (June)	106	Great Britain (July)	216
Ireland (June)	137	United States (July)	105
Israel (April)	116		

There is no denying the fact that there has been a general and large increase in the number of unemployed and a very clear worsening of the situation



Indices of production in the United States from January 1950 to June 1952 (average of 1936-1939=100), of 4 industries primarily of military importance, and 4 industries serving peaceful purposes. (The sharp decreases in oil and iron and steel in 1952 are the results of important strikes in these two industries.)

compared with what existed only a few months ago. If the position of the families of unemployed workers is taken into consideration and if partial unemployment is also taken into account, it will be seen that unemployment in the capitalist countries at the present time affects tens of millions of men, women and children. In certain industries, the textile industry in several countries, for example, more than half the workers, are out of work or on short time. It has therefore now become an extremely serious problem.

Fall in Living Standards and Production

ONE of the main causes of the fall in production is that the capitalist monopolies and their governments are reducing the market outlets for their industries in their own countries by ever-greater intensification of the exploitation of the working masses, that is, by lowering the purchasing power of the overwhelming majority of the people. As a result of price increases, the fall in real wages, the growth of unemployment and the reduction of expenditure on social welfare, the living standards of the great mass of the workers continue to fall.

The following table from *official* indices (usually falsified), makes this evident by giving the percentage increase in the cost of living between June 1951 and June 1952 (United Nations Bulletin of Statistics) :

Western Germany	2	Iceland	12
Austria	20	Italy	3
Denmark	7	Norway	6
Finland	5	Great Britain	10
France	11	Sweden	9
Greece	5	Switzerland	3
Ireland	6	United States	2

Another important fact related to the cost of living is the increase in taxation which has reached proportions never before known. An American official report (Report No. 1490 of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs) estimates that the percentage which tax receipts are of total gross national income in 1951-1952 was as follows for various countries :

Austria	31 per cent
Western Germany	30.3 per cent
France	30.7 per cent
Holland	28.3 per cent
Great Britain	33.7 per cent
United States	25.8 per cent

Is rearmament, as claimed by the reactionary Press, a solution to economic difficulties and a factor in raising the standard of living? Not only is this argument criminally false, but the reverse is true. The economic difficulties have become worse precisely throughout the years 1951 and 1952, that is at the very time when rearmament has been most intensified in the capitalist countries.

Furthermore, the first budget proposals for the year 1953 show that military expenditure is going to bear still more heavily on the peoples of these countries, because the Marshallised governments are increasing armament production still further.

The recent quarterly report of the Director of Defence Mobilisation, presented by the President of the United States, declares :.

" The European members of N.A.T.O. (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) will produce a total of 3.5 billion dollars worth of equipment for the divisions during the coming year. It is the policy of both N.A.T.O. and the United States to increase as rapidly as possible the proportion of equipment produced and financed by the European members of N.A.T.O." (re-translation).

Such a policy can only lower the purchasing power of the mass of the workers still further and curtail their living standards, thus aggravating the factors leading to economic crisis. That is why the workers are strengthening their activity for higher living standards and for production for peaceful ends.

Is Free Trade Possible?

ANOTHER decisive cause of the fall in production and the growth in unemployment is that the capitalist countries have cut themselves off, by a deliberate policy of trade restrictions, from a large and fully developed market comprising 800 million people who are no longer subjected to the capitalist regime. This market is irreplaceable.

Nevertheless, the opposition of leading circles in the United States to the development of trade remains as obstinate as ever.

For example, the Minister for Trade in France, replying in the *Journal Officiel* of the French Republic to a Member of Parliament who asked for information on the results of the International Economic Conference in Moscow, declared :

" It goes without saying that no exchanges concluded can infringe engagements undertaken on the international level by the French Government."

The weekly *Usine Nouvelle*, spokesman of the French employers, published this statement and commented on it as follows :

" In fact, it is learned from Washington that a new and more rigid system of preventing strategic raw materials from getting into the hands of Russia and her satellites (sic) comes into force on October 20.

"The Office of International Trade has announced that 863 raw materials and industrial products are included in the agreement concluded between the United States and ten nations of Western Europe.

". . . The nations co-operating (sic) with the United States are Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Great Britain and Western Germany."

However, in spite of the " engagements undertaken " and the " co-operation " of governments, the American monopolies seem to be meeting with growing difficulties in putting their policy of trade restriction into practice.

Thus, for example, the recent Leipzig Fair, held entirely under the banner of peaceful economic co-operation between all countries, was an unprecedented success.

Thousands of visitors, of whom 30,000 came from

Western Germany and other capitalist countries, went to visit the stands of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, China, and the Peoples' Democracies; 420 firms from Western Germany exhibited their products; large orders were given by other Western German firms to China, the Soviet Union, and the Peoples' Democracies.

That means that Western German business circles on this point are opposed to the directives given by the spokesmen of the American monopolies.

There are similar tendencies in other countries. In Japan, for example, Takahaski, Minister for Foreign Trade, several weeks ago expressed, " the desire to see the United States grant greater freedom to Japan in its trade with China."

This immense market, from which Japan is at present cut off by the will of its American masters, has a tremendous attraction for businessmen in the capitalist countries.

The capitalist market has shrunk through continuous impoverishment, in fact, the prospect is one of ever more frenzied struggles during which the most powerful competitors, the United States monopolies, will seize a large share of the profits. This aggravates the antagonisms and contradictions in the capitalist world.

For example, in order to find joint solutions to the textile crisis, a Cotton Conference was called in September by the dominant finance and industrial monopolies in this branch of production. The Conference was a failure, no agreement being possible. Moreover, the representatives of the Japanese cotton industrialists declared that as a result of the failure of the Conference, they would enter into ruthless competition with British cotton goods exports on the world market, a competition in which they are known to have the upper hand since the intense exploitation of the Japanese cotton workers enables them to undercut their competitors.

For the Development of Trade Relations with All Countries

WHAT a striking contrast to the results already obtained in the development of trade thanks to the International Economic Conference which took place in Moscow last April.

Trade agreements have been concluded between China and Japan, between Pakistan and Poland, and between the Argentine and the Soviet Union.

On October 14, a very important trade agreement, the details of which were not yet known at the time of writing this article, was signed between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

Chinese orders for £1,700,000 sterling in textiles have been placed or are about to be placed in Great Britain; negotiations are about to begin on the further delivery of orders amounting to £1,800,000 sterling to that country.

In the Milan region, hundreds of textile workers have avoided unemployment as a result of agreements signed in Moscow.

Thus the road which must be followed by the workers and trade union organisations is clear.

In this connection, we should recall the statement made by V. Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., at the Moscow Conference :

" If discriminatory measures were done away with, Soviet orders would supply work for several hundreds of thousands of people in Italy, almost 200,000 in Great Britain, more than 100,000 people in France, more than 100,000 in Western Germany, an equal number in Japan and tens of thousands in Holland."

The general increase in unemployment in the capitalist coutries gives still greater significance to these words and to the prospects they hold out.

At the same time (and this is indispensable) that they are strengthening their fight for wage increases and the improvement of their working conditions, the workers must put pressure on governments and employers to force them to take advantage of the existing possibilities of developing commercial relations between the countries of the West and those of the East.

The present policy of the imperialist powers, which is contrary to this policy, is a criminal one because it leads to war. It is at the same time an insane policy because it leads to economic disaster which will cause suffering to hundreds of millions of workers, artisans. peasants, shopkeepers and small industrialists, while only the most powerful monopolies can hope to profit by it.

Against this policy is one which stands for peaceful co-operation between all peoples, the establishment of normal commercial relations between all countries. On this basis the broadest unity is possible which should also make it possible to raise the workers' living standards, reduce unemployment, develop production and drive back the threats of economic crisis.

At this time, when all countries are preparing for the Peoples Congress for Peace, this necessary struggle which rests on the principle of peaceful coexistence is an important factor in safeguarding peace.

Experiences of the Struggle Waged by the Spanish Workers for —

BREAD, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

By JOSÉ MOIX
General Secretary of the Workers' General Trade Union of Catalonia (U.G.T.).

TO appreciate fully the experience of the Spanish working class and the mass of the working people as a whole, the extremely difficult conditions under which the struggle is being waged must be taken into account. For more than 13 years, the Spanish people have been subjected to a fascist regime based on the bloody and terrorist dictatorship of finance capital, the big industrialists and large landowners, who have deprived the working people of their democratic organisations and completely swept away all their rights and civil liberties of association, assembly and speech.

To the difficulties of life under an anti-democratic regime must be added the considerable difficulties arising from the struggle itself. During the 33 months of our armed struggle against the fascist uprising and in defence of the Republic and national independence, right up to the present clandestine struggle which has been carried on tirelessly for more than 13 years, the working class has lost tens of thousands of workers who fell in struggle as victims of the terror regime, or are languishing in Franco's prisons. Most of these valiant anti-fascist fighters were militants of the finest kind who were trained in the course of many years of political struggle and trade union activity.

Nevertheless, the new generations of workers, hardened by the harsh conditions of the Franco regime, are showing dynamic qualities, their love of freedom, progress and peace. A whole host of young militants are coming to the forefront in Spain, whose class-consciousness and fighting spirit are reaching maturity amidst great obstacles resulting from the absence of democratic rights and freedoms, the absence of any legal progressive literature and the experiences of their elders who were exterminated by the Franco terror.

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THE valuable experience of the international movement and that gained in our long struggle against the Franco regime, have taught us that, under fascism, to develop the workers' class consciousness and to be able to prepare and organise the struggle against Franco for the workers' interests, democracy and peace, we must work where the mass of the workers are, that is, in the work places, in the trade unions, in the co-operatives and in all the mass organisations set up by the regime.

Under the Franco regime, the workers are forced to belong to so-called "vertical" trade unions set up by the regime and led by the Falangist bosses. As a result of their daily experience and our ceaseless exposure of the Falangist leaders' demagogy, the labouring masses are increasingly understanding the role of the Falangist trade unions as instruments used by the regime to exploit the workers and peasants for the profit of finance capital, the big industrialists, landowners and the international trusts which are seizing the wealth of Spain and building up enormous fortunes.

Certain treacherous and corrupted right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders, whose anti-working class, reactionary and disruptive activities are notorious, collaborate with the Falangist trade unions despite their fascist and corporate character, and carry out the orders

of the Falangist leaders. The workers hate and despise these collaborators, and ceaselessly harrass them with their demands and protests. Last March, the General Secretary of the Falange, while addressing several Falangist leaders who were taking over trade union jobs, told them: "The trade unions, as you are well aware, are not instruments of struggle, but of unity and harmony." That is why a growing number of workers are waging an active fight for their interests, against the Falangist leaders and their agents in the working class, the right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders who are carrying out their disruptive work within the working class and democratic forces, while at the same time negotiating secret pacts and agreements with Spanish reaction.

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IF we critically examine our work of agitation, propaganda and exposure of the fascist character of the regime, with the object of constantly raising the revolutionary and fighting mood of the workers, so as to facilitate their united action and to guide them towards new struggles still more important than the previous ones, it is clear that this work is not free of weaknesses and defects which we are trying to correct.

But despite all these weaknesses, taking into account the difficult conditions under which the struggle is developing, an appreciable increase in the class consciousness and militancy of the mass of the working people can be observed.

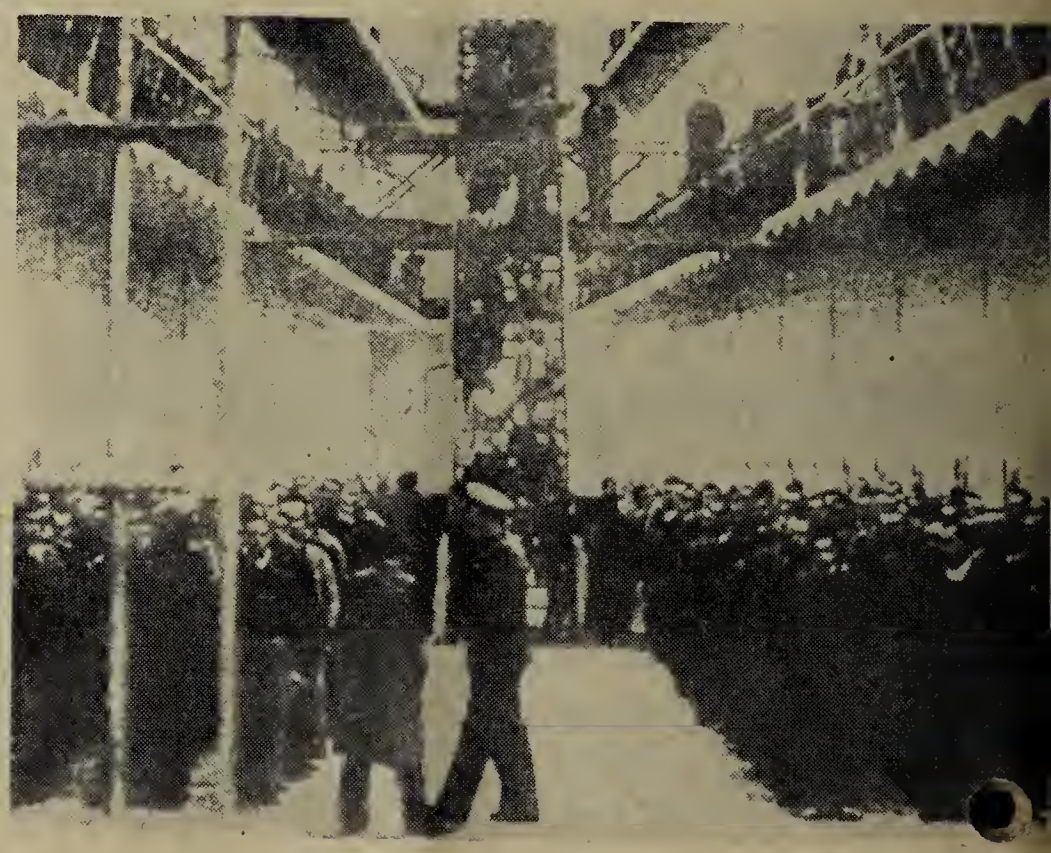
The strikes and the demonstrations of the people in the spring of last year, which started with the mighty general strike at Barcelona,[1] were unmistakable proof of the growing maturity and militancy of the workers and the Spanish people.

The strength and extent of these popular movements were such that they threw the Francoists into a panic. "In 24 hours, the folly of certain persons could have demolished the whole edifice built up by so much effort," the Falangist Minister of Labour declared shortly after this event. He thus showed that the united and organised struggle of the mass of the working people and the anti-Franco population as a whole can put an end to Franco's fascist regime. This declaration also bears witness to the instability of the regime, resulting from its lack of popular support, the hostility and growing resistance of the people led by the glorious Spanish working class.

Confronted with this clear proof of the deep instability of the regime, the American imperialists have hastened openly to help the fascist hangman Franco. In exchange, Franco has once more carried out a monstrous national betrayal by providing them with every facility for the development of their criminal plans for war and plunder, by handing over air and naval bases, by placing mineral wealth and raw materials at their disposal, and by promising to them Spanish workers, first as cheap labour and then as cannon fodder. This submission of the Franco regime to the American instigators of war means that Spain is practically incorporated into the aggressive Atlantic Pact. This represents the loss of Spanish national independence, and the transformation of the country into a colony of the Yankee monopolies. It creates the grave danger of Spain being dragged into the monstrous war which is being prepared against the Soviet Union, the land of triumphant Socialism, and against the Peoples' Democracies.

[1] See **World Trade Union Movement** No. 6, March 16-31, 1952, article by P. Ascari, "Unity of Action Against the Franco Terror."

LEFT: **These Spanish workers' children, suffering from rickets, do not even have enough to cover their bodies.**
RIGHT: **Tens of thousands of political detainees rot in the overcrowded prisons of Spain. Our photo shows a view of the "Model Prison" in Madrid.**



NTENSIFIQUEM LA LLUITA PER LLIBERAR
LOPEZ RAIMUNDO i ELS ALTRES CAMARADES!

Les magnífiques victòries assolides fins avui, fruit d
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GREG
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¡¡Formeu Comissions a les fàbriques i centres de treball
per la llibertat de LOPEZ RAIMUNDO i dels seus camarades!!. PER
LA LLIBERTAT DE TOTS ELS EMPRESONATS ANTIFRANQUISTES!!. Organit-

Since the trial of Lopez Raimundo and other leaders of the great Barcelona strike of last year, a trial which was an important set-back for the Franco regime, a large number of underground leaflets such as this one have been circulating in factories and work places. They call upon the workers to strengthen the fight for the release of Lopez Raimundo and his comrades. The drawing by the Mexican artist Adolfo Mexiax was inspired by the Barcelona strike.

But the workers and the Spanish people are not submitting and will never submit to the American imperialists and to their war plans for Spain. For the Spanish people, as Dolores Ibarruri, the great leader of the Spanish people, pointed out: "The policy of the American imperialists and their shameless British and French accomplices who are coming to terms with Franco, allying themselves with this hangman of the Spanish people and seeking Spanish strategic bases and cannon fodder for their armies of aggression, is in striking contrast with the firm and constant stand of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, who, at all times, have defended, and continue to defend, the rights of the Spanish people and have consistently pursued an unswerving policy of hostility towards the Franco regime and sympathy towards Spanish democracy."

Because of Franco's subservience to American war plans, the fight of the workers and the people against the Franco regime is inseparably linked to the fight against war. The continuance of peace is death to Franco. Therefore, the fight for peace is the principal and indispensable task of the Spanish workers and all Spaniards who are unwilling to let themselves be dragged into a war on behalf of the Franco murderers and their new masters, the American monopolists. Under these conditions, the fight for the workers' demands becomes particularly important because of the tragic effects of Franco's war preparations on the workers' living conditions. These preparations lead to increased taxes, already crushing, to freezing the extremely inadequate wages and to rising prices. All this aggravates the terrible poverty which exists among the lower income families in the towns and countryside, increases unemployment due to the shortage of raw materials for civilian industry and causes a slump in sales on the home market.

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IN this situation of growing poverty, discontent and agitation are mounting among the workers. Protests are being made and activities undertaken in all the main working class centres against the fierce exploitation and the widespread use of typically colonial methods such as a 12-14 hour working day and the payment of starvation wages (reduced in value by the piece-work wage system).

The Franco regime has frozen wages. To get an idea of the enormous gap between high prices and low wages here are a few examples. A highly skilled metalworker receives, after the deduction of various compulsory contributions (trade union dues and contributions for the so-called social and mutual insurance), nearly 21 pesetas a day, that is, slightly more than twice his 1936 wage. But there are a large number of wage earners who do not earn more than 14 pesetas and women receive 20-30 per cent less for the same work as men. In the meantime price of meat has risen from 4 pesetas a kilo (2.2 lbs.) in 1936 to between 40 and 50 pesetas a kilo; during the same period rice has gone up from 13 pesetas to its present price of 80 pesetas a kilo; the price of bread from 0.65 to 6.40 a kilo; the price of a litre (about 1.76 pints) of oil from 1.80 to 14 pesetas; a pair of shoes which cost 30 pesetas now costs more than 500 pesetas; a shirt at 15 pesetas now costs 150 pesetas; a metre (39 inches) of cotton fabric has gone up from 1.25 to 25 pesetas; a man's suit from 75 to 780 pesetas; rents have more than doubled. We could thus continue to quote increases in all consumer goods as well as services such as gas, water, electricity, etc.

In order to clamp down on the actions taken by the working class to secure wage increases, the Franco leaders are talking about approaching prosperity and demagogically promise the readjustment of prices and wages. But the workers are not fooled by these declarations.

In view of such exploitation and poverty, the most important demands of the workers, most closely affecting their lives, are for a minimum living wage of 2,000 pesetas a month, based on an 8-hour working day, and for a sliding scale.

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MUCH militant activity has been carried on since the great strikes of last year. Although on a more limited scale, they have greatly contributed to the strengthening of working class unity. These struggles take various forms, collective demands, the formation of committees in the factories to present these demands, work stoppages to support them, sit-down strikes, and especially the cutting down of production. This latter form of struggle is so effective that the review of the Spanish industrial magnates, the *Economista*, reflected the confusion existing in their ranks when it wrote: "It is necessary to recognise that during these years, work discipline has become slack causing a dangerous reduction in our productive potential . . . and a continual fall in output."

Examples of various militant activities can be mentioned, such as the actions of the Madrid Telephone Company workers who, in support of their demands for wage increases and better working conditions, stopped work and went into the streets to demonstrate, where they were met by repressive forces. In a large factory in Bilbao, two workers were killed in a work accident because of the lack of safety precautions. Their workmates stopped work to go to the funeral. They organised a big protest demonstration against the negligence of the factory management and against the regime. The police arrested several workers, accusing them of having organised the demonstration, but under the threat of a solidarity strike they had to release them. In one of the largest factories in Tarrasa, an industrial town in Catalonia, action was taken for wage increases and an 8-hour working day. Thanks to their firmness in the struggle against the employers and the Falangist trade union, the workers succeeded in securing the payment of a bonus which was owing to them for piece-work done over nearly three years but which the employers had systematically stolen from them. They refused to work more than an 8-hour day. Their example of unity was followed by 80 per cent of the workers of this town. In a large Valencia paper fac-

tory the workers struck for several days until their demands for wage increases and better working conditions had been granted. Among the many struggles which have taken place in the countryside, the magnificent action of the women employed in the Carcagente (Valencia) orange groves must be noted. They not only went on strike but supported their wage demands with mass demonstrations in the streets of the town. In all the struggles following the tremendous general strike in Barcelona, a heightening of the workers' class consciousness and spirit of solidarity can be seen. These actions have been carried out on a large scale in the campaign of solidarity which has developed throughout Spain to save the lives and secure the release of Lopez Raimundo and his comrades. Alongside the tremendous action of international solidarity, the action of the mass of the Spanish workers in support of the heroic Barcelona strike leader has been a factor which has greatly helped to save him from the death sentence. The result obtained in this fight against the Franco terror, should encourage us to pursue it until Lopez Raimundo and all anti-Franco prisoners have been released.

We are certain that if we apply the lessons of the positive experience of last year's strikes, the fight for a minimum living wage and the sliding scale can rouse the Spanish workers to unite their forces and to wage new and great battles for their demands, for democracy and peace.

This means greater efforts from us in our agitation and propaganda work, assistance and guidance in constantly raising the fighting spirit, class consciousness and militancy of the workers, without under-estimating any action, no matter how small, which would enable us to advance and create more favourable conditions for winning victory in the great struggles which lie ahead.

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THE present situation in Spain is very different and more favourable than that which existed before the great strikes in the spring of 1951. The working class is surer of itself and has more confidence in its own strength. Its struggles, which were supported by large sections of the population, have shown the weakness of the Franco regime and the gulf which exists between it and the vast majority of the Spanish people. The working class has thus prepared the ground for the building up of a national front of struggle to wipe out the Franco regime and to establish a democratic government which would defend peace and respond to the will and interests of the entire people.

In its heroic struggle for freedom, national independence, bread, democracy and peace, the Spanish working class knows that it can rely on the active solidarity of the powerful world forces of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, among which is our great and influential World Federation of Trade Unions, which has done so much to tear from the claws of the hangman Franco the heroic fighter, Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, and the other leaders of the Barcelona strike, as well as all the other imprisoned opponents of Franco.

★ ON ITS SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY THE

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AS this information is being compiled, messages sent to the W.F.T.U. by workers of the whole world, either directly or through their trade union organisations, continue to pour into the World Federation of Trade Union's headquarters in great numbers. They express more than ever the unshakable devotion of the working class of all countries to the W.F.T.U. In order to give an idea in this issue of the extent of this devotion to our organisation, we will on this occasion merely enumerate the messages which have been received up to the time of writing. We shall publish typical extracts of these messages in a later issue.

Those who seek to attack our great organisation, those who have arrested our Vice-President Alain Le Léap, will do well to reflect that the working class is with the W.F.T.U.

ALBANIA: Among the messages received from this People's Democracy, are those from the Central Council of the Trade Union of Industrial Workers, from the local committee of the Oil Workers' Trade Union and the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions.

ALGERIA: Messages have been sent by the Coordination Committee of the Algerian Confederated Trade Unions, as well as by the Gasmen and Electricians' Trade Union.

AUSTRIA: In addition to dozens of delegations of Viennese workers who came to the headquarters of the W.F.T.U. to bring the greetings of the workers of the Austrian capital, many messages have arrived from other Austrian regions. There are, for example, those from the Berndorf automobile workshops' factory committee (Lower Austria), the Neusiedl factory committee, the Kromag cartridge workers in Hirtenberg (Lower Austria), etc. . . . There were also the warm and fraternal greetings conveyed by the great progressive trade union leader, Gottlieb Fiala, on behalf of the Austrian workers during the large meeting organised by the Viennese workers on the occasion of the 7th aninversary of the W.F.T.U.

BRAZIL: Many messages have reached us from this country. For example, there are those from various members of the leadership of the **Brazilian Workers'**

The warm attachment of the Austrian workers to the W.F.T.U. was powerfully expressed during a large meeting held in Vienna on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of our great international centre. The meeting, held under the presidency of the courageous Austrian trade union militant, Gottlieb Fiala, and members of the secretariats of the W.F.T.U. and the Trade Unions Internationals present in Vienna, took place amidst great enthusiasm. In his speech, W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant extolled the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions for

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES SAY:

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Confederation (C.T.B.), from the **Trades Council of Rio Grande do Sul,** and from the **Rio de Janeiro Professional Journalists' Trade Union.**

BRITISH GUIANA : Two organisations in this small country have sent messages—the Progressive People's Party and the Timber Workers' Trade Union.

BULGARIA : In the name of all the workers in the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Central Council of Trade Unions has sent warm greetings to the W.F.T.U.

BURMA : A fraternal message has been sent by the Burma Trade Union Congress.

CUBA : Several leaders of the Cuban workers have sent messages to the W.F.T.U., such as Lazaro Peña, General Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., Pablo Sandoval, Secretary of the Port Workers' United Committee, Gonzalo Collado, leader of the Tobacco Workers and Rafael Avila, leader of the transport workers.

CYPRUS : We have received an extremely warm letter from A. Ziartides, General Secretary of the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: The Central Council of Czechoslovakian Trade Unions (U.R.O.) has sent warm greetings to the W.F.T.U. in the name of the whole of the working class of the Czechoslovakian People's Republic.

DENMARK: Reflecting the feelings of the mass of working people of this country, **the metalworker delegates to the European Conference of the Metalworkers' Trade Unions International held last February have sent their greetings to the W.F.T.U.**

FINLAND: Many telegrams have arrived from Finland. Among them there is one signed by all the national progressive federations, such as the building, textile, transport, leather and the General Trade Union of Journalists, etc. In addition, the **local Helsinki trade union organisation has greeted the W.F.T.U., as well the building workers on the Helsinki Customs building site.**

unity and called upon the Austrian workers to close their ranks in the struggle for unity, for bread, for the defence of their trade union rights and for the success of the great Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

Our photographs show a view of the packed hall of the theatre, and a view of the speakers' platform during the opening speech by Gottlieb Fiala. Many Austrian trade union militants surround the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, which was represented by Louis Saillant, Henri Jourdain and P. Kazakov.

FRANCE : A very large number of messages have arrived from France. For example, there are those from many national industrial federations and dozens of local and factory trade union branches. Thus, messages have been received from the **Argenteuil metalworkers (Seine and Oise), from Tarbes, the employees of the Paris power workers, from the Paris railway workers, from Bar-le-Duc, Tours, Nantes, Sète, etc. . . .,** from the national organisation of supervisory staffs, from public service and health workers, as well as from a large number of other organisations.

GERMANY : A great number of telegrams have been received from the German Democratic Republic **coming from the factories, work-sites and mines. We mention the Sanar factory workers in Königsbruck, the Babelsberg railwaymen, the Neptune shipyard workers in Berlin, the 10,000 Südharz miners in Bleicherode, the Soalfeld transport workers, the metalworkers from the Döbeln region.** The Central Committee of the Free German Federation of Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.), the great trade union centre of the German Democratic Republic, has also sent us a fraternal message.

GREECE : The Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labour has sent a message in the name of the whole Greek working class, struggling against the Monarcho-fascists and their American bosses.

GUATEMALA : Warm and fraternal greetings have been sent by the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala on behalf of all the working people of this country, the only country to have a democratic regime in Latin America.

HOLLAND : The Executive Bureau of the Unified Trade Union Centre (E.V.C.), the progressive Dutch trade union centre, has sent a message in the name of the most class-conscious workers of the Netherlands.

HUNGARY : The Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions has sent a message in the name of all the workers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

INDIA : The All-India Trade Union Congress (A.I.T.U.C.), the powerful progressive trade union centre, has sent a message of praise for, and confidence in, the W.F.T.U.

INDONESIA : A moving message has reached us from the National Conference of S.O.B.S.I. (Indonesian trade union centre).

IRAN : The Central Council of Iranian Trade Unions, speaking in the name of the great mass of exploited workers in this country, has sent sincere greetings to the W.F.T.U.

ITALY : Dozens of messages of greetings have reached us from Italy. **The Regional Trades Councils of most Italian towns, several provincial workers' trade unions, such as those of the metalworkers of Brescia province, and the workers of Bergamo, and a number of factory trade union organisations, such as the FIAT workers in Turin, have greeted the W.F.T.U.** A particularly warm telegram was sent to us by the Executive Committee of the C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour), the great united trade union centre of the Italian workers.

JAMAICA : Several Jamaican workers' organisations have sent messages, such as the Peoples' Education Organisation, and the Youth League. **We have also received a moving letter from a Kingston (Jamaica) rank and file trade unionist** who wishes to add his personal greetings to those of the whole working population of the island.

The London Branch of the Carribean Labour Congress has also sent a message of greeting.

KOREA : The workers of the heroic and martyred country of Korea have also sent their message through the All-Korean Federation of Trade Unions.

LIBERIA : The Liberian section of the powerful African People's Congress has also sent a stirring message.

MONGOLIA : The Central Council of Trade Unions of the Mongolian People's Republic has sent a warm message in the name of all the workers of this country.

RUMANIA : A message has also been received from the General Confederation of Labour of the Rumanian People's Republic.

TRIESTE : The San Marco construction site workers in Trieste have sent us a particularly warm message.

TRINIDAD : Two organisations have sent messages to the W.F.T.U.—the Trinidad and Tobago Trade Union Council and the Trinidad Federated Workers' Trade Union.

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MANY international trade union organisations and conferences have also sent messages of greetings to the W.F.T.U. on the occasion of its seventh anniversary. We cite particularly the Confederation of Latin-American Workers, the Metalworkers' Conference Against the Schuman Plan, the Building and Wood Workers, the Food and Tobacco Workers, the Agricultural and Forestry Workers, the Land and Air Transport Workers and the Metalworkers Trade Unions Internationals.

Concerning a Letter from Gaston Tessier

WE have received a letter from Gaston Tessier, President of the French Confederation of Christian Workers and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. In this letter, he considers "the allegations made by Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), in a speech reprinted in *World Trade Union Movement* No. 14 "to be erroneous."

Monsieur Gaston Tessier appeals to our sense of fair play and courtesy, asking that our readers be precisely informed of the following:

(1) That he has never belonged to the C.G.T., a fact which is common knowledge in France and elsewhere;

(2) That he does not know General Ridgway, and that he merely said of him that he was "the first high-ranking American officer to be parachuted into France in June 1944." and Gaston Tessier adds that he said "neither more nor less."

Let us recall the part of Benoit Frachon's speech concerning Gaston Tessier:

> **"When Gaston Tessier, President of the French Confederation of Christian Workers (C.F.T.C.), to justify the strike-breaking appeal made by the leadership of that organisation, honours General Ridgway, the man who brought the horrors of war and massacre to the peaceful population of Korea to a degree which the Nazi criminals never dared to attempt, is it possible to speak of working class understanding and political independence?"**

To what was Benoit Frachon referring when he spoke in this way? He was referring to an article written by Gaston Tessier last June under the title "The Masks Are Falling," in which he wrote:

> **". . . in Paris, the C.G.T. and its subsidiary organisations launched minor disturbances to protest against . . . the arrival of General Ridgway who, eight years ago, was the first high-ranking American officer to be parachuted into France! Such queer distortion will doubtless suffice to remove the many illusions regarding the real character of a movement in which trade unionism is giving way more and more each day to an extremist policy."**

Will Gaston Tessier in his kindness save some prayers for the mothers and children massacred by Ridgway in Korea? Is there perhaps in Gaston Tessier's "neither more nor less" some reservation on "the bacteriological achievements" of Ridgway in Korea? Could his reason for not saying more than that "Ridgway was parachuted into France in 1944" lie in the fact that otherwise he could hardly do less than condemn the murders and slaughter which this American has perpetrated on Korean soil during 1952?

Would he also perhaps remember that, during the last war, his narrow trade unionism did not prevent him from taking part in the National Council of the Resistance alongside Benoit Frachon and Louis Saillant, thus affirming the need for action by trade unions for national independence which, strictly speaking, is not a trade union matter?

How else can the position now taken by Gaston Tessier against united action of the working class forces in France be understood, (united action which at the present moment would enable them to win their trade union demands), except by the fact that this attitude is determined by considerations of a non-trade union nature?

We know that Gaston Tessier declares himself to be against war and that he would like to be of more use to the great cause of peace between the peoples. It would be a good thing if now and then his words were matched by deeds.

At any rate, he should not, as he is doing, descend to the level of those little men who speak of the "Sovietised trade unions" of the French C.G.T. It is with such campaigns that the reactionary government in France has brought about the imprisonment of Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the C.G.T., for his activity in support of peace, a move which we can be sure is warmly approved by the "first high-ranking American officer to be parachuted into France."

The Christian workers, who are uniting with the members of the C.G.T. to repulse this aggression directed against the whole trade union movement, are asking themselves, quite correctly: "After the Communists, the non-party trade-unionists, who is next?"

The masks which should have fallen are not those imaginary ones mentioned by Gaston Tessier.

It is to Benoit Frachon that we should be grateful for having clarified this matter so well in his speech reprinted in No. 14 of the Review.

World Trade Union Movement.

Organisational Problems

The following concludes the suggestions on trade union organisation based on French experience begun in the last issue of WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The Role of the Factory Trade Union Branch

Not all Problems can be settled on a Factory basis

ALTHOUGH it is invariably true that each factory has its peculiarities which give rise to demands specially applicable to conditions in that factory, and that these demands are the basis of the continuous activity of the trade union branch or factory trade union (wages, bonuses, enforcement of social legislation, etc.), not all the problems which arise can be settled in the factory.

There are demands common to factories doing the same type of work on a local and national scale.

There are others which are common to manufacturing industries dealing with various processes within the same industry.

There are demands common to all the factories in the same locality or region.

Finally, there are demands common to all workers on the national scale (general readjustment of wages, the fight for the reduction of, or against the rise in, prices, the defence of trade union rights, etc.).

In all these cases, the trade unions and their local and District Committees to which the basic organisations are linked, the National Federations of industrial unions, the local and regional or county Trades Councils, and finally the national Trade Union Centre, play their respective roles.

It follows that the job of these various organisations is to study and formulate the common demands which come within their province, and to study and formulate the appropriate measures to win them.

There are many methods which can be employed to secure results, such as making representations to and sending delegations to the employers, to local and national authorities, circulating petitions within the factories, and finally resorting to mass action when all other methods have failed, or when events demand it.

But regardless of the method proposed by the leaders of the local, regional or national organisations, in the final analysis the real strength of the trade union movement lies within the factory itself.

It is only by contact with the workers through the intermediary of the rank and file organisations based on the factory or enterprise, that the trade union branches, District Committees and National Federations can really defend the interests of the working class.

It follows that the working class constitutes a bloc of collective interests and the trade union branches and factory trade unions cannot carry out any activity which is entirely independent of the other organisations.

The Masses Always Decide

WE draw attention to this important point, however: all decisions transmitted from above to the trade union branches below should be submitted to discussion at meetings of the membership. It is therefore the duty of the leaders of the basic organisations to consult the workers, to put before them the demands drawn up by the higher bodies, to defend these proposals at general meetings and, once they have been accepted, to present and to defend them before all the workers in each factory.

It is their duty to inform without delay the organisations immediately above the factory or trade union branch of the workers' opinions in their factory, of the atmosphere aroused in discussion, the trends of resistance and scepticism which were revealed and their relative importance among the mass of the workers.

In the final analysis, it should always be the mass of the workers who decide. But every proposal conforming to the interests of the working class should be perseveringly explained and advocated by the active rank and file trade unionists in the factory. When an idea seizes hold of the masses, it becomes a powerful force. And the idea will grip the masses only insofar as the leaders of the trade union branch carry out mass work and make sure of their positions in the factory by good working methods.

Model Structure for a Factory or Local Trade Union Branch

IT is through its means of communication such as its railways, roads and canals that a country

both ensures and shows its activity. In the same way, it is by its means of communication within the factory that the factory trade union or trade union branch ensures its contacts with the workers and demonstrates its vitality.

Here is an example of a factory which employs 700 workers, office employees and supervisory staff.

The trade union branch Secretary took the excellent initiative of seeking out 60 of the best trade unionists in the branch. He allocated them the responsibility for different sections of the factory according to the work they were doing and then proceeded to have each one of them approved by the groups of organised workers for whom they were responsible, then by the trade unionists as a whole in the factory.

Each one of them looks after the interests of 12 or 15 workmates. These 60 trade unionists constitute a Consultative Trade Union Council to the trade union Executive Committee' which is, of course, elected at the general meetings according to democratic rules.

These 60 rank and file trade unionists play a decisive role:

1—They discuss with their group of workers all questions concerning them.

2—They pass on to them the proposals of the trade union Executive Committee and discuss them.

3—They create an atmosphere of good comradeship and fraternity within their groups of workers and inspire their confidence in the trade union branch.

4—They receive complaints and observations or criticisms from trade union members and pass them on to the branch officials.

5—They deal with questions put to them on social legislation, accidents at work, etc. If they can, they give the information on the spot, and if not, they pass these questions on to the branch leadership asking them for the information so that they can themselves inform the workers concerned.

6—If a workmate, whether a trade union member or not, seems to be dissatisfied, and he notices it, he takes the trouble to discover the cause. Sometimes his wife or children are ill, or it might be financial difficulties which have arisen through no fault of the worker concerned, and so on. In such cases, this active trade unionist gives him advice and takes measures to help him.

These measures might take the form of raising money for him by means of a subscription, or perhaps the wife of another worker will go to his home to look after his wife or children, etc.

This trade unionist is the active instrument of trade union solidarity.

7—Finally, the active trade unionist collects the trade union dues in his group and at the same time distributes the trade union journal.

8—If one of the workers in his group leaves the factory for another job, the active trade unionist should know about it, should know when he is leaving and where he is going.

The branch leadership which has been informed will then be able to arrange his transfer to the corresponding trade union branch, and if this branch does its duty, the newcomer will be welcomed by his new workmates and will be made to feel the responsible and fraternal character of his organisation.

Let us insist on this method of organisation, the principles of which can be adapted to every situation.

There is the problem of dues collecting and the dues collectors who do this job. It is well-known that in most cases the collector has a thankless job. In the case quoted above, the trade unionist who collects the dues is no longer just a collector but an attentive, fraternal and genuine comrade who commands the confidence of the workers in his group.

We can now examine the validity of this method by the results obtained:

1—Ninety-five per cent of the employees in this factory are organised in the trade union branch;

2—There is no room for a parallel organisation, the maximum trade union unity has been achieved.

3—The branch leadership, surrounded by its 60 rank and file active trade unionists, is in continuous contact with its members.

4—The members are firmly attached to their branch.

5—This factory has become a C.G.T. fortress.

6—Everyone does his duty by paying his dues and the dues collection is firmly carried out in an atmosphere of understanding and confidence.

7—Finally, these rank and file militants or active trade unionists, in contact at the same time both with the branch leadership and with their team of workmates, are aware of their usefulness and their role. They are acquiring valuable experience in mass work, they are educating themselves on the collective needs of the workers, and at the same time helping to educate their workmates.

They thus constitute a permanent reservoir from which the organisation can draw its cadres.

The Decision to Strike Belongs to the Workers Concerned

THE strike is a right of the workers recognised by law. It is one of the means they can employ when they decide to go forward to win their demands, to defend trade union liberties and their country's Constitution when it is in danger.

The strike can be organised in a single factory in the fight for the particular demands applying to that factory. It can also include several factories in the same industry located over an entire area, in the fight for demands common to all of them. It can, under the same conditions, extend to the whole of an industry on the national scale, or include several industries on a local, regional or national scale.

Finally, the strike can include all the workers in all industries on a national scale according to the circumstances and needs of the situation.

Although the strike is one of the methods at the disposal of the workers in their fight for their demands or trade union rights, as a general rule a decision to strike should never be taken without the consent of the workers concerned. This decision is therefore only to be taken after the leaders of the trade union organisations at the various levels concerned have done the following:

1—The aim or aims of the proposed strike should be very carefully examined beforehand by the regular trade union organisations concerned;

a) by the local or factory branch leadership with a view to making proposals to the membership;

b) by a general meeting of the local or factory branch in order to

establish the demands and methods of action ;

c) by a meeting of the whole personnel in order to obtain the opinions of all the workers in the factory on all questions, demands and methods of action.

Methods of work by the trade union leadership are the same as those outlined at the beginning of these suggestions.

It is particularly important that these meetings be held in the factory, in such a way that all concerned can hear the explanations, can express their views on the demands and methods of action, and can vote after full knowledge of the cause, with raised hand or by secret ballot, the decision being carried by the majority in all cases.

A Strike is not Organised by Chance

AFTER the decision to strike is made, the strike does not organise itself. It will be successful only to the degree to which it is supported by all the workers concerned. To maintain continual contact with the strikers is therefore the first condition for success.

The leadership of the trade union body or bodies should therefore carry out the essential preparatory work which will enable it to assume the leadership of the strike. It should be supported by a Strike Committee elected by the whole personnel of each factory on strike. The Strike Committee should, as a general rule, represent all categories of wage-earners, including supervisory staff. Each category elects its delegate and the delegates as a whole after being approved by the strikers of each factory, then constitute the Strike Committee.

It is naturally the job of the active officials of the trade union —local or factory branch—to organise meetings of the wage-earners according to their category for the election of their delegates, as well as a meeting of the whole personnel to approve the Strike Committee.

To the extent to which the rank and file activists or militants have gained the confidence of their workmates, the Strike Committee will, through free elections, be composed of the best elements in the factory. Continual contact with the workers will thus be ensured through the Strike Committee.

The Strike Committee will meet as often as necessary on the initiative of the trade union leadership. The trade union leadership will submit all questions relating to the strike to the Central Strike Committee: orientation of the movement, weaknesses to be corrected if and when they arise, proposals to be made to the employer, report on steps taken, organisation of solidarity, strike bulletin, etc.

The Central Strike Committee takes a stand on all questions, decides on the strike communiques and signs them.

It is the Strike Committee which reports to the strikers, but each decision is only binding insofar as the strikers have been consulted and have voted on them by raised hand or secret ballot, according to the will of the meeting.

Each delegate on the Strike Committee therefore has an extremely important role to play not only as a member of the committee, but to the workers of his category who elected him.

He transmits the Strike Committee's proposals to them and defends them ; he must combat the lies and false interpretations with which the Press, for example, tries to confuse the strikers.

He gives an account to the Strike Committee on the morale among the workers, and the trade union leadership, thus well informed, is in a position to sum up the situation and to lead the movement with the maximum assurance.

Finally, from the moment that a trade union branch leadership, conscious of its role and its responsibilities, is informed that action is being organised in the factory, it is its duty to inform the higher bodies of the trade union, such as the industrial union, federation and local or regional trades council.

Each strike is a fighting action which interests not only the workers who have decided to wage the strike or the committees which directly lead it.

Each strike constitutes an experience from which everyone can and should learn to improve methods of struggle—internal organisation of the strike, the tactics of the enemy, the reply or counter-attack, etc.

It follows that a trade union leadership responsible for a strike must *never* allow itself to become isolated from other trade union organisations, but should look for help from its federation, its local or regional trades council, and its National Centre.

Apart from its immediate gains, a well-organised and well-led strike should result in the maximum strengthening of the trade union organisation: the recruiting of new members is therefore an important job which should be organised right from the beginning of the action.

Why We Are Fighting in the Cameroons

IN those countries where capitalism and colonialism are deeply rooted, the working class lives under the most squalid conditions.

From the time of the colonialist provocation of 1945 against the trade unions, a provocation which cost the lives of scores of Cameroon workers, the Cameroon workers have continuously demanded wage increases which would give them a more decent standard of living.

All demands and approaches made by them to have the joint wage committees convened have been continually put off by the government and the employers.

Demonstrations and attempts to strike are brutally repressed by reaction and trade union officials are being put through the most severe trials. The factory inspectors, far from being impartial arbitrators, settling labour disputes on the work places themselves are, on the contrary, collaborators of an employer-class greedy for wealth, frequently aiding them to violate the labour regulations by imprisoning trade union officials. In this way they hope to intimidate the rank and file, to keep them quiet, and to force them to accept living conditions which would be intolerable to the inspectors.

Thus in the Cameroons, more than anywhere else in Africa, the daily wages are still scandalously low. In the district of North-Cameroons, to cite but one example, a labourer is still paid only 20 francs a day.[1] It remains to be seen whether even these 20 francs are regularly paid at the end of the month. Should a worker living in the conditions described above ask for an hour or two to go to the doctor and not return at the time fixed by the employer because of a delay in the medical services, he loses a whole day's pay, in spite of the fact that he is obliged to continue work on his return until the factory closes.

In this situation, the employers, aided by the factory inspectors, themselves fix the amount of any trifling increase they wish to grant and the trade union organisations are merely called together to be informed of the decision thus taken on their behalf.

That the same situation exists in the administrative sector is shown by racial discrimination incorporated in several Decrees and Ordinances. Thus the Lamine-Gueye law establishes discriminatory practices in paying family allowances and the inclusion in the Pension Fund of civil servants of the same classification.

But the working class of the Cameroons does not intend to allow things to go on in this way. It is intensifying its struggle for its demands by continuous and sustained activities, helped in this by the French C.G.T., the W.F.T.U. and all progressive organisations throughout the world. It wants to take its proper place in order to make its voice heard.

In this way, through struggle, we will also secure a democratic Labour Law in the near future, which would help to mitigate certain injustices from which we have been suffering for a great many years.

Georges Yemy,
Secretary of the Cameroons Federation of Trade Unions, Douala.

1About 5 pennies.

United Mass Action Defeats Tory Council

BRITAIN'S firemen have been conducting a sustained and successful campaign against the vicious reprisals imposed on them by Tory-controlled local councils for demonstrating for more pay towards the end of last year.[1]

Three Tory councils dismissed men, in 15 others men were demoted in rank and a total of 40 imposed fines. When the rest of the trade union movement rallied in support of the firemen, the Tories began to beat a retreat. The dismissed men were re-employed and in most brigades the fines were returned to the men and the "offences" expunged from their records. In 13 of the 15 brigades where demotions had occurred, the men were reinstated in their former rank.

Two Tory councils, however, remained obdurate—Plymouth and Nottingham. In Nottingham four blacklegs were promoted to the ranks formerly held by the demoted men. The local Labour Party in Nottingham declared that if returned as the majority party in the City Council, the demoted firemen would be reinstated. With this assurance, the Fire Brigades Union conducted an extensive campaign to ensure the defeat of the Tories in the municipal elections. This campaign was successful and the victimised firemen have now been given their former posts.

In Plymouth, however, the Tories, although suffering heavy losses in the elections, were able to retain a slender majority on the City Council. Believing that the firemen's dispute had been forgotten by the people, they decided to fill the vacancies caused by the demotion of

1See **World Trade Union Movement** No. 6, March 16-31, 1952, Spotlight on World Labour, for details of this struggle.

two firemen who were victimised for acting in accordance with their union's instructions. This decision was a violation of an agreement reached with the Fire Brigades Union that no steps would be taken to fill the vacancies without further consultation with the union.

The vacancies were advertised not only in the Plymouth Brigade but in all the surrounding fire brigades in the West of England.

On receipt of this information, the F.B.U. requested all its members in these brigades with the necessary qualifications to fill the vacancies not to apply for the posts. To the great credit of the men concerned, everyone loyally obeyed the union's request. The union then concentrated all its forces in Plymouth and conducted a campaign among the people of Plymouth for their support in securing the reinstatement of the two victimised men. One hundred thousand leaflets setting out the union's case were printed and distributed to every household. Campaign headquarters were established with three full-time union officials in charge. The Plymouth Trades Council gave full assistance to the campaign and mobilised the rest of the local trade union movement in its support. Rank and file members of other trade union branches reported nightly to the campaign H.Q. as helpers. The local Labour Party, conscious of the developing support among the people for the firemen, issued a statement to the effect that if returned as the majority party in the next municipal elections one of their first acts would be to restore the two victimised firemen to their former posts.

It was decided to officially inaugurate the campaign with a march by the local firemen through the streets of Plymouth, supported by representatives from every other fire brigade in Britain. Sunday, July 27, was fixed as the date of the march which would culminate in an open-air meeting addressed by national officials of the union and prominent representatives of the Plymouth labour movement.

Concerned at the 100 per cent solidarity displayed by the firemen in their refusal to apply for the vacant positions and worried at the support which their campaign was beginning to receive from the local populace, the Tory council agreed to meet representatives of the union on Thursday, July 24.

At this meeting, they indicated their willingness to reinstate the two men provided the union would publicly declare that it had wrongly advised the men when it had called for their support in the wages demonstrations. This was totally unacceptable to the union. Having failed to get the union to agree to this face-saving formula as a solution, the Tory councillors did not break off negotiations but requested a further meeting on Monday, July 28—the day following the march.

It was clear that their final attitude would be determined by the success or otherwise of the march on the Sunday.

To their chagrin, the march was an overwhelming success. Nearly 400 firemen from all corners of Britain participated, followed by hundreds of other trade unionists, youth organisations and other organisations of the labour movement. Veterans of the movement declared that it was the greatest demonstration Plymouth had seen since the general strike. Over 5,000 people attended the open-air meeting and over 10,000 leaflets were distributed. An impromptu collection organised by members of the audience realised over £25.

No longer in any doubt that they had stirred up a veritable hornet's nest around themselves, the Tory councillors were in a more subdued mood when they met representatives of the union the following morning. Anxious to retreat from the trouble their anti-trade union actions had created, they agreed to reinstate the two firemen without qualification.

This great victory of the firemen was secured by the complete solidarity in their own ranks and by establishing unity with the rank and file of the movement generally in support of their militant programme and leadership.

It is another answer to those right-wing leaders who declare that nothing but disaster can come from industrial action against the Tories. Let the rank and file of the movement take heart from the Plymouth firemen and do likewise. This is the path to the complete defeat of the Tory Party.

G.J.

Indonesian Teachers Want Higher Wages

THE minimum basic starting wage of 80 per cent of Indonesian primary school teachers is Rs. 150 (about £5) a month, increased to an average of about Rs. 200 (about £6 13s. 6d.) by allowances.

This is still terribly low and compares unfavourably with the average Rs. 250 monthly paid to drivers. It is certainly insufficient to maintain a decent standard of living for teachers forced to do extra work to earn enough to live on; and the teachers' union—the Persatuam Guru Republik Indonesia (P.G.R.I.)—estimates that Rs. 300 is the absolute minimum required.

This union, which groups 75,000 out of the total 80,000 teachers in Indonesia today, is demanding wage parity with other civil servants of similar educational qualifications. (Ninety-five per cent of Indonesian teachers are government employees; 5 per cent teach in private schools run by the three main religious groups—Mohammedan, Christian and Catholic, or by Taman Siswo, a nationalist organisation.)

The present situation is that the government has appointed a national commission to make recommendations concerning the wages of all civil servants. This commission is made up of some 15 members, of whom 7 are government appointees; the rest represent national trade union centres. S.O.B.S.I. (affiliated to the W.F.T.U.) has two representatives, as does the

G.S.B.E., a national grouping of predominantly white collar and government workers; one of this organisation's delegates is the Vice-President of the P.G.R.I.

About four months ago, the commission, under pressure of the civil servants, made an interim proposal that all civil servants' wages be increased by 33 1/3 per cent of the basic wage. The government replied by granting a 20 per cent increase.

They have recently submitted a complicated system of salary scales for government consideration, which, among other things, puts forward the P.G.R.I. claim for wage parity.

In any case, the Indonesian teachers are determined to obtain satisfaction of their demands which are forging unity within their united trade union organisation.

☆ ☆ ☆

IN addition, there is a tremendous shortage of teachers —only 80,000 for a population of nearly 80 millions, which, of course, makes the task of the teacher much more arduous, as well as depriving many children of education. As there are an average of about 45 children to a class, the total number of children receiving any education at all is about three and a half million, or not more than a third of the school-age population. Education is obviously not compulsory and child labour is a common evil.

Primary education from 7 to 13 is free, but secondary education has to be paid for, and is beyond the means of the majority in a country where the per capita income is about £10 15s a year. All education is in Indonesian, the official language of the country, the fight against the Dutch language having begun in 1942. However, as 25 main languages are spoken in the 3,000 islands that make up the Indonesian Republic, the imposition of Indonesian is no solution of the language problem.

The Indonesian government has announced a plan for the intensive training of teachers drawn up last year by the trade unions, bringing the total teaching body up to 275,000 in 10 years. Whether it will, in fact, be able to carry out this programme and the necessary school building will depend largely on the struggle which the teachers are determined to wage in order to achieve this programme.

To strengthen themselves in their struggle, the Indonesian teachers also want to make contacts with teachers' organisations throughout the world; they wish to strengthen efforts to unify the teaching profes sion to ensure progress in education and for the defence of peace.

☆ ☆ ☆

THEY are all the more aware of these problems since Indonesia is still suffering from the ravages of Dutch and other imperialisms. The Dutch have plundered Indonesia for centuries. As recently as 1938, Dutch investments, excluding the holdings of Dutch residents in Indonesia, were calculated at 4 billion guilders—about £400 million. Thirteen per cent of the entire Dutch national revenue for that year came from Indonesia.

Since World War II, the investment picture has changed considerably, with the Americans, and to a lesser extent, the British, stepping into Dutch shoes. By 1949, total American investments in Indonesia were 8 times greater than in 1941. The American hold on its foreign trade has also increased tremendously: the U.S. took 12.4 per cent of Indonesian exports in 1938 and 21.4 per cent in 1950—mainly such strategic materials as rubber, tin, palm-oil, and bauxite.

The Indonesian peoples' heroic struggle for national independence has thus far prevented the Indonesian Government from accepting American military "aid" which would indicate the complete grip of Indonesia by Wall Street imperialism.

The teachers know what this would mean for them, the worsening of their living conditions and the scrapping of all improvements in the educational system. That is why they are tightening their unity to defend their wages, to improve the educational system and for peace.

M.W.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

September 20

MALAYA.—5,000 dockers in the naval base of Singapore go on strike in support of their demands for better wages and living conditions.

September 27

INDONESIA.—At the opening of the Congress of S.O.B.S.I. (the trade union centre affiliated to the W.F.T.U.) H. Turrel, the W.F.T.U. representative, conveys its official greetings to the courageous Indonesian people engaged in the struggle for their liberty and independence.

September 30

AUSTRALIA.—A 24-hour strike of the Australian dockers takes place demanding a wage increase and protesting against the decision of the Arbitration Tribunal to grant them less than their demands.

URUGUAY.—The Goverment, in an attempt to destroy the solidarity movement in support of the striking tramway workers of Montevideo, suppresses the right of assembly and occupies the trade union offices. Nearly 500 militant workers are arrested.

GUATEMALA.—Victory for the aircraft workers and employees of Pan-American Airways who have been on strike since July 21st. A wage increase of 18 per cent. has been won.

CUBA.—30,000 textile workers take part in a strike movement which spreads over the whole country. Many factories are paralysed; in others a "go slow" policy is adopted by the workers. Over and above their own demands the workers are striking in solidarity with the workers in the henequen industry (a textile material) whom their employers have been trying to subject to a wage cut.

NORWAY.—Demonstrations by the homeless; more than 7,000 parade outside the Chamber of Deputies in Oslo.

ITALY.—In Genoa the tramway workers call a united 12-hour strike against the decision of the management to employ a notorious fascist against the wishes of the workers. The management is forced to give way.

October 1

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Nazi generals and war criminals, Von Manstein, Von Mackensen, and Kessching are freed by the British authorities in Western Germany.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—Opening of the 2nd International Conference of the Trade Unions International of Clothing and Textile Workers. One hundred and thirty-seven delegates from 29 countries take part.

BURMA.—Large demonstrations take place in Rangoon celebrating the 3rd anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Labour Party Conference goes on record unanimously against the restoration of his wealth to Krupp, in favour of East-West trade, and against the recognition of the Franco régime.

DENMARK.—The sixth of the refrigerator ships being built in Denmark for the U.S.S.R. is launched in Copenhagen.

UNITED STATES.—The elevator workers in the business quarter of Chicago go on strike in support of their wage demands. The lifts of 143 buildings, most of them of more than 40 storeys, are put out of action.

ARGENTINE.—8,000 students of Buenos Aires University go on strike in sympathy with the students of the Institute of Mechanics, who are fighting against the closure of several of their centres of study.

ITALY.—At the news of the latest massacre of prisoners of war on Chegu Island, work stopped in hundreds of factories, offices, building sites and mines. Delegations of workers made protests at the American, French, and British Consulates.

October 2

CHINA.—Opening of the Pan-Asian and Pacific Peace Congress. Three hundred and seventy delegates and forty observers took part in its work. They represented countries with a total population of 1,600 million men and women.

AUSTRIA.—Students in Vienna demonstrate against the raising of University fees. It is decided to boycott enrolment to the various courses.

INDIA.—Road transport in Bombay is paralysed by a strike called against high taxation. 14,000 lorries are off the roads. On their part 2,400 taxi-drivers call a protest strike.

FRANCE.—1,200 miners from the Agache pit in the Nord valley, near Lille, go on strike in protest against the arbitrary treatment meted out by the management to four young miners.

W.F.T.U.—Messages of congratulation and support from all over the world pour in on this, the 7th anniversary of its formation. (For details, see this number of the Review).

ITALY.—Workers in the Italian broadcasting services strike in support of their demands for a wage increase of 10 per cent. with ten months' back pay at the increased rate. The strike was supported by all unions, of all affiliations and political colour.

PERU.—3,400 railwaymen employed by the British Central Peruvian Railways Corporation strike for a 35 per cent. wage increase.

— Students of four universities are on strike. Their main demand is for representation on the University Councils.

JAPAN.—5,000 people demonstrate in Tokyo against the Government's withholding of passports from delegates wishing to go to the Pekin Conference.

DENMARK.—The management of the shipyards of Elsinore announces the approaching dismissal of 400 more workers. These shipyards, together with other Danish enterprises have just refused, at the command of the Americans, orders from the Soviet Union totalling 100 million kroner.

October 6

AUSTRIA.—Building workers in Salzburg go on strike for an increase in wages; building workers employed on the construction of an American military camp at Sitzenheim take a leading part in the strike.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.—A meeting to celebrate the 3rd anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic is attended by a Government delegation from the U.S.S.R. headed by N. M. Shvernik, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

October 7

GERMANY.—In Berlin, 500,000 people demonstrate for peace on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

SUDAN.—The Sudanese Workers' Federation goes on record against any solution of the Sudanese problem which does not involve the complete evacuation of the country by English and Egyptian troops, and the granting to the Sudanese people of the right of self-determination. At the same time they declare themselves against any military pact or treaty binding the Sudan in any way.

BOLIVIA.—A Government edict puts the tin mines under "the supervision of the State" as a first step towards their nationalisation.

October 8

WESTERN GERMANY.—6,000 plumbers and sanitary engineering workers in the western sectors of Berlin strike in support of a demand for an 8 per cent increase in their wages.

ITALY.—100,000 agricultural workers in Polesine (Rovigo) including members of the C.G.I.L. and the U.I.L., stage a general strike for full recognition by the agricultural landowners of the position won by the unions.

BOLIVIA.—The Government announces the nationalisation of three major tin mines, the property till then of American trusts. This measure became necessary, in the words of the Vice-President of the Council "in order to integrate the management of the mines into the internal economy of Bolivia."

INDIA.—35,000 building workers in Bengal, Assam, and Bihar, stop work in support of their wage demands.

WESTERN GERMANY.—A secret organisation of Nazi ex-officers aiming at the perpetration of wrecking and sabotage in Democratic Germany, is discovered by the Bonn police. It appears that this organisation had been set up on American initiative, and financed by them.

HUNGARY.—Hungary signs the Geneva Convention outlawing poison gas and bacteriological weapons.

FRANCE.—The Government carries out illegal raids on the offices of democratic organisations and newspapers in Paris and in the provinces. These are followed by the arrest of four leaders of the Union of French Republican Youth (U.J.R.F.)

October 9

FRANCE.—In his closing speech at the Congress of the National Portworkers' and Dockers' Union, Henri Raynaud, the Secretary of the C.G.T., calls on the dockers "to unite in the battle for wages, against unemployment and for the success of the Peoples' Peace Congress."

IRAN.—Workers in a large cotton-weaving factory in Teheran go on strike in support of their wage demands. Police intervention takes place with several wounded, and numerous arrests.

GREAT BRITAIN.—More than 1,000 insurance agents employed by the Prudential Insurance Company parade with their insurance books under their arms through the streets in the centre of the British capital, demanding an increase in remuneration.

ITALY.—After protracted negotiations and very severe struggles the three workers' trade union organisations and the Federation of Agricultural Workers sign an agreement with the agricultural landowners, providing for increases in family allowances for all agricultural workers to take effect retrospectively as from the 1st July, 1952. This agreement provides for a further increase of the same amount to take effect on July 1st 1953.
— In Florence 100,000 building workers strike for a new working agreement.

October 10

FRANCE.—Alain Le Léap, Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., and General Secretary of the French C.G.T. is illegally arrested and committed to Fresnes Prison. "It is the whole trade union movement that is threatened by this arrest," says the Federal Bureau of the C.G.T. in a statement issued shortly afterwards.

NORTH AFRICA.—The dockers of Oran once more refuse to load war material on to the "Bir Hakeim" bound for Indo-China.

October 11

IRAN.—24-hour strike of railwaymen demanding a wage increase.

W.F.T.U.—The W.F.T.U. protests to the French Government against the arbitrary arrest of Alain Le Léap, and approaches U.N.O.

October 12

ITALY.—Workers in the town of Lucra and the surrounding area carry out a 2-hour general strike as a demonstration of solidarity with the workers in the marble quarries who have "sat down" in the quarries for the last 40 days in protest against the decision to close them down.
— At Rimini thousands of men and women prevent the construction of an "Atlantic" airfield by "squatting" on the land earmarked for its construction. The lorry-drivers of one co-operative refuse to transport the necessary 25,000 cubic metres of cement, and the peasants and small farmers unitedly refuse to sell their land.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The conference of "The United German Movement for Unity, Peace, and Liberty," takes place in Dusseldorf. 130 representatives of different organisations take part, among whom is the ex-Reichs Chancellor, Dr. Wirth.

October 13

NORTHERN RHODESIA.—The African copper miners decide by 23,585 votes to 113 on strike action in support of their demands for a wage increase of 2/6 per day.

CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.—End of the Asian and Pacific People's Congress, which proclaims the will to independence and peace of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific.

FRANCE.—Powerful movement to enforce the liberation of Alain Le Léap and others imprisoned with him. Many united demonstrations take place up and down the country.

October 14

FRANCE.—A united strike by 35,000 workers in the Arsenals and naval establishments in support of their demands and for wage increases.

October 15

WESTERN GERMANY.—In Hamburg several thousands demonstrate against the Bonn War agreements, and demand a Peace Treaty for Germany to give them work and bread.
— The leadership of the D.G.B. in North Rhine-Westphalia denounces the anti-trade union activities of the secret terrorist organisations set up in Western Germany by the American authorities.

INDIA.—Public organisations in the State of Madras express their keen gratitude to the Soviet workers for the fraternal assistance they have extended to the famine-stricken population of India. Numerous meetings take place in the cities of Madras Province.

October 16

UNITED STATES.—More than 95,000 miners are on strike in protest against the delay imposed by the Government Office of Wage Stabilisation on the implementation of the increase of 1 dollar 90 cents per day which they won as a result of negotiations with the employers.

CORRECTION

In the Fortnightly Record of No. 20 of World Trade Union Movement the membership figure of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America was given as 31,300. This should have been 313,000.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

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NOV. 16—30, 1952 ★ No. 22

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Long live the resolute action of men and women workers for their rights and democratic freedoms, for peace throughout the world !

Appeal of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau (Vienna, June 14, 1952)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor:
T. F. McWHINNIE

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MOVEMENT

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No. 6. NOVEMBER, 1952

Information Bulletin

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

for the

Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security

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A Contribution by INDER SEN GUPTA, India

Towards The International Conference

Preparatory Committee Appeal for the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security.

WE publish below the Appeal of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security. The launching of this appeal marks a great step forward in the preparation of the Conference.

The list of signatories includes trade unionists of all tendencies, medical men and scientists as well as social service administrators, all of whom support the International Conference and approve of its objectives. This appeal should be widely used to broaden the basis of the International Conference by extending the list of signatures even further. It will be helpful in the organisation of national preparatory conferences and the election of delegations. In announcing and preparing the International Conference, the Appeal itself represents an important contribution to international action in favour of social security.

★

AT the end of the second World War the peoples of all countries hoped to see at last the fulfilment of their earnest desire for prosperity, progress and security in the social order. They looked forward particularly to improving the existing social insurance systems and introducing social security schemes to protect the entire population against all risks.

These hopes were so strong that important advances were registered in various branches of social legislation and social rights. However, this favourable development at no time extended to all countries. In particular, the colonial and economically undeveloped countries, where social security was non-existent, were still, in the main, left out.

Today, however, the people are confronted with the fact that not only are there no further advances but an opposite tendency has set in. In an increasing number of countries there has been regression in the sphere of social legislation and beneficial schemes already adopted are either being deferred or withdrawn. These attacks are making themselves felt especially in the field of unemployment insurance, old age pensions and health services, but they also affect other branches of social security.

In those countries where social security schemes do not exist increasing obstacles are being placed in the way of their introduction.

The real value of social security benefits is being reduced and the functioning of social security systems jeopardised through inflation, rising costs of living and the heavy burden of armaments.

Millions of men and women are opposed to this situation as it is well known that the economic, financial and technical resources of the world would be sufficient to ensure decisive advances in social security. This is, in fact, proved by the continual progress achieved in this sphere by some countries which are constantly improving their social security systems. Consequently the most varied sections of the people in countries where there is regression in social security are expressing their very justified apprehensions and are insisting that this regression shall end.

Within trade unions and other working class organisations the members have already carried on many activities expressing their determination to reverse present trends. This desire has also found expression amongst many professional people including doctors, administrators and specialists in social questions, basing themselves on the support of the masses of insured persons.

Thus the initiative of the World Federation of Trade Unions in calling an International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security meets the needs of the present situation.

The International Conference, planned originally for December, 1952, has been postponed at the request of several national groups to March 2nd—6th, 1953. It will be held in Vienna, Austria.

The following Agenda is proposed:

(1) **Adoption of the Agenda and rules of the Conference.**
(2) **The Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security and the inauguration of schemes in countries in which they do not exist.**
(3) **Adoption of the Recommendations of the Conference.**

It is proposed that the Conference should bring together in a discussion open to all points of view, the experiences of the various countries; analyse concretely the present situation; establish general principles which might serve as a basis for social security systems in all countries, discuss the ways of achieving this programme and consider how best the people can defend and improve their systems of social security.

We call upon all who are in favour of social justice to endorse the present appeal and invite all organisations to elect or appoint delegates to attend this important conference.

By contributing to the success of the International Conference you will help to raise the level of activity for the defence and advancement of social security and for its introduction where it does not yet exist. In this way a great contribution will be made towards raising the living standard of the people and opening the way for security and welfare in all countries.

Following are the names of those from countries throughout the world who have so far given their signatures to the foregoing appeal. Additional names will be published in following issues of this Bulletin as they come in from National Preparatory Committees or trade union organisations.

ALGERIA

Henri ABOULKER Surgeon, Professor of the Algiers Faculty of Medicine.
Khaidi LAKHDAR Secretary of the Co-ordination Committee of the Confederated Trade Unions of Algeria (C.G.T.).

AUSTRIA

Gottlieb FIALA Member of the Federal Council.
Otto HORN General Secretary of the Clerical Workers' Union, Member of the National Committee of the Austrian Trade Union Federation (O.G.B.).
Gottfried KREEN President, Austrian Federation of Old Age Pensioners.

BELGIUM

Pol DENOEL, M.D.
W. LEFEBVRE President, United Friendly Society.

BRAZIL

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Rui GUIMARAES Secretary of the Hotel Workers' Union, Secretary of the Committee of the Brazilian Congress for Social Protection.
Ramiro LUCHESI President of the Workers' Confederation.
Isnard TEIXEIRA Professor of Parasitology at the Faculty of Medicine, University of Rio de Janeiro.

CAMEROONS

Georges YEMI Secretary of the Cameroons Trade Union Confederation.
Jacques N'GOM General Secretary of the Cameroons Trade Union Confederation, Member of the National Economic Council.

CANADA

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CHILE

Dr. Salvador Allende GOSSEN Senator, Vice-President of the Senate, author of Law Reforms Nos. 4054 and 4055 on Compulsory Workers' Insurance and Workmen's Compensation.
Dr. Natalio BERMAN Former Member of the Chilean National Congress.
Juan Vargas PUEBLA Liaison Secretary of the Chilean Workers' Confederation.
Miguel Concha QUEZADA Former Minister of State, Member of the Technical Research Commission of the Chilean Workers' Confederation.

CHINA

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Chu Hsueh FAN Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour.
Lei Jo Wu General Secretary, All China Federation of Labour.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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Gustav KLIMENT President of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

FINLAND

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Lars JUNTILLA Head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Council of Trade Unions.
Eino KILPI Member of Parliament, former Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Kusti KULO Head of the Welfare Department of the State Railways.
Viljo RAUTELIN President of the Building Workers' Union.
Thor THORSTROEM Doctor of Medicine.

FRANCE

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INDIA

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Ignacio GARCIA TELLEZ Former Rector of the National University, former Director of the Mexican Social Insurance Institute.
Vicente LOMBARDO TOLEDANO President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.), Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
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F. TIDERMAN Chief Labour Inspector.
H. WERNER Treasurer, Building Workers' Union, Stockholm.

SWITZERLAND

Th. DE FELICE Member of Parliament, author of social legislation.

U.S.S.R.

Leonide SOLOVIEV Secretary of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Anna SCHEEPERS President of the Garment Workers' Union.

Vienna, 3rd November, 1952.

Programme of the Guatemala National Conference

THE Preparartory Committee for the International Conference in Guatemala was constituted during the months of August and September under the Presidency of Carlos H. Ruiz.

Among its first decisions was the organisation of a National Conference with representatives of the trade unions and social service organisations taking part. The date for this Conference was set for the 8th-9th November, 1952.

The purpose of the Conference is to "discuss the question of social insurance in Guatemala in order to find solutions for the serious problems which have arisen in this connection; to find ways to raise benefits for the insured and to vitalise the existing system with a view to a better distribution of the burden of its financing." The agenda of the Conference will contain among other points:

The programme of demands of the workers of Guatemala in the field of social security arising out of the agrarian reform;

Discussion of the W.F.T.U.'s draft social security programme.

Finally, the Conference will choose the delegation for the International Conference next March.

The organisation of the Conference and the further implementation of its findings will be organised through a number of auxiliary committees functioning on the local level with the participation of branches of the Guatemalan Social Service organisations. Thus a broad and full discussion of the problems of social security in Guatemala itself and of the International Conference will be ensured. This will be the more fruitful as although designed on a very broad plan, social security in Guatemala is still in its beginnings.

Italy Fixes Conference Dates

PLANS for the various social security Conferences to be held in Italy, which were announced in the last number of this Bulletin, have now been finalised and the dates fixed.

The **National Conference** will probably be held on November 14th and 15th in Rome, the **Conference of the Small Farmers' Association** also in Rome on November 11th and 12th and the **I.N.C.C.A.** (National Institute for Social Assistance) **Conference on Safety at Work and Industrial diseases** on November 8th and 9th in Milan.

Argentine Committee Publishes Bulletin

AN Information Bulletin on the preparation of the International Conference is now being published by the Argentine Preparatory Committee.

The first number, September, 1952, contains the Communique of the International Preparatory Committee of June, 1952, and invites the Argentine people to organise a truly representative delegation through the National Preparatory Committee. It states the objectives of the preparatory work in Argentine as follows: "In pursuance of the important initiative of the W.F.T.U. in calling together an international Conference on Social Security, a Preparatory Committee was formed in the Argentine with the participation of trade unionists, physicians, lawyers and representatives of women's organisations. This meeting brought out the importance of the International Conference for the workers as well as other sections of the population and showed the perspectives which could result from the exchange of experiences and the affirmation of mutual solidarity in this respect, from the elaboration of a social security programme for the Argentine which would match the legislation of the more advanced countries.

In order to achieve this, it has been decided to work especially on the following subjects: industrial diseases, unemployment benefits, the reform of accident insurance, the enforcement of social legislation in general and the problems arising in connection with unhealthy occupations."

New Publications

THE Preparatory Committee for the International Conference announces the publication, under its auspices, of four booklets on social security questions.

The Fight for Social Security, by Henri Raynaud.

Social Security and the Colonies, by Ali Medora and Jack Woddis.

How to Deal with Unemployment, by I. Barbadoro.

Workers' Control and Administration of Social Security, by Dr. Jan Gallas.

Each of these booklets will serve as a very useful basis for discussion on an important aspect of social security.

They may be ordered from the Editors of this Bulletin, Vienna 1, Seilerstatte 3, Austria in the English, French, Spanish and German languages. The French edition is already off the press, while the other languages are in preparation and will be available shortly.

The English edition is being published by W.F.T.U. Publications Ltd., 6 Chichester Chambers, Chichester Rents, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2., and may be ordered also from this address.

Struggles for Social Security

French African Workers Move for a Better Life, Family Allowances and Social Security.

A VERY important event has taken place in Dakar, French West Africa. From October 6th—8th 1952 over seventy delegates representing the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), the Christian Trade Unions (C.F.T.C.) and the Independent Railway Workers' Union, met there for an inter-trade union Conference to take common action on various problems confronting the workers of their country.

The most important of these is the fate of the **Labour Code** which has been the centre of the African workers' struggles for some years. An acceptable draft was actually passed in April 1951 by the General Assembly, but since then has been blocked by the reactionary Upper House, the French Council of the Republic. When this body finally returned the text, it had been modified in so many essentials to the disadvantage of the workers that it became unacceptable to them. At the Dakar Conference the three Trade Union Federations present weighed this question very carefully and came to the conclusion that the Code in its present form had to be rejected. They further agreed to call upon the workers for united action to obtain the application of the original Assembly version by January 5, 1953. A series of warning strikes in November and January will, according to the Dakar decision, signal the unanimity and resolution of the African workers on this issue.

The Labour Code would settle such primary issues as the meaning of the work contract, the legal working week, trade union rights and collective bargaining. Without such a settlement, little progress can be expected in the field of social security, which is coming more and more to the fore in the thinking of French African workers.

The Labour Code itself contains several extremely vague provisions concerning the improvement of **medical services**, and in an equally indeterminate manner, a section dealing with the introduction of **family allowances** by decree. However insufficient these provisions, they represent an advance and could, under the pressure of the people, serve as a starting point for further progress.

In fact, the concern of the African trade unions with questions of social security already goes far beyond the meagre provisions of the Labour Code. Several resolutions of the Dakar Conference indicate that these questions are rapidly moving up to a place of the first order of importance.

The Co-ordination Committee of the Trade Unions of French West Africa and Togoland decided to call a special meeting on social security questions for the month of November, devoted to drawing up a programme of demands on this subject in keeping with the possibilities and needs of these territories.

At Dakar itself, an important resolution dealing with **accidents at work and workmen's compensation** was adopted, denouncing the present law which covers only accidents caused by machines (which excludes, for instance, all cases of injury by falls, etc.). It completely neglects industrial diseases and finally it affords ridiculously low cash benefits, utterly insufficient for any sort of existence. The report of the committee dealing with this question also stressed that these provisions are not only below those actually in force in France, but also far below the level of the International Conventions of the I.L.O. ratified by France, but the evasion of which in colonial territories is invited by the I.L.O. Constitution itself.

The Resolution of the Dakar Conference on Accidents at Work reads in part:

"In view of the racial discrimination displayed in the decree of April 2, 1931 on accidents at work;

"In view of the fact that this decree violates the French Constitution based on racial equality between peoples of the French Union and that it also violates international agreements to which France is a party;

"In view of the fact that there exists at present no protection whatever against industrial diseases in the French Overseas Territories, in spite of the international agreements which France should be in duty bound to apply equally in the Metropolitan and dependent territories, the Conference demands:

"1) The abolition of the decree of April 2, 1931

"2) The rapid passing of a law covering accidents at work and industrial diseases, in accordance with the spirit of the French Constitution and international agreements existing on this point. This law should, among other things, state the necessity of providing for the re-training of disabled workers and the employment of those partially disabled."

Thus the Dakar Conference clearly reflected the great importance attached by the African workers to questions of social protection. There are all indications that this interest will continue to increase as the fight for the Labour Code develops.

The Thirteenth Annual Pension

IN a number of countries, salaried employees, civil servants and some other categories of workers have been able lately to obtain the payment of a thirteenth salary in the year, which is usually paid out at Christmas time.

Christmas remunerations of varying amounts are now widespread in many industries. These extra payments, however, nowhere represented an actual gain in real wages over the whole year, but merely a contribution towards meeting the increased cost of living.

The workers in those countries therefore consider it only a matter of simple justice that the same advantage should be accorded to old age pensioners, who, more than any other group, are the victims of inflation. In **Italy** they succeeded last April in obtaining payment of a thirteenth pension to those receiving benefits under social insurance. But the public employees were unaccountably left out of this regulation. Recently, Giuseppe Di Vittorio, General-Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) asked the Chamber of Deputies to correct this injustice by extending the benefit of the 13th pension to state pensioners as well. The Italian trade unions and organisations of pensioners strongly support this initiative.

In **Austria** too a very widespread movement is

developing in favour of a thirteenth pension for the old people including social insurance pensioners as well as those on public relief (social assistance). The Austrian Association of Social Insurance Beneficiaries is carrying on an active campaign to ensure the granting of this demand before Christmas this year. They are also demanding an allocation of fuel for pensioners, considering that the price of fuel has increased by 1200 per cent., which is much more than the price increase for any other commodity in daily use.

Assessment of Disability in Gt. Britain— Views of Doctors and Trade Unionists

WE have just received an interesting account of a Conference on the Industrial Injuries Act and Safety Regulations in Factories, which was held at Caxton Hall, London.

The Conference was organised by the **Haldane Society,** and was attended by about 200 delegates representing trade unions, lawyers and doctors. It gave an excellent opportunity for lawyers, who help to draft and interpret Acts, to meet the men who are directly affected by them.

Many doctors sit on medical boards of assessment for industrial injuries and often find that advice would be helpful in determining the amount of disability. Indeed, most doctors have patients who have suffered an injury at work at one time or another, and a knowledge of the procedure by which they obtain benefits is accordingly useful.

Some criticism was levelled at the methods of medical assessment of industrial injuries. Many examples were given to show that doctors usually determine the percentage of disablement by haphazard methods, e.g. loss of two toes, 20 per cent., loss of one finger, 10 per cent., disregarding to a large extent the actual employment of the applicant. This was unavoidable in a situation where most doctors were ignorant of the nature of the work in many industries. The Conference accordingly recommended that a representative of the trade unions, with a knowledge of the applicant's type of employment, should assist the doctor in determining the percentage of disability. The doctor would then give an opinion on how much the injury incapacitated the particular applicant, and the trade unionist with a knowledge of the industry would indicate how far it affected his employment. On the basis of this information, a fair assessment of the applicant's disablement could be made. It was also suggested that in the event of an appeal, the applicant should be allowed to present medical evidence, and the costs should be borne by the Ministry.

Many trade unionists felt that the list of scheduled diseases and occupations was unduly restricted, and it was suggested that special research be undertaken to determine the effects of various processes on health. A member of the Medical Practitioners Union suggested that trade unionists could make an application to medical organisations such as the Socialist Medical Association and the Medical Practitioners Union for a general opinion to be given on such questions; individual cases could not in general be dealt with. Medical opinion could also be useful in drawing up various suggestions for amending Acts.

With regard to accidents, it was recommended that the duty be placed on the employer to take all reasonable practical measures to prevent accidents. In other words, the employer would be liable for damages whenever an accident occurred unless he could prove it was not his fault and he took all proper precautions.

The conference, in general, indicated that doctors could undoubtedly play a greater part in helping their patients to obtain a fair deal under the Industrial Injuries Act.

West German Unemployed Fight for Better Protection

THERE are about 300,000 unemployed in West Berlin. In West Germany the official number of registered unemployed has been for several years between one and two million, with an average of 1,444,000 for the first eight months of 1952. To these figures it is necessary to add a large number of partially unemployed and at least one million non-registered unemployed.

The situation of the unemployed is extremely serious. Unemployment insurance benefits are very low, being paid for a limited time only. After the expiry of that period, the unemployed are put on public relief at even lower rates. Faced with this situation, the unemployed of West Berlin and West Germany have recently started a big campaign to unite all of them behind an emergency programme of demands.

The unemployed of West Berlin are demanding a cost of living allocation of 50 Marks, a Christmas bonus of 10—30 Marks and a supply of fuel, potatoes and warm clothing for the winter at public expense. They insist on the payment of unemployment benefit to all who have paid their contributions, whether their last place of employment happened to be in East or in West Berlin.

These demands originated in discussions among the workers on the dole queues and have been transmitted to the Central Unemployed Committee of West Berlin for further action.

At the same time, a Preparatory Committee of West German Unemployed has been formed, composed of delegates of many local branches. Meeting in Hanover on October 5, 1952, this Committee called on all the unemployed of West Germany to participate in a **General Conference for the Protection of the Unemployed** which is to take place some time in November. The Committee's appeal proposes a programme of demands as a basis of discussion and suggests that delegates be elected directly by local unemployed committees. The purpose of the Conference, it declares, should be "to ensure the right of every German to work, to eat and to have a decent life."

I.L.O. Chemical Industries Committee Rejects Workers' Demands

THE third session of the Chemical Industries Committee, which met from between September 9 and 19, 1952 furnished more evidence on the stagnation of the I.L.O.'s work in the field of social improvement.

In fact results of that session—from the workers' point of view—were practically nil. This is the more regrettable as the present prosperity of the chemical industry would permit it to go ahead with some of the improvements for which chemical workers have long been asking in consideration of the particularly unhealthy and uncomfortable working conditions to which they are exposed.

The most important problems of this order were dealt with by the Sub-Committee on Hours of Work. The workers' delegates believed that this would give them the opportunity to put forward the question of the forty-hour week. But they were quickly disabused by a ruling that the discussion was not supposed to deal with the length of the working week at all, but only with the arrangement of shifts.

As the French workers' delegate, Paul Pigelet of the French C.G.T. explained, the forty-hour week could easily be granted in many countries, considering the amount of work available and the high profits in the industry. The majority of the Workers' Group finally consented to defer the whole question until next year.

The Sub-Committee also rejected a proposal to define the overtime pay rates and to express itself on the desirability of a corresponding number of hours-off for overtime worked.

The question of safety at work, which should be the centre of the Committee's attention, was not discussed at all. However, a resolution to put it on next year's agenda was passed, demanding at the same time that the I.L.O. should prepare proposals bearing among other things on:

(1) The maximum concentration of gas and dust of the most commonly used dangerous substances which can be tolerated in workshops.

(2) The arrangements to be made with regard to a constant analysis of the air in working establishments and the public posting of these indications.

Paul Pigelet and the Italian workers' delegate, Ugo Stocchero (C.G.I.L.) voted against the report of the Sub-Committee on Hours of Work since, in their opinion, it fell far short of expressing the real wishes of the workers. The rest of the Workers' Group voted in favour of the report, in spite of the rejection of all of its essential proposals by the majority.

Information, Correspondence, Discussion

New Social Security System for Farmers and Independent Workers in Czechoslovakia

BY decree of September 9, 1952, a new social security scheme was inaugurated in Czechoslovakia for members of agricultural co-operatives, independent farmers and artisans. This is in addition to the National Insurance Scheme covering all which embraces medical care, health protection and maternity benefits.

The new scheme establishes old age and disablement pensions, pensions for the widows and orphans of insured persons, education allowances and sickness benefit. Contributions and basic rates of pensions are fixed in relation to the amount of tilled land. An independent farmer owning 7 hectares for example will pay a monthly contribution of 137.5 Czech crowns for a minimum pension of 1,000 crowns a month after ten years. The allowance for his widow (or common law wife), would be 600 crowns minimum. All pensions are increased by 5 per cent. for every five years of insurance, and by 50 per cent. in the case of any physical disability of the beneficiary. Disablement pensions are paid after 4 years of insurance at the same rate as old age pensions. Education allowances are paid for each child up to 16 years, and in certain cases up to 25 years. The amounts are 190 crowns for one child, 430 for two, up to 2,380 for seven and 540 more for each following child.

For members of unified co-operatives, the scheme provides some additional advantages. The co-operative farmer may choose his own insurance contract within a range of contributions from 70-440 crowns a month, with corresponding pensions ranging from 800-2,000 crowns. The basic pension for widows and orphans is 700 crowns. Old age pensioners may continue to work, and no maximum revenue is imposed. But the pension is increased by 15 per cent. for each year that its payment is voluntarily deferred by the insured person who continues to work. In contrast to the independent farmers, co-operative farmers also have the right to pensions in the case of partial disablement. Funeral costs up to 5,000 crowns are paid for in the case of a death caused by an accident at work. Sickness benefit is paid not only to the insured, but also to members of his family. The scheme is obligatory and those members of co-operatives who do not enter an individual contract with the Insurance Institute are automatically insured at the minimum rate.

What is happening to Social Insurance Funds in Brazil?

THE following information has been received from Brazil:

An analysis of the balance sheet of the Old Age Pensions Institute for Industry (I.A.P.I.), shows that the receipts of the I.A.P.I. attained 1,980 million cruzeiros in 1950 while total expenditure for cash benefits and medical assistance only amounted to 966 million cruzeiros, that is 48 per cent. of the receipts.

Moreover, while only 966 millions has been spent on benefits and medical assistance, the contributions of the workers to I.A.P.I. amounted to 854 millions.

During 1949 the balance sheet of the I.A.P.I. showed

that its investments totalled 2,993 millions of cruzeiros. These investments are divided into two parts: investments on behalf of the workers' needs (house building, loans for purchase of houses) and for the financing of I.A.P.I.; and investments on behalf of the employers, various companies, and the government's war policy. The sums distributed under these two types of investments are the following:

Investments serving the insured workers	Millions of cruzeiros
Houses for insured workers	883
Loans for the purchase of houses	228
Furniture for the use of I.A.P.I.	20
	1131

Investments on behalf of non-contributors	
Buildings for letting	351
Loans	588
Stocks and shares	651
Special investments	241
Various investments	32
	1863

Thus in 1949 investment benefiting non-contributors was greater by 64 per cent. than that for the benefit of insured workers.

The I.A.P.I. has also granted loans to factories engaged on armament production. It therefore now possesses 6 million cruzeiros worth of shares in the Vale do Rio Doce Company, and 155 millions worth of shares in the National Steel Company.

These two companies are directed by army officers and controlled financially by American trusts through loans granted by the Washington Export-Import Bank.

But the Brazilian workers want the social insurance funds to be used exclusively in the interests of the insured. This is why they are demanding a real representation on the I.A.P.I. Administrative Board which at present is exclusively in the hands of the government.

The French Medical Profession and the Defence of Social Security

By VICTOR LAFITTE, M.D.

WITH the development of a general campaign against social security, special efforts are being made to line up the medical profession alongside the foes of social insurance, exploiting the fact that doctors have been as a consequence of the insurance system, compelled to fulfil certain administrative formalities and to submit to a limitation of their freedom to receive fees.

But these efforts have in the long run failed to achieve any result, because doctors are more and more coming to realise that it is not possible to envisage a genuine defence of their professional interests without defending the health of the nation, which implies the maintenance and development of social security legislation.

The influence of social conditions on sickness is today a matter of general agreement. It is brutally reflected by the social inequality shown by sickness and death statistics in many countries.

Let us take for instance the example of Paris which harbours most striking contrasts from the viewpoint of social inequality.

Here are some figures requiring no comment and contrasting in each case a well to do and a poor neighbourhood.

1. General mortality rate per 1,000 inhabitants (1932-1934):

XIV district	**154**
VIII „	**101**

2. Mortality rate from tuberculosis (1947, per 100,000 inhabitants):

XX district	**69**
XVI „	**28**

3. Infant mortality rate (number of deaths from 0 to 1 year, per 1,000 births 1932-1934):

XIX district	**101**
XVI „	**42.8**

4. Rate of still-born infants per 1,000 births:

XX district	**85.8**
XVI „	**39.6**

5. Rate of tuberculosis morbidity (number of patients per 100,000 Parisians):

III district	**770**
VIII „	**182**

Similar figures are available in all capitalist countries. Thus, in the United States, according to the accounts given by the National Association against Tuberculosis (1930), the mortality rates from tuberculosis are divided in the following manner between whites and Negroes:

	Whites	Negroes
Total population	**0.72**	**2.33**
Urban „	**0.73**	**3.01**
Rural „	**0.71**	**1.97**

The British documentation, which divides the population into five categories, gives the following information:

	Mortality 1921-1923	Infant Mortality 1939
1. Independent class, high civil servants, etc.	**82**	**26.8**
2. Employees, small industrialists and shopkeepers, etc. ...	**93**	**34.4**
3. Artisans and skilled workers	**94**	**44.4**
4. Semi-skilled workers ...	**99**	**51.4**
5. Labourers	**121**	**60.1**

The French Public Health Budget, which does not even represent 1 per cent. of the total budget, is at present inadequate to wipe out this inequality.

There are at present about 37,000 doctors in France and because of the difficulty that some of them find in making a decent living, there has been talk of a surplus of doctors and of limiting the number of medical students.

In reality there is no surplus, but an insufficient number of practitioners both in relation to the real needs of the population, and to a necessary policy of prevention and the systematic tracking down of disease among the population. Above all, it is necessary to speak of

the bad geographical distribution which results in one doctor per 600 people in the Paris region, and only one per 2,000 in certain agricultural regions, one per 60,000 in the Constantine department (Algeria) and one per 75,000 in French West Africa.

It is the same with dentists, midwives, nurses and social welfare workers.

Hospital equipment is for the most part decrepit and as a whole insufficient. The war brought about the destruction of 75 training hospitals, with a total of 20,000 beds out of the then existing 150,000. Clearly a hospital reconstruction plan providing for a total of 100,000 beds is of the first urgency.

Our anti-cancer facilities are reduced to 14,000 beds while the need is for at least three times that amount.

As to sanatoria, we need a minimum of 60,000 beds, morbidity being on the increase in spite of modern therapeutics, while we only have 35,000 beds at our disposal.

It is the same with preventive sanatoria, convalescent centres, as also in other spheres such as psychiatric hospitals and preventive medicine centres.

Under these conditions, it is becoming more and more clear to the French medical profession that the great mass of the population, for purely economic reasons, cannot take advantage of the achievements of modern medicine.

Health protection and medical care is becoming much more expensive, for modern medicine includes complicated diagnostic methods and costly therapeutics. The medical profession is well aware that without the Social Security system, the mass of the people would not, in the majority of cases, be cared for at all, and that also, as a result of this, many doctors' surgeries would run the risk of remaining empty.

The great merits of French social security legislation are that it covers all wage-earners, that the great number of diverse mutual funds which previously existed were unified, that it entrusts, at least in part, the management of the funds to the insured and finally that it provides for the reimbursement of 80 per cent. of medical and pharmaceutical expenses and even up to 100 per cent. in certain cases (illness of long duration, surgical operations, etc.).

The social security legislation respects the principles that the medical profession consider important for the normal exercise of the profession:

patient's free choice of doctor,
professional secrecy,
the freedom of therapeutic prescription.

On the other hand, difficulties have arisen in connection with the problem of fixed fees. Social security in France is based on the principle of a sickness insurance guaranteeing the insured reimbursement of 80 per cent of his expenses, and providing agreements for this between insurance funds and departmental[1] associations of physicians with a view to fixing a scale of fees. The legislation also allows for the possibility in certain justified cases (the doctor's reputation, the difficulty of the treatment, etc.) of increased fees.

It is around this problem that a great many discussions have taken place between the Social Security Administration and the Medical Associations since the legislation came into operation. Practically all departments have signed an agreement, as that is obviously in the interest not only of the patients, but also of the great majority of doctors.

An increasing number of doctors are not only coming to support the present system which ensures patients the possibility of calling on a doctor, but they would like to see the principle of free medical care introduced.

With regard to the reactionary proposals to limit benefits and especially to abolish insurance for mild diseases the whole of the medical profession has shown its opposition; for this abolition would strike at the interests of the children, without solvng the present difficulties of Social Security.

The French medical profession is becoming increasingly aware that the exercise of medicine, both scientific and practical, preventive and curative, is only conceivable through the defence and improvement of Social Security and public health legislation.

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[1]The department is a French territorial administrative area.

Note.—The VIII and the XVI districts are in general better-off districts while the other districts mentioned are essentially working class districts.

NOTES IN BRIEF

HUNGARY: SOME COMPARISONS

THE following information is taken from a special issue on social security of the Information Bulletin of the Hungarian Trade Unions (No. 3, 1952).

Before the war, 30 per cent. of the population was covered by social insurance, today it is 60 per cent. and at the end of the current Five Year Plan it will be 70 per cent.

Before the war, sickness benefit was paid only from the third day of illness at a rate of 55 per cent. of wages. In 1945 this was raised to 65 per cent. and in 1952 to 75 per cent. According to present plans it will reach 85 per cent. in 1955 and 100 per cent. in 1960 for those who have been at work five years or longer.

Before the war, hospital care and sickness benefit were granted for a limited time only. Today there is no time limit. In the case of permanent disability, a disablement pension takes the place of sickness benefit.

Before the war, sickness benefit ceased during hospitalisation. Today, a single insured person receives during hospitalisation 50 per cent. of the usual benefit, a married person 80 per cent.

Before the war, workers had to pay for social insurance; today the government and the enterprises take care of the entire charge.

The current Five Year Plan (1950-1954) provides for an increase of hospital beds by 5,000, the construction of two large central hospitals, the doubling of the number of clinics and the establishment of 356 new medical centres in rural districts.

FREE MEDICAL CARE FOR CHINESE GOVERNMENT WORKERS

STARTING July, 1952, free medical treatment will be extended to all personnel in government agencies, peoples' organisations and their departments throughout the country. This was provided in a decree issued by the Government Administration Council. Under the terms of the decree, all medical expenses for this category of workers will be borne by the government. It was pointed out, however. that this had already been carried out in the old liberated areas and in many other parts of the country. Now the general application of the principle has become possible.

RISE OF U.S. ACCIDENT RATES

FEDERATED PRESS (Washington, 3.9.52) reports: "A study of industrial accidents presented to the National Labour Management Manpower Committee showed a serious rise in deaths and injuries in practically every field where union members work, with a heavy emphasis on war-connected industries. The Committee found 16,000 workers were killed in job accidents in 1951 and two million were injured. The Committee found that the speed-up in industry attending the war in Korea had increased the industrial accident fre-

quency rate 12 per cent. since June, 1950. This was a sharp and truly alarming reversal. For the four years preceding 1950 there had been a steady decrease in the rate of accidents. As John L. Lewis said in announcing his memorial work stoppage for miners killed in preventable accidents: 'In the wake of this economic massacre are the bereaved widows, the helpless orphans, the broken homes, the stricken communities, accompanied by grinding poverty and broken life's dreams.' Yet, John R. Steelman, the head of the Committee, was able to pass off the crisis with a mere recommendation for 'cooperation' by employers and employees for better safety measures'."

BUDGET CRISIS IN AUSTRIA

THE steady decline of social services in Austria—a country which used to pride itself on its achievements in this field—was accentuated last October by a Cabinet crisis provoked by the budget proposal of the Minister of Finance. Although no precise figures have been published as yet, it transpired that only a 25 per cent. state contribution to the pension insurance system was provided for while 30 per cent. is considered as the minimum required to ensure that payment of old age and other pensions at the present pitifully low rates. Previously the Finance Minister had ordered a cut of 90 million schillings in war victims' allowances.

SWEDISH DENTAL SERVICE REFORM REMAINS ON PAPER

THE reform of free dental services for children of school age and the lower income groups, the principle of which was already adopted in 1938 by the Swedish Parliament and then confirmed in 1949, has been applied so far in a most limited way.

This reform provided for the organisation of a network of dental polyclinics covering the whole of the country. But at present the inadequate number of dentists has forced the authorities to close 41 polyclinics out of the existing 399, while 10 others which were ready to come into operation remain unopened for the same reason. It was estimated in the initial stages that 2,300 dentists would be required if the dental polyclinics were to function in a satisfactory manner. But at present there are only 17 dentists employed in the central polyclinics and 736 in district polyclinics.

The shortage of technical personnel, caused by the disproportion of salary as compared with private dentists, has resulted in a bottle neck in appointments and treatment. Children have to wait until they are five years old before they can obtain treatment. The fact that most polyclinics are now refusing to accept nearly all new patients, forces children and other members of lower income families, either to go without dental treatment or to pay very high fees for treatment by a private dentist.

Discussion of the Social Security Draft Programme

A Contribution by INDER SEN GUPTA—India

THE decision of the W.F.T.U. to convene an International Conference for the Defence and Improvement of Social Security of the working people will be welcomed in all quarters throughout the world irrespective of differing political and organisational outlooks.

The convocation of the Conference and the broad draft programme offered as a basis of discussion by the W.F.T.U., opens new opportunities for mobilising not only the working class but the entire working people, trade unions, individuals interested in social insurance and people of all shades of opinions and belonging to different organisations and to no organisation, throughout the world.

The coming Conference and the draft programme is of special interest to the peoples in colonial and dependent countries, where social insurance hardly exists. Whatever frugal measures have been taken in this respect by the governments of these countries, forced by the pressure of the organised trade unions and of people's movements, have been so poorly applied that the workers have felt little joy in them. In India, for example, social insurance funds are administered by the employers, the government and civil servants, while workers are represented on purely consultative bodies only, the resulting effect is that workers get very little of the actual benefits provided for under the laws.

The draft programme raises the issue of management of social insurance by the workers and trade unions alone, of course, with assistance from technical staff like the medical staff. But, in my opinion, such a demand is premature at this stage of the movement for social insurance in India. At this stage the most important and most easily realisable and understandable demand to the working people in the colonies and semi-colonies, should be the demand for workers elected representatives and the right of trade unions to participate in the joint management of Social Insurance, along with the employers and the government.

Employer-Government-Workers' Joint Management of social insurance funds should be the programme for colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The other demand that should be not merely emphasised but should be the cornerstone of working class action in countries like India is Social Insurance against unemployment at the rate of 75 per cent. of actual wages, to be paid to all those partially employed and totally unemployed, and speedy arrangement for providing jobs for the unemployed.

Since working conditions in factories in these countries are deplorable—no proper fencing of machinery, no proper ventilation and exhaust arrangements—the workers fall an easy prey to all kinds of occupational diseases and accidents, against which they are never properly protected.

Some other demands raised in the draft programme, which appear to be of special significance for the underdeveloped countries, are free medical care for workers at the place of work, full maternity benefit and adequate allowances in case of disablement, sickness and occupational diseases.

Since agricultural labourers constitute the majority of the population of these countries, special emphasis should be placed on the struggle for unemployment insurance and old age and sickness benefits for agricultural workers. In India 5 million agricultural workers are unemployed and another 5 million are only partially employed—the period of such partial employment not exceeding more than 4 or 5 months during a year. No social insurance of any kind exists for agricultural workers. Efforts must be made to draw in this section of working people to make our struggles for social insurance all-embracing, all-powerful and irresistible.

One point in the draft programme which seems to be doubtful is that social security benefits should be related to wages. In India for example the wages of the workers are so low, and due to inflation and lack of industrialisation the prices have gone so high, that if the benefits are related to wages and not to the cost of living, the workers will get merely a pittance. In view of this, scales of benefits should in my opinion be related to the cost of living and not to wages.

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EDITORIAL

The Le Léap Affair Concerns All of Us

FROM June 9 to 14 this year, our Brother Alain Le Léap took part in the session of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., of which he is one of the Vice-Presidents.

It will be remembered that the main item on the agenda of the Executive Bureau meeting was the present struggles of the workers and the defence of trade union rights.

Alain Le Léap made an important contribution in the discussion on this report. He spoke of the many struggles of the men and women workers of France. He drew the attention of the Executive Bureau members to the character of the French General Confederation of Labour's (C.G.T.) sustained activity for the economic demands and the urgent vital needs of the mass of the workers.

The C.G.T. General Secretary showed how the whole economic and social policy of the present French Government rested upon the following two essential facts :

1. French foreign policy and the commitments arising from its adherence to the North Atlantic Pact, and the continuance of the colonial war in Viet-Nam were being carried on to the detriment of the interests and needs of the great majority of the people of France.

2. The government was presided over by an industrialist, Antoine Pinay, a former National Councillor under Petain during the Nazi occupation of France. Through the medium of this industrialist, the National Council of French Employers (Conseil National du Patronat Francais), on which he is dependent, was entrenched in the leadership of the government.

Alain Le Léap showed by detailed factual arguments and examples *" that it is difficult to separate the attacks on trade union liberties from those made in a more general way on democratic liberties in our country."*

After exposing the completely reactionary direction of governmental policy in France, he went on to state that :

" In order to carry on its domestic and international policy, the government is quite naturally led to impose it by force."

That was last June.

Now Alain Le Léap is in prison.

☆ ☆ ☆

ON October 10, Alain Le Léap, the General Secretary of the French C.G.T. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. was imprisoned on government orders. An examining magistrate whose authority derives from military law has been appointed to conduct our brother's trial.

Many trade union militants are in prison in the capitalist and colonial countries. After Jesus Faria in Venezuela, Lopez Raimundo in Spain. Ambatielos in Greece, and others—now Alain Le Léap is imprisoned in Paris.

The Executive Bureau was thus perfectly correct at the conclusion of its session on June 14, 1952, in calling upon men and women workers of the whole world :

> "to strengthen and develop the fight for the defence of *trade union rights* and *democratic liberties,* linking it closely with the fight for *economic* and *social demands,* for *national independence* and for *peace.*"

The imprisonment of our Brother Le Léap shows that the more its situation becomes unsteady and the more its policy of hunger and war is disavowed by the overwhelming majority of the peoples, the more international reaction pursues its policy of force and anti-democratic and anti-working class repression.

Thus the fear which has seized reactionary and bourgeois circles is spreading, their fear of the resistance of the working peoples to their evil policy, and has turned them into the hangmen of the best working class militants.

But history teaches us that when the working class unites, fights, and places the exploiting employers and governments on the defensive, it speeds the winning of great new political and social victories for the proletariat.

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ALAIN LE LEAP has been imprisoned because he has boldly and ardently expressed the opinion that the peoples should defend the supreme good of humanity, *peace among peoples of all nationalities, races and religions.*

In all countries, even in those most distant from France, our friends must draw the correct conclusions from the repression directed against Alain Le Léap, and through him, against the French C.G.T. and the W.F.T.U.

In trying to attack the C.G.T., the present government crew in France and the section of the big bourgeoisie which is dependent upon the policy being elaborated in Washington, wish to make an example while at the same time providing sureties to their masters.

It has become imperative for employers and governments to carry further their attempt to turn the trade unions into their tame servants so as to guarantee to a privileged minority the scandalous profits acquired through intensifying the exploitation of the working masses.

They would thus like to carry on, undisturbed and protected against those who denounce them, the monstrous policy which rejects the idea of negotiation in international affairs in favour solely of solutions by force.

This is true for France. It is also true for every other capitalist country in Europe. It remains true for the countries of South-East Asia and the Pacific and for North and South America.

It would be mistaken to believe that the arrest of Alain Le Léap is an exclusively French affair which concerns only the people of France and which threatens the interests and rights of the French workers alone.

This arrest is one of the links in the chain of repressive measures with which imperialism seeks to bind the democratic and working class forces of the countries which are subject to its pressure and its orders.

The united action of the French workers, democrats and progressives, fraternally aided and supported by those magnificent activities which international working class solidarity is able to develop during the course of the most important events and at the time of decisive struggles, will free Alain Le Léap from his jailers.

The release of our brother is the task of all of us, whatever our nationality, race or religion, and whatever our trade union affiliation.

That is the first lesson we must learn from the conditions under which Alain Le Léap has been imprisoned and the C.G.T. attacked by this arbitrary arrest.

OUR brother is in prison because of his opinions. He has been imprisoned for having expressed his opinions in writing and for having made his thoughts known, which are ours and those of scores and hundreds of millions of men and women throughout the world, that an end should be put to the war in Viet-Nam and Korea, that a just and lasting peace be established.

Alain Le Léap has been imprisoned while taking a courageous part in the national and international campaign denouncing the re-establishment of the Wehrmacht with its complement of Nazi and revenge-hungry officers.

While this is happening, Krupp is re-establishing his power in the Ruhr and German generals who drenched Europe in blood are being freed by the Anglo-American authorities and the Bonn government. These generals immediately declare : "It is not we, but the allies of the last World War who are the real war criminals."

Our brother is accused of endangering the external security of the State. What has been said above shows the real source of present and future attacks on French security. No longer even attempting to hide their allegiance to a government policy which is drawn up and decided in Washington, these politicians have the audacity to bring such an accusation against Alain Le Léap ! This is a clear sign of the moral decadence of certain circles of the French bourgeoisie.

Alain Le Léap is known as a non-party trade union militant, a member of the C.G.T. for twenty years and faithful to its long-standing traditions of struggle for peace. He is known in France as a fervent patriot who earned the right to be considered such during the battles of the French Resistance against the Hitlerite invaders and oppressors. He is one of the fervent champions of the fight for trade union unity in France and throughout the world. He is an ardent anti-fascist militant.

That earns him the hatred of the enemies of the working class, of the exploiting employers, of the governments who trample on national independence and who violate the democratic rights and liberties of their own bourgeois regime.

The workers of the capitalist and colonial countries will fit the defence of the General Secretary of the French C.G.T. into its rightful place in the united struggle of the peoples for national independence and democratic liberties.

Thus this concrete fact, added to others, will develop the indispensable struggle for *democratic liberties* and *national sovereignty.*

At a crucial moment in the history of the peoples, when the working class, the masses of the people and the democratic and progressive forces, are truly defending national sovereignty, democratic rights and the liberties which the possessing bourgeois classes are no longer able to defend and safeguard, we repeat the Appeal made last June by the Executive Bureau :

"The W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau expresses its fraternal solidarity to the workers in their just fight.

"All the experience of the international working class movement teaches us that it is essentially by united action that the workers can defend their rights and attain their ends.

"The World Federation of Trade Unions calls upon workers and trade union organisations of all viewpoints and of all countries to broaden their activities in order to halt the offensive of reaction, against all manifestations of fascism and to take part in rallying all democratic forces against the policy of war and repression."

Louis Saillant

Vienna, November 3, 1952.

The Immediate Rele

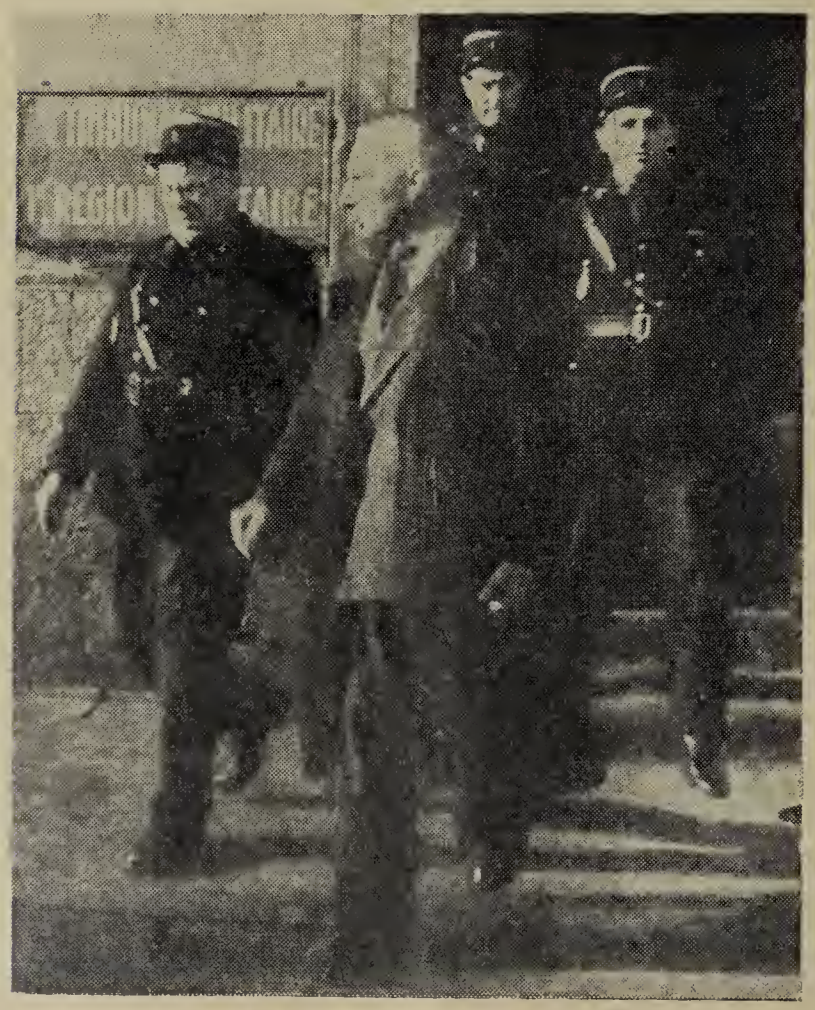
THE PROTEST CAMPAIGN

IN all countries throughout the world, the arrest of Alain Le Léap continues to arouse intense feeling —a feeling which is particularly broad and deep in France.

The campaign which is developing there for the release of the General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., reflects the extent of the protest among the most varied sections of the people in face of the government's blow directed against the C.G.T. and against democratic organisations and democratic liberties. In the factories, workers of all viewpoints are signing thousands of resolutions and petitions; work stoppages take place in which all workers regardless of their trade union affiliations take part.

Local and County organisations belonging to trade union centres other than the C.G.T. (Christian, Independent, "Force Ouvrière" led by right-wing socialists)

Alain Le Léap at the moment of his arrest.



DECLARATION OF THE WO

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SINCE October 10, 1952, ALAIN LE LEAP, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of France and Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions has been in prison by order of the French government.

Indignant protests are being made by the workers of all opinions in all countries.

They are supporting the growing activity by all French workers and democrats who demand the release of ALAIN LE LEAP and other French patriots, victims of the same repression.

The workers throughout the world who hold ALAIN LE LEAP in very high esteem as a courageous and undeviating trade unionist, as a true upholder of the deep feelings of unity and friendship which animate the workers and peoples of all countries, are many.

An ardent defender of working class unity, ALAIN LE LEAP is in the front ranks of those in France who have done most to defeat the manoeuvres of the splitters who aimed at destroying the C.G.T., the only real united Trade Union Centre representative of the mass of the French workers.

The General Secretary of the C.G.T. is today accused by a Military Tribunal of an attack against the external security of the State.

The French government would have us believe that the charge against Alain Le Léap is a result of his personal activities and not a result of the performance of his duties as C.G.T. General Secretary. It is clear to everyone that this is nothing but a lie aimed at covering up the reactionary attack on the C.G.T.

In their servile efforts to carry out the aggressive will to domination of the American millionaires and international reactionary forces, the French government is persecuting ALAIN LE LEAP for having placed himself at the head of the fight to end the despicable colonial war in Indo-China against which the

ase of Alain Le Léap

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ST OF ALAIN LE LÉAP

overwhelming majority of the French people are justly taking a stand.

The anti-working class and militarist reactionary forces of France have ordered this outrageous imprisonment of LE LEAP because he is one of the best fighters for unity and for international working class solidarity in the struggle for the demands of the mass of the working people, and in defence of world peace, dangerously threatened by the war in Korea and by the remilitarisation of Japan and Western Germany.

These noble causes for which ALAIN LE LEAP has given his best and for which he is today accused before the Military Tribunals of his country, are also those for which the W.F.T.U. and the workers and democrats of all countries are fighting.

The attacks against LE LEAP directly affect the C.G.T., France's great trade union centre.

It will escape no worker that the W.F.T.U. is once more being attacked and through it, the exercise of international working class solidarity and the most elementary democratic rights, including freedom of opinion and trade union rights

Workers are well aware that the blows aimed at ALAIN LE LEAP are directed towards subordinating the international trade union movement to the big international monopolies' policy of poverty, fascism and war.

That is why, certain of being heard and understood, the W.F.T.U. appeals to the workers of all continents, of all races and trade unions, political and religious affiliations. It asks them to increase the tremendous wave of international protest which, added to that of French workers and democrats, will be irresistible in rescuing ALAIN LE LEAP from the clutches of the enemies of the working class, freedom and peace.

The Secretariat,
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.
Vienna, October 31st, 1952.

are condemning with the utmost severity the scandalous arrest of Le Léap.

In addition, leading personalities from the political, scientific, artistic and literary world, representing the most diverse viewpoints and groups, are publicly associating themselves with the campaign of solidarity by courageously denouncing the government's arbitrary action.

In Italy, work stoppages have taken place in factories of the big towns in protest against the arrest of Alain Le Léap. A message of solidarity has been sent in the name of two million agricultural workers.

Sending the protest of the Italian General Confederation of Labour to the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, Brother G. Di Vittorio, President of the W.F.TU., writes :

"We fully understand the significance of the arrest of our brother Alain Le Léap : it is a blow of the forces of reaction which is directed not only against Brother Le Léap, but also, and in particular, against the W.F.T.U. This is also realised by the great mass of Italian workers who, at many meetings, rallies,

Telegram sent by G. Di VITTORIO on October 16, 1952 to ALAIN LE LÉAP in Fresnes prison

ON BEHALF OF FIVE MILLION ORGANISED ITALIAN WORKERS, THE SECRETARIAT OF OUR CONFEDERATION, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL VIEWPOINTS, UNANIMOUSLY EXPRESSES ITS INDIGNATION AGAINST YOUR ILLEGAL ARREST BY REAFFIRMING ITS COMPLETE SOLIDARITY WITH YOU AND OUR FRENCH FELLOW WORKERS FOR YOUR STRUGGLE IN DEFENCE OF LIVING STANDARDS, DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE. TOGETHER WITH ALL ITALIAN WORKERS WE DEMAND YOUR RELEASE, SEND YOU FRATERNAL GREETINGS AND APPLAUD YOUR COURAGE.

G. DI VITTORIO
GENERAL SECREARY OF THE ITALIAN GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (C.G.I.L.).

trade conferences, etc., have spontaneously sent protests to the French Ambassador in Rome and to the French government. This campaign is developing."

In response to the appeal of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.) to all national trade union centres and affiliated organisations, the Venezuela trade unions have, for example, roused the workers by means of leaflets, newspapers and posters. Among many other messages recently received are those from trade union organisations of Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, Finland, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Iran, India, China, Korea, Viet-Nam, Australia, protests from the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.) and democratic organisations and international gatherings such as, for example, the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. Active trade unionists from the various countries who attended this Conference, including several representatives of organisations not affiliated to the W.F.T.U., signed a protest, the text of which we publish on page 7. Every day the campaign is increasing in intensity. Every day the slogan "Free Alain Le Léap" is echoing with greater force throughout the world.

The Most Varied Personalities Protest Against the Arrest of Alain Le Léap

THE following French public personalities have protested against the arbitrary arrest of Alain Le Léap. They have diverse political views, very often far removed from the working class and its organisations.

CLAUDE BOURDET—Journalist, Chairman of the Editorial Board of the weekly "l'Observateur," former contributor to the newspaper "Combat":

"The arrest of Monsieur Le Léap is the first move in the campaign of repression against non-communists.

"If this move succeeds, we can be sure that others will follow. A few months ago Article 80, paragraph 2 of the Penal Code was mutilated in order to apply the principle of **attacks on the external security of the State to the overseas territories. . . .** We don't know whether the government intends to use the new elastic clause against Le Léap, for example, in order to incriminate him because of the articles in which he approved the refusal to transport arms to Viet-Nam. I remind the government, in case it has forgotten, that I wrote an article in the old "Combat" in which I explained that it seemed to me that the workers have the right to refuse to identify themselves with this war which is not in the interests of France."

VERCORS, writer.

"Slowly but surely we are developing into a disgusting police state. The arrests of Alain Le Léap and his friends, like those of Jacques Duclos and André Stil yesterday, like those of you or me tomorrow, are justified (if one can use this word!) by reasons which are nothing but cynical pretexts believed by no one. In fact, they are "administrative" imprisonments such as those which the Vichy regime and all fascist governments used and continue to use.

"Popular indignation remains the sole safeguard for free men; we are therefore protecting ourselves when we show vigilance against this secret terror which is being increasingly organised in our country, accompanied by an air of hypocritical friendliness."

M. DUFFAUD, Secretary of the C.F.T.C. (Christian trade union centre) of Gard.

"As far as I am concerned, I am completely opposed to the arrest of Alain Le Léap. I am against this action whatever the reason advanced to justify its legality."

AIGUEPERSE, Editor-in-Chief of the weekly journal of the Independent National Trade Union of Teachers, retiring General Secretary of this organisation.

"We will not tolerate the arrest of active trade unionists without any definite reasons being put forward, under the highly vague and facile pretext of an attack against the external security of the state or that of having spread demoralisation in the army. We demand that a French citizen, though he is General Secretary of the C.G.T., and an influential member of various political or semi-political organisations, be able freely to express his opposition to the war in Indo-China and the lengthening of military service."

M. J. M. DOMENACH, Editor-in-Chief of the Catholic review "Esprit."

"There are not two categories of citizens. We have always protested, in the same way as Alain Le Léap and the others imprisoned, against the war which is contrary to the honour and interest of France. Therefore, Alain Le Léap and the others imprisoned should be released or else all of us should be put into prison."

Jean Paul SARTRE, writer.

"Since May 26, we have seen a whole series of wholly illegal arrests such as those of Duclos and Stil . . . whose arrests were carried out without any attempt to justify them as in the case of Alain Le Léap, where repeated pretexts have been put forward to justify his arrest. . . .

"The method used consists of accusing the Communist Party alone of subversive propaganda which in fact is supported by a large number of people who have no connection with this party and who sometimes even disagree with it.

"The best contribution which can be made at the present moment by the intellectuals who have expressed their feelings on the war in Indo-China in newspapers and magazines is to say to the government, as Domenach has proposed: 'If it is a crime to disaprove of this war, why aren't we put on trial? If you do not put us on trial, why are you delaying the release of those who have been imprisoned under this charge?' "

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On October 22, 1952, a huge and enthusiastic meeting of tens of thousands of Parisians took place in Paris for the release of Alain Le Léap and the imprisoned leaders of the French Republican Youth and against the lifting of the Parliamentary immunity of the Communist deputies demanded by the government. The meeting was presided over by Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, and by the writer, Francis Jourdain.

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PROTEST from trade union militants attending the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

THE following message was sent on October 14 to the French government by trade unionists of various countries attending the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, to protest against the illegal arrest of Alain Le Léap:

"We, the undersigned trade union representatives attending the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, protest strongly against your government's unjustified action in arresting Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of France and Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It is clear that the only charge you lay against Le Léap is that of being a supporter of peace. To fight for peace is not a crime. Therefore, we demand that you order the immediate release of this distinguished trade union leader and cease the persecution of the peace movement."

The above protest was signed by:

E. Thornton—W.F.T.U. Asian and Australasian Liaison Bureau
Liu Ning I—All-China Federation of Labour
Duong Back Lien—Viet-Nam General Federation of Workers
Subodh Banerjee—United Trades Union Congress of India
Tara Kumar Dutta—Bengal Provincial Trades Union Congress, India
George Da Silva—Hind Mazdoor Sabha of India
Y. D. Sharma—Delhi State Trades Union Congress
Paul Sailendra—Bata Workers' Union of India
C. Hikkaduwage—President of the All-Ceylon Dock and Harbour Workers' Union
H. G. S. Ratnaweera—Ceylon Trades Union Federation
P. J. Gunawadena—All-Ceylon Dock & Harbour Workers' Union
Efrain Rodriguez—Committee of Unity and Reconstruction of Nicaragua
Felipe Sanchez Acevedo—Mexico
Elia De Mejia—Honduras
Victor M. Bautista Lasprilla—Peasants' Federation of Cundimarca, Colombia
Ventura Puentes Vanegas—Independent Workers' Federation of Columbia
D. B. Hart—Building Workers' Industrial Union of Australia
D. Castaneda—Clothing Workers' Trade Union of El Salvador
N. Sanmagathasan—Vice-President of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation
N. W. Tasker—New Zealand Railway Tradesmen's Association
L. C. Southon—New Zealand Tramway Union
Arthur MacCougan—New Zealand West Coast Miners
S. M. G. Letica—New Zealand Railway Tradesmen's Association
Frank B. Knipe—New Zealand Seamen
Mardjoko—Central Organisation of Trade Unions, Indonesia
P. M. S. L. Tobing—Oil Workers' Trade Union of Indonesia
E. W. Masius—Forestry Workers' Union of Indonesia
H. F. Tampenawas—Plantation Workers of Indonesia
U Ba Nyein—Burma Trades Union Congress
Ko Ohn Pe—Burma Trades Union Congress
Thakin Thein Kywe—Trades Union Congress of Tharawaddy District
U. Khin Maung—Burma
Thakin Ba Shwe—All-Burma Peasants' Organisation
T. P. Wan—Burma Trades Union Congress
Kenta Kaneko—Japan
Hyun Hun—Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Korea
Ozawa Kiyoshi—Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan
Hiroki Kojima—Council of Government Workers' Unions of Japan

Preparation for the Peoples' Peace Congress

FOUR EXAMPLES

• THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

ONCE more the world has been given successful proof that people representing widely different national, racial, religious, ideological, cultural, economic, social and political backgrounds can gather together to discuss problems of common interest and can arrive at mutually satisfactory decisions. In fact, that is too colourless a description of the unanimous acceptance of eleven key documents—a unanimous acceptance accompanied by overwhelming enthusiasm and tremendous applause—which closed the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

From October 2 to 12 in Peking, the capital of the great People's Republic of China, the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held its sessions. Four hundred and twenty-nine persons, including 367 delegates, 37 observers, 23 specially invited guests and 2 visitors participated in this history-making conference. They represented 37 countries, virtually all countries of Asia and those bordering on the Pacific Ocean—Australia, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Korea, Pathet Lao, Lebanon, Malaya, Mexico, Mongolia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Viet-Nam. The international democratic organisations were represented, including the W.F.T.U.

The delegates, representing widely different views, assembled despite the usual sneering of the world imperialist Press against all attempts of the people to bring peace to the world and despite the efforts of several frightened governments—frightened of the world peace movement—to prevent their citizens from attending.

Among the governments attempting to stop the forward march of the peoples were, notably, Japan, which denied passports to many delegates, causing widespread protest and demonstrations; the Australian government refused to issue passports and cancelled passports already in the possession of potential delegates. This restriction prevented Jim Healy, Federal Secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation of Australia, among others, from attending.

The Peace Partisans of Nepal, one of the very few Asian countries not represented, wired greetings to the Conference explaining that they were refused passports by their government. In the United States, Secretary of State Acheson, after his usual slanderous attack on the peace movement, announced that the government would act against any American attending the Conference for violating American law. But his bluster did not succeed in preventing a large and representative American delegation from attending and participating in the discussions.

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AMID the tumultuous welcome and great hospitality of a united Chinese people, the delegates met to consider the all-important problems of an overall solution to the Japanese question, the curbing of the resurgence of Japanese militarism, the end of the war in Korea, the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact, the safeguarding of the national independence of all peoples and the banning of the clamour for war and propaganda inciting racial hatred, the ending of any form of repression of the peace movement, and the establishment of normal economic relations. These were the common demands of the representatives of 1,600 million people, more than two-thirds of the world's population.

Kuo Mo-jo, deputy leader of the Chinese delegation, in his General Report, said of these aims,

"The peace-loving peoples of all the world support us. It is our responsibility to conduct unremitting struggle to retrieve these aims. Our cause is just. Once these aspirations are achieved, a just, lasting peace in the Asian and Pacific regions, and eventually a just, lasting peace throughout the world will be ensured. It has been proved by a vast accumulation of experience that to transform their wholesome aspirations into

glorious reality, people must strive and use their own efforts. Therefore, in order to stop war, defend peace, and achieve our aspirations, we must call upon all people in the Asian and Pacific regions and throughout the world, irrespective of nationality, profession, social strata, political views, religious creed or way of life, to unite more closely and to bestir themselves to take positive action and make sustained efforts."

economies into bastions serving the American war machine, opposing the national liberation movements by aiding French and British colonial regimes in Viet-Nam and Malaya, the use of napalm bombs and bacteriological weapons, and of war and destruction were noted by delegates from Japan and Korea to Iran, from Canada to Chile, and Australia.

Of key importance to the Conference was the question of Japan, where Japanese militarism is being deliberately revived to make of this important Asian country the military base for American aggression against the peoples of Asia, just as Western Germany is being prepared for a similar role in Europe. The extent of the achievement of this policy in Japan was outlined by a Japanese delegate, trade unionist Togo Kameda, who, at the same time, described the heroic efforts of the Japanese people to defeat the American imperialists and Japanese militarists. He said,

United States delegates present flowers and a sapling to the Korean delegation in token of friendship, with the message: "We of the American people who admire bravery and hate cruelty ask that you will plant in the soil of Korea, a soil made holy by the blood of a heroic people, this small tree. May it grow as the friendship between our peoples grows; may it be green with the green leaves of life nourished by sunlight and the rain of heaven, until it shelters under its green boughs, in safety and beauty and peace, the children of your children."

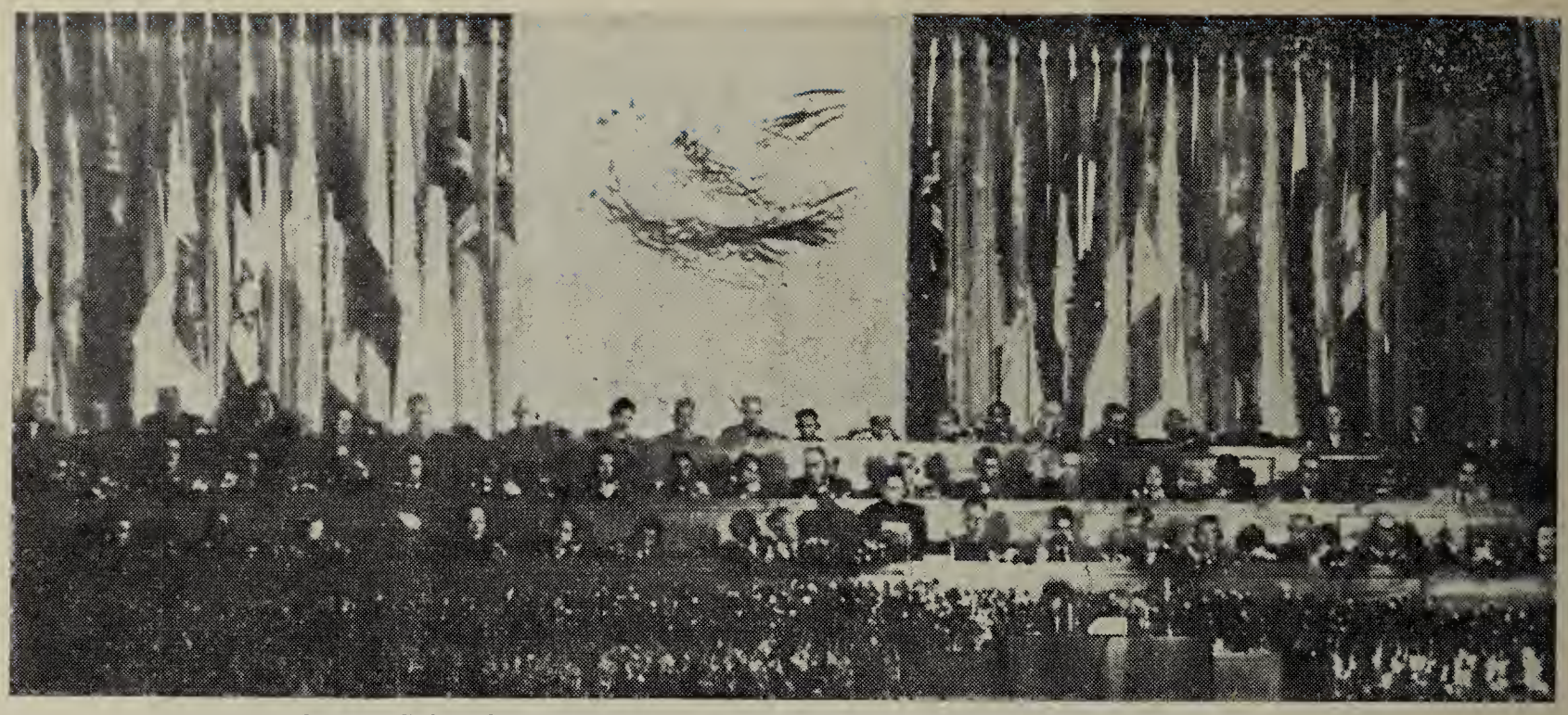
With the obvious exceptions of the U.S.S.R., People's China and People's Mongolia, the countries of the Asian and Pacific Regions are feeling to an ever-increasing extent the pressure of American imperialism in its drive for world hegemony by the seizure of these countries' economies, with the complicity of puppet rulers, and by "cultural" infiltration and its war programme.

The growing awareness of the menace of the American imperialist juggernaut was noted in speech after speech, in the General Report, and in the reports and discussion on the Japanese question, the Korean question, cultural exchanges, the development of economic relations, the problem of national independence, the defence of women and child welfare, a Five-Power Peace Pact, etc.

The war dangers implicit in the policy of the U.S. government, the policy of supporting reactionary regimes, economic restrictions, of converting national

"I can inform you with pride that the Japanese people have shown unprecedented bravery in their struggle against war and for the defence of peace.

"We people of Japan now understand that if the crisis of a new war with Japan as its base is not averted, we shall never be able to win our ardently desired liberation from the regime of United States occupation, or to establish a democratic State and live in freedom and happines. Indeed, the characteristic fea-



Soong Ching-ling making the opening address at the Peace Conference.

tures of Japanese life today are: the unemployed who fill the cities and the countryside; the slave labour and the starvation wages; the taxation that ruins homes and businesses; the prices that keep on soaring; the destruction of agriculture and industry; the extinction of national culture; and the enslavement of the entire Japanese nation. And the primary cause of all these features is the United States occupation and the revival of Japanese militarism."

High on the agenda was the question of ending the war in Korea. Isobel Cerney, member of the U.S. delegation, said that the U.S. imperialists, fearing the wrath of the American people, were keeping them in ignorance about events in Korea. But the truth will out, she declared. Today ever increasing numbers of people in America are beginning to realise how disastrous is the aggressive policy of the American rulers, and, as a consequence, are protesting more and more resolutely against U.S. government policy.

* * *

AFTER tackling the crucial problems of Japan and Korea, the Conference dealt with problems of the necessity of normal economic relations and support of the struggle for national independence. Reports and discussions made it quite clear that the issue of peace or war is related to those of economic relations and national independence. Many delegates from Asian countries and Latin America showed how colonial economies were impoverishing their countries and how the U.S.-imposed policy of restricting trade with the U.S.S.R., China and the Peoples' Democracies was disrupting their economic life. Several delegates, referring to the International Economic Conference in Moscow last April, called for expanded trade with all countries on the basis of mutual advantage, and for the elimination of artificial restraints on trade.

Drawing attention to the great national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the will of the people "to live in accordance with the principle of peaceful co-existence of all forms of governments based on equality and mutual respect," a

A view of the hall. The delegates are applauding the opening address of Soong Ching-ling.

Chilean delegate, Senora Olga Poblete de Espinoza, remarked that "to try and stop the progress of national liberation movements by violent and brutal repression is equivalent to getting away from the world of scientific fact. The great triumph of our time is, indeed, the decay and ultimate wiping out of colonialism."

In sharp contrast to the conditions described by the many representatives from colonial and dependent countries was the speech of M. Tursun-Zade, member of the Soviet delegation from Tadjikistan, one of the most ancient peoples of the East. Formerly a repressed racial minority, the Tadjik people have been given complete equality with all peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the opportunity to eliminate economic and cultural backwardness and to reach the highest level in culture and science by the Great October Socialist Revolution. They now possess an advanced industry and an agriculture with modern technique. Formerly an illiterate people, they now have their own national literature.

The American delegation was headed by a worker, Louis W. Wheaton. It was quite fitting that the delegation should be led by an American Negro. It symbolized, not only the growing role of the great Negro people in the cause of peace and human progress, but also growing Negro-White unity in the United States.

He described the affects of the U.S. war programme on the American people:

"Many peoples who have at last freed themselves from dictatorship and fascism watch with amazement and contempt: for those who prattle most of freedom are afraid of books; they fear new ideas; they try to cut our people off from the living world. They harass our leaders of labour; they frighten or dismiss our teachers; they attempt to cow our artists and poets into silence or submission, or corrupt them with illusory gold; they prevent the best sons of our people from travelling; they imprison those who maintain the national honour by their fearless protest.

"The challenge of peaceful competition from new systems, as well as older peoples, is no longer answered with confidence. The very ideas on which the nation was built have been labelled subversive."

Another American delegate, Anita Willcox, described the peace movement in the United States—its growing popularity despite difficulties of repression and ignorance of the facts of American atrocities in Korea.

* * *

THIS, of course, was not a Conference of workers and trade unionists. That it was supported by the working class, however, is shown by the large number of delegates who were workers and trade unionists from Latin American and Asian countries, New Zealand and Australia. Thirty-eight trade unionists at the Conference sent a message to the French government protesting against the illegal arrest of Alain Le Leap, General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., who has been imprisoned for his activities in defence of peace.

The international working class was represented at the Conference by W.F.T.U. Secretary Luigi Grassi and E. Thornton, from the W.F.T.U. Asian and Australasian Liaison Bureau. Luigi Grassi described the great interest and support of the world working class and its organisation, the W.F.T.U., in the struggle for peace:

"In the countries of Asia and the Pacific, as in those of other continents, the wave of protest demonstrations of hundreds of millions of workers mounts ever higher; the strike movement grows. It is sufficient to recall the heroic struggle of the dockers against the unloading and loading of arms and the demonstrations again the 'plague General,' the construction of military airfields and the occupation of ports.

"The fight of the working masses in the colonial and dependent countries for peace, national independence and an improvement in their standard of life becomes ever more impressive. A powerful wave of hatred and anger arising from the peoples against the odious and brazen policy of the warmongers is sweeping across the Asian and Pacific countries.

"The stubborn struggle of the workers and peoples of Burma, Malaya, Iran, the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Egypt, as those of Africa, against the im-

A mass demonstration for peace and friendship marked the end of this great Conference.

perialist oppressors, against the ceding of strategic bases to the American imperialists, shows that the working masses understand ever more clearly that the struggle for peace is indissolubly linked with the struggle for bread, work, liberty and national independence."

This support of the great struggle for peace was further indicated in the message of greetings to the Conference from W.F.T.U. General Secretary Louis Saillant, in the name of the 80 million members of the W.F.T.U.

And drawing attention to the concern of the workers to raise their living standards, Ernest Thornton said:

"So we trade unionists of Asia and Australasia see that hard as is the struggle to lift the standards of living in peace time, it is harder still in conditions of war and preparations for war and the difficulties are gigantic in a country on whose territory war is being waged.

"For these reasons, the workers see that the struggle for peace is their first task, their first responsibility to themselves and their families.

"For these reasons, the trade unions of Asia and Australasia have been among the most active organisations in the preparation of this conference.

"For these reasons, the workers and their unions look to this Conference to strike a mighty blow for peace in this region, and in defence of world peace.

"In the struggle for peace, we call for unity of all sections of the working class and for unity between the workers and all other people who stand for peace."

* * *

THE Conference closed its deliberations by unanimously approving eleven important documents, including an Appeal to the Peoples of the World setting forth the requirements for peace in Asia, an end to the Korean, Viet-Nam and Malayan wars and the withdrawal of foreign troops, a genuine peace treaty with Japan and the establishment of an independent, democratic, free and peaceful Japan. In an address to the United Nations General Assembly, the Conference suggested that the United Nations should condemn those actions which foster the revival of militarism in Japan and Western Germany, secure an immediate armistice in Korea on a just and reasonable basis and take action to end the suppression of the national independence and liberation movements in Viet Nam, Malaya and other countries. The conference suggested that the United Nations should ensure the removal of foreign military bases wherever they exist, the immediate implementation of the principle of Five-Power unanimity in order to further the signing of a Pact of Peace, take effective measures to ensure universal, controlled reduction of armaments, prohibit the manufacture and use of bacteriological, atomic and chemical weapons and take effective measures to restore normal economic and cultural relations on an equal and mutually beneficial basis.

These general demands were outlined in greater detail in resolutions on the Japanese question, the Korean question, cultural exchange, economic relations, national independence, women's rights and child welfare, and a Five-Power peace pact.

Dealing with the heroic national liberation movements in Asia and the Pacific regions, the resolution on the national independence question states that "Conference is firmly of the opinion that peace and national independence are indivisible . . . Conference views with the utmost concern the serious situation of an ever-increasing menace to the national independence of many countries in this region as a threat to peace." After presenting a specific programme to achieve peace, the resolution expresses the fervent hope "in the support and co-operation of the peoples of the United States, Britain and France in this struggle."

One resolution established a permanent Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions to publicise the Conference's decisions, strengthen co-operation among the region's peace movements, and to support the World Council of Peace.

The final resolution strongly supported the forthcoming People's Peace Congress, pointing out that this "regional Peace Conference here in session is, in fact, an important step toward the People's Peace Congress.

"We call on all sections of the people and all political, social and religious organisations of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, to use their utmost efforts after the Conference to lay the groundwork for the forthcoming People's Peace Congress."

This great Conference, unique in the history of Asia and the Pacific Region, has proved, and will continue to prove, to be an important milestone towards the People's Peace Congress.

John Wolfard.

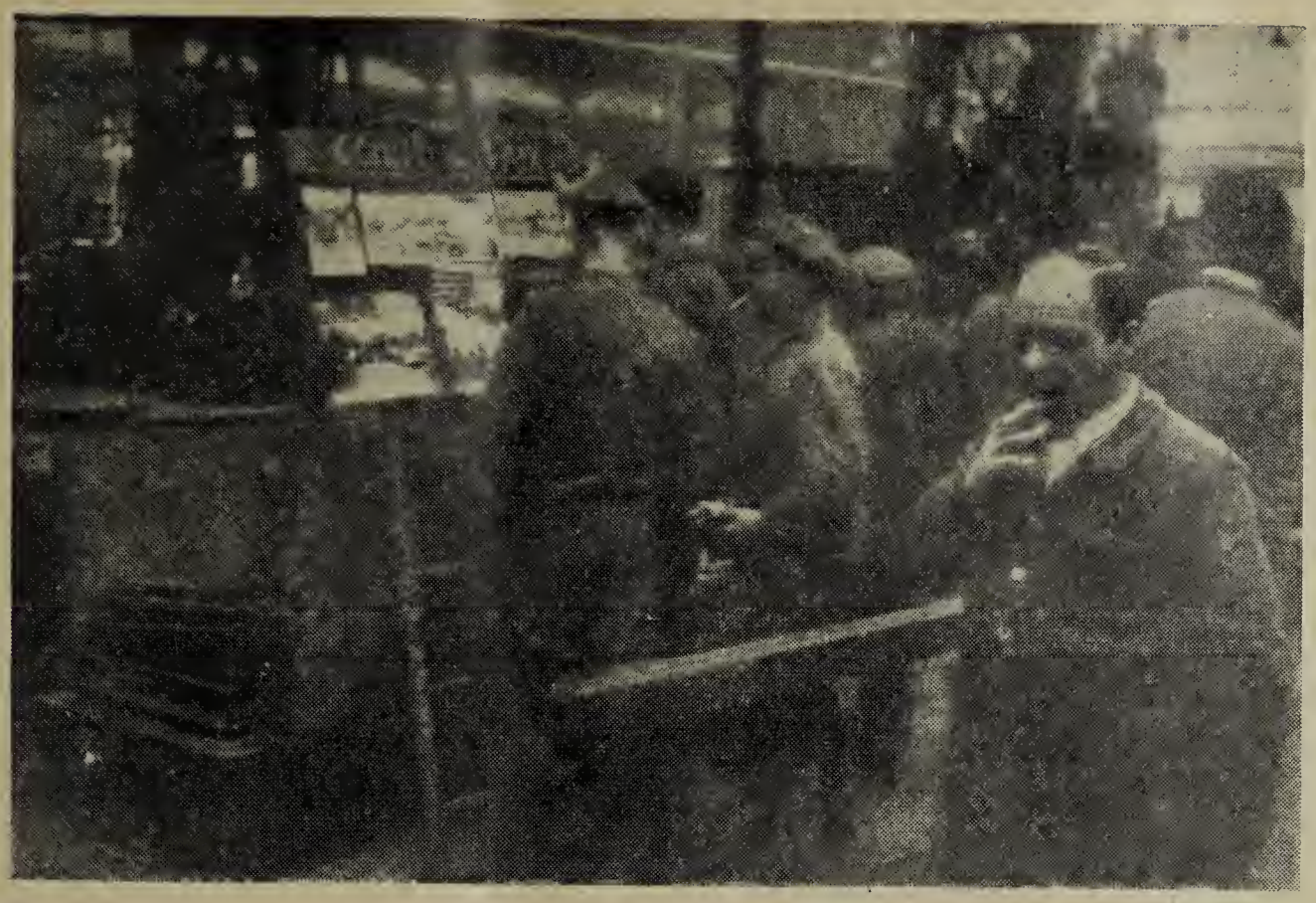
• GOOD EXAMPLE OF PARIS TRANSPORT BOARD (R.A.T.P.) PEACE COMMITTEES

SHORTLY after his arrest—carried out because of the C.G.T.'s fight against war—Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour, wrote in *Vie Ouvrière* of September 17, 1952, the following words on the preparation for the Peoples' Peace Congress:

"The workers must strive with all their force to accomplish this task. They must contribute to the widening of the peace movement in all enterprises by seeking to arouse discussion on the basic principles of the movement: to impede the development of the policy of force and to compel governments to negotiate. . . .

"Alongside the campaign for demands, our brothers will have to do all in their power to develop the campaign for peace in liaison with the agencies of the peace movement."

* * *



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The Peace Committee of the boiler-makers' workshop in the R.A.P.T. factory, Championnet Street, Paris, exhibits each day a panel alongside the punch clock with photos (renewed frequently) showing the horrors of war. In this way, the workers are continually kept informed.

★

THE correctness of this policy is today demonstrated by the success achieved in many enterprises where the workers and the Peace Committee, preparing for the Peoples' Peace Congress, have undertaken a number of new activities, revised methods of work where necessary, and have thus broadened the fight for peace by making it the very real concern of *all* the workers in the factory. Here, among others, is the example shown by the Championnet Street workshop of the Paris Transport Board, employing 1,400 workers.

* * *

IN this works a Peace Committee has already been functioning in the main workshop for the past two years. Members of the Committee have been chosen to be responsible for each of the other workshops. But despite the efforts and the goodwill shown by all, the Committee had not established sufficient contact with the rank and file and, because of this form of organisation, was not obtaining the desired results.

To improve the situation, committees were formed after the summer holidays *in each workshop;* three of them are already showing great activity and a fourth one is getting into its stride. Each Committee organises its work independently, but at all times profiting from each others' experience, with some activity being undertaken in common.

* * *

A GREAT deal of thorough preparatory work was carried out before the peace postcards[1] for the Peoples' Peace Congress were ordered. Here, for example, is the way the Boilermakers' Peace Committee set about this job.

First, it brought the meaning and the objective of the Peoples' Peace Congress to the attention of all the workers by means of a leaflet, thus arousing interest in its preparation. This leaflet was followed up by a second urging the workers to come and take part in discussions organised by the Committee and to put forward their ideas on the way peace can be preserved.

A certain amount of success was achieved by the distribution of the leaflet, but this proved inadequate. The workshop peace committees therefore decided to send individual letters to the workers to secure their co-operation. These letters were not identical, differing in character for those who had shown agreement with the principle of the fight for peace and those who, until then, had shown hostility to the work of the Committee or mistrust of its aims.

1 French form of preparation for the Congress.

This resulted in very good discussions with workers who previously had not come to meetings organised by the Committee.

The meetings were now in reality discussions in which everyone was encouraged to explain his point of view. Then the points which were not clear were discussed once again! A note was taken of the substance of the contributions and after the discussion, on the basis of a report back, it was possible to bring out the points on which there was general agreement.

* * *

HERE are other examples of initiatives taken:

Every day, a notice board is displayed at the side of the punch clock with pictures showing the horrors of war and the atom bomb. The pictures are frequently changed.

In the A.G.L.-Chassis workshop, notices were put up with press cuttings, letters and declarations of leaders of the peace movement, the statement of the democratic lawyers' delegation, pictures of those deported, old ration cards recalling the poverty caused by war, and pictures of those who had been shot, etc.

The Boilermakers' Peace Committee is helping the Assembly and Painting Workshop Committee, which was a little slower in starting.

In the engineering section, there are peace messengers in every workshop who are responsible for the distribution of the appeal for the Peoples' Peace Congress, leaflets and newspapers and the holding of discussions with each worker.

This kind of preparatory work has greatly facilitated the ordering of peace postcards for the Congress. In the A.G.L.-Chassis workshop, for example, where the preparatory work has been completed, ninety per cent of the workers have already given their support to the Congress and have taken peace postcards so as to hold discussions themselves with their friends outside the factory.

Further, all the Peace Committees have jointly organised protest delegations to the members of the Chamber of Deputies representing the constituency in which the factory is located, to oppose the ratification of the Bonn agreements. They called on the workers to accompany them. They also sent a letter to the Radical Party Congress meeting in Bordeaux, urging it to oppose the Bonn agreements energetically.[2]

* * *

SOME more aspects of the activity of the Championnet Street Peace Committee:

The movement here is not being led by trade union leaders, which is quite correct. Our brothers from the trade union branch come, of course, to the meetings arranged by the Committees, take part in the discussion and activities and help to speed up the work. But it is not their job to organise it. That is the responsibility of workers of all opinions chosen from among the most active workers for peace.

The Committees are as broad and representative as possible. Among their members are to be found unorganised and non-party workers, Communists and Catholics.

Every action is preceded by an extensive and frank discussion. Every worker who takes a peace postcard for the Peoples' Peace Congress knows that in this way he is giving his considered and active support to the Congress. And this will ensure that when the R.A.T.P. Championnet Street delegation goes to the departmental conferences of the people of France it will not only speak in the name of the Peace Committees, but also on behalf of the workers in the workshops.

P. Gruenais.

[2] As is known, Herriot, Chairman of the Radical Party, was led by popular pressure to take a stand against these agreements.

• GERMANY IN THE PEACE CAMP

THE Appeal launched by the World Council for a great Peoples' Congress to be held in Vienna had a profound effect throughout the whole of Germany, both in the German Democratic Republic and in Western Germany.

In the German Democratic Republic, thousands of meetings are being held at which peace questions are being thrashed out in public, and Peace Committees are being set up in factories and localities. In the big cities and in the smallest rural communities, in houses and blocks of flats, in factories, schools and offices, people everywhere are meeting together to find the ways and means of making their best contribution to the great cause of peace.

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Socialist youth of Western Germany demonstrate for peace. The banner reads: "The General Treaty brings death and hunger to us." "A peace treaty, unity and bread."

★

Peace "forums" are being organised by the Peace Committees with increasing regularity and frequency. This form of activity springs from the very nature of the peace movement, which brings together men and women from all sections of the population, and from all political and ideological spheres. During these "forums," leading public figures state their attitude to the problems arising from the threat of war and answer questions put to them by the audience.

When the first great peace "forum" was organised in Berlin in a hall not far from the Western sector's line of demarcation, so many people turned up from West Berlin that they could not all be accommodated in the hall and many of them had to listen to the discussion through loudspeakers placed in the street. The subject discussed on that particular evening was the future of West Berlin. The interest aroused was so intense that would-be speakers in the discussion formed a queue in front of the microphone.

This form of activity, as well as many others, has increased the strength of the Peace Committees through the influx of people who originally came along to take part in the forums.

In accordance with the appeal of the World Peace Council to make the movement as broad as possible, the German Peace Committee has also asked for the support of political parties, trade unions, and mass democratic organisations in the German Democratic Republic, representatives of churches, schools and cultural organisations, and, with representatives of these organisations, it has set up an Inaugural Committee to prepare for the Peoples' Peace Congress. This inaugural committee consists of ministers, university professors, national prize winners, high church dignitaries, trade union leaders, representatives of political parties, and leading personalities in the economic, cultural and scientific life of the country.

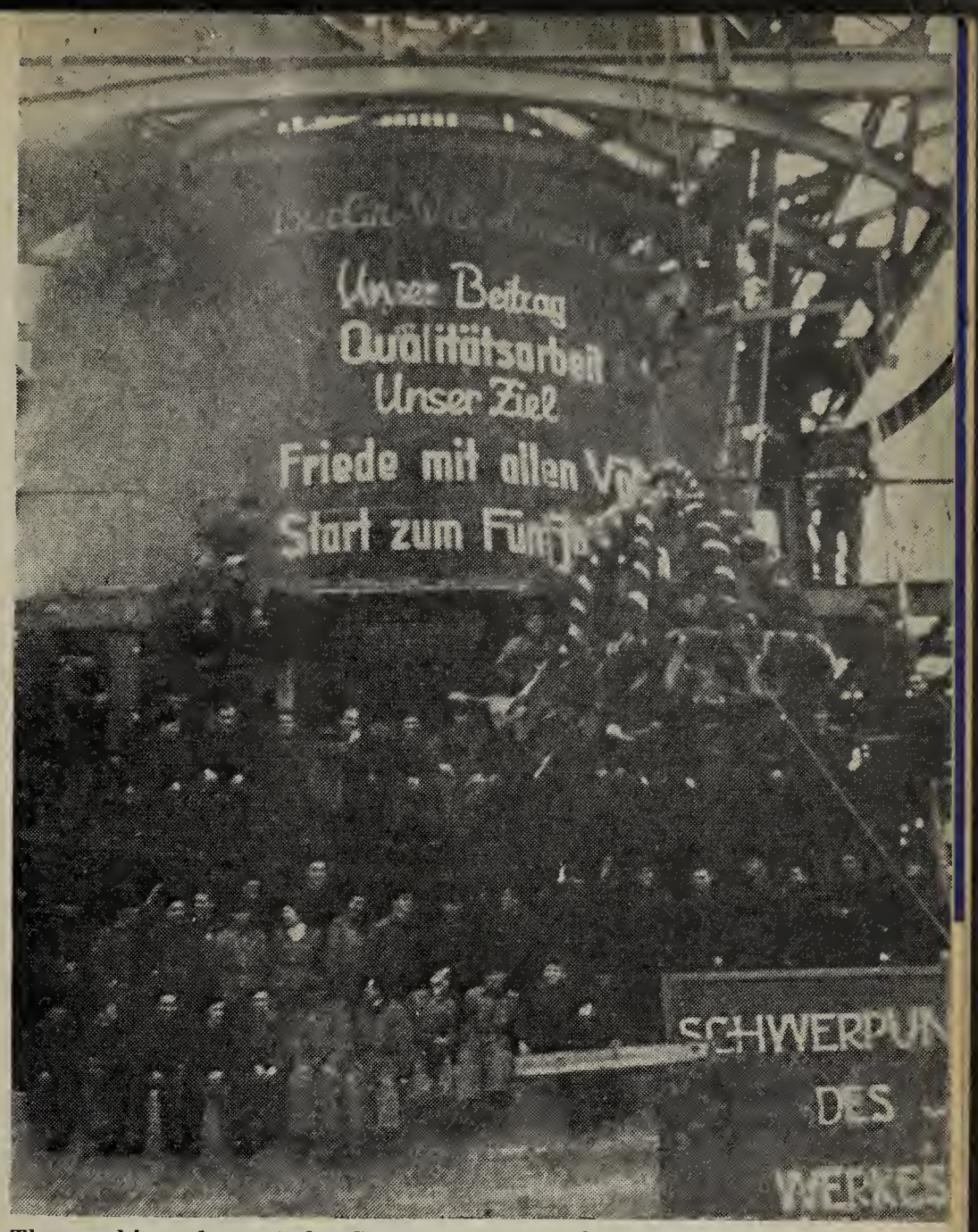
All parties have charged their representatives in the state administration and economy, as well as in the mass organisations, to support and stimulate preparation for the Peoples' Congress everywhere and in every possible way.

The F.D.G.B. (Federation of Free German Trade Unions) provides the great strength of its mass membership to the collective effort of the people of the German Democratic Republic.

The Democratic Union of German Women has also decided to give every possible help to the preparation of the German Peace Congress and the Peoples' Congress for Peace. It has set itself the task of winning for its organisation 300,000 friends of peace. The millions of women and mothers organised in the Democratic Union of German Women have been asked to explain the reasons and need for the struggle to maintain peace to all those who still appear reluctant to join in the struggle. They are now on the job in homes and factories.

It goes without saying that the Press and radio are entirely at the service of the campaign of preparing the Peoples' Congress.

As in the economic and cultural life of the country, emulation is also carried on in the fight for peace, both within the factories and between one factory and another. Thus, the Reick gas works in Dresden has entered into emulation with the state printing works in the same city. Points are awarded for the various activities undertaken. An exchange of letters with the population outside the city is organised. The gas plant has, so to speak, become a great centre of visual propaganda. The World Peace Council banner is hoisted on the roof; "peace corners" are set up in offices and workshops, where portraits of the best-known peace fighters are exhibited alongside propaganda material.



The working class of the German Democratic Republic intends to serve the cause of peace by completing the Five-Year Plan for peaceful construction. Our photo shows the completion of a blast furnace at Fürstenberg on the Oder. Berlin metalworkers have inscribed on it: "Our contribution, quality work. Our aim, peace with all peoples."

Throughout the German Democratic Republic, 240 regional peace conferences will elect 3,000 delegates and 1,500 observers to the German Peace Congress, which will be held in Berlin at the end of November. This Congress will, in its turn, choose delegates for the Peoples' Peace Congress in Vienna.

* * *

BUT the largest German delegation to the Peoples' Congress will have to come from Western Germany. Aware of the importance of their role, the

Defenders of Peace have undertaken to elect men and women delegates representing the most varied political opinions and belonging to all sections of the population.

Meeting in Cologne at the beginning of October, leading figures in political, economic, cultural, scientific and religious life set up the Western Germany Group to prepare for the Peoples' Congress. This group sent an appeal to everyone (factories, organisations, parties, leading people in public life) inviting them to choose delegates to the Congress.

Attention must be drawn to the many difficulties met with in the struggle for peace in that part of Germany occupied by the Western Powers. The word peace alone, spoken or printed, can result in peace supporters being brought to court or handed over to police terror. Let us recall, only to mention a few tragic examples, the murder by the police of the young peace supporter, Philip Müller, beaten to death in a cowardly manner during a demonstration on May 11, while other demonstrators were carried off to prison. More recently in Duisberg one of the speakers, an engineer named Oscar Neumann—and it must be noted in passing that Dr. Wirth, former Chancellor of the Reich, was also one of the speakers—was arrested during a peace meeting. In Frankfurt-am-Main, Social Democratic peace supporters who were calling on the workers for united action in the fight against the General Treaty were driven from the meeting hall by the police.

But no matter how vicious the repression in Western Germany, the peace movement will not be smashed. Up to now, 8,500,000 men and women have declared themselves in the plebiscite as being opposed to the General Treaty and in favour of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany; and they have all decided to carry on a real fight for the victory of their cause.

After work, the peace supporters in Western Germany get together in small meetings organised in flats. They start discussions at work in the workshops and offices. The Free German Youth and the Association of the Victims of Nazism—both banned by the Adenauer government—are carrying on the fight for peace more vigorously than ever, and in close association with other organisations.

The first official contact between Bonn and democratic Berlin was established on September 22. On that day, a delegation elected by the People's Chamber (Parliament) of the German Democratic Republic, came to Bonn to submit to the Presidium of the Federal Parliament of Western Germany, proposals for agreement between both parts of the country. This was only a modest beginning. Nevertheless, as the bourgeois newspapaer *Frankfurter Rundschau* remarked, at least thirty men and women in the Bonn Parliament are ready to work for direct negotiations between the Federal Parliament and the People's Chamber. Peace supporters of both East and West are buttressing these Members of Parliament by means of thousands of letters of approval, while also writing to ask the other Members of Parliament to have nothing to do with the ratification of the treaties of national abdication which represent an immediate danger to peace.

The preparation of the Peoples' Peace Congress is being carried on in both Germanies with continuously increasing fervour, employing the most varied forms of activity and bringing together all forces which are ready to oppose the policy of violence with their desire for agreement and peace.

Herman Schulte.

• AUSTRIA PREPARES TO RECEIVE THE PEOPLES' PEACE CONGRESS

THERE is no finer way in which the Austrian workers could welcome the Peoples' Peace Congress in their capital than by making a great contribution to its success by bringing the whole of the Austrian people, and in the first place the working class, to take a stand for the maintenance of peace. It is in this spirit that the Peace Committees are working in the localities and work-places.

The underlying policy of the Austrian workers' activities is to warn the people of the danger of war, to increase the people's desire to make the spirit of negotiation triumph over solutions by force, to extol peace, without which no group or section of the people can hope to achieve its desires, and to arouse discussion free from all preconceived ideas, with the sole aim of establishing a common denominator for subsequent activity.

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IT is 5 o'clock in the evening in one of the biggest Viennese engineering factories, Wagner Biro A.G., and the bell has just rung to stop work. But today there is not the usual rush to the main gate to get home quickly. The reason is that the factory Peace Committee has invited the workers, engineers, technicians and office workers to discuss the problems of peace.

As the main thing is to discuss frankly and fearlessly any point which they wish to raise, one big meeting has not been held, but six small meetings were simultaneously held, one in the workshop, another in the

engineering and technical department, another in the warehouse, etc. . . Since workers were discussing among their own mates, no hesitation was shown in speaking.

The task today is to arouse discussion between everybody whatever opinions they may hold; and this time tongues are loosened, for the hatred of war is shared by all. However, up to now many have not gone beyond the stage of hatred.

In the workshop, the workers gather round one of their workmates whom they help on to a bench. He has lost a leg in the war, and is still quite a young man. Leaning on his crutches, showing some emotion, he says: "Look at me! Do you want some day to have to use crutches? Do you want war?"

When the chairman of the meeting, standing at the foot of the work-bench, asks his fellow-workers to speak, at first there is silence. Then, as though an invisible dike has burst, several hands are raised at the same time.

"We're not strong enough to impose our will on the government," one middle-aged worker says. And his work-mate on the work-bench, leaning on his crutches, replies simply: "Let's try! Hasn't the combined will expressed by millions of signatures prevented the use of the atom bomb in Korea?"

The most diverse opinions are expressed. The opinions are of various kinds, but with one purpose. The meeting lasts a little more than half an hour and whoever wishes to speak voices his opinion.

Does the fact that no resolution is passed mean that no results are obtained?

Not by any means! There was a most important result: the desire to do more. Everybody was in agreement with the single item on the agenda, the need to maintain peace.

Leaving the workshop, the workers met their workmates who had been to meetings in other sections of the factory. It was already late. But here and there at the factory gate discussions started among groups of three or four, on the best way to do more.

An office worker, pushing his bicycle, suggested: "Let's work out the number of years that the workers in our factory, taken as a whole, had to wear uniforms." The idea is quickly taken up: "Let's calculate the number of years we spent as prisoners." "Let's calculate the number of children who were lost during the air raids." The numbers would undoubtedly be terrifying. "Let's draw up a poster to make this known."

Someone suggests that the workers be asked to make their suggestions in writing. A letter box should be fixed up for the proposals, signed or not. "It's the suggestion which counts, not the name," one worker says.

The movement is launched. The workers do not want to have to use crutches. They want peace.

And they will not fail to say this, loudly and confidently, at the Peoples' Peace Congress.

J.W.

"Look at me!" says this young cripple, who symbolises for his workmates the suffering of war.

The "Voice of America" and the Forked Tongue

by HARRY BRIDGES,
President, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.).

Australian-born Harry Bridges has been known as a militant and progressive trade union leader since the great Pacific Coast maritime strikes of 1934 and 1936 when the longshoremen won higher wages, job safety, better hours and the union-controlled hiring hall. Since then, he has been the subject of persecution and frame-up attempts to deport him for alleged Communist Party membership. After winning the third trial, he became an American citizen in 1945. But a fourth frame-up attempt brought a conviction for alleged perjury in denying Communist Party membership at the time he became an American citizen. This conviction was recently upheld by the Court of Appeals and Bridges is now appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court. Pending final decision, he is free on bail. Final conviction would cancel his American citizenship, subject him to 5 years' imprisonment and open the way to his ultimate deportation. The W.F.T.U. has issued appeals calling for international solidarity and support for this valiant trade union leader. Protests should be sent to American Embassies, the President of the U.S. and the Attorney-General of the U.S. in Washington, D.C.

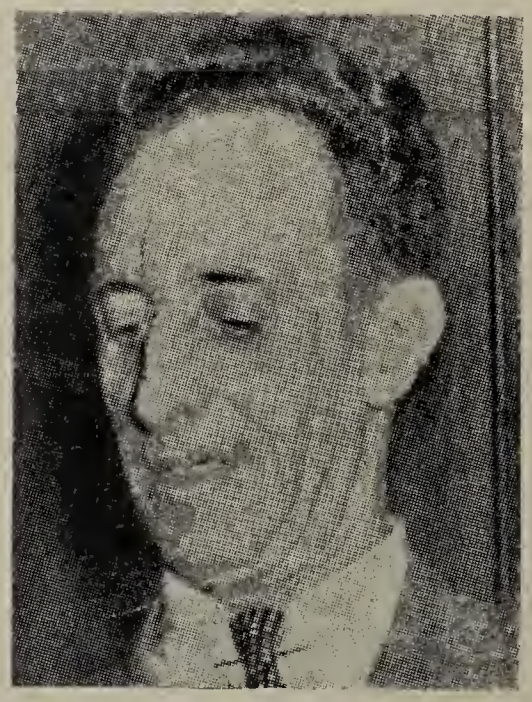
THE "Voice of America" is supposed to speak the truth about America.

When to people outside America the "Voice of America" says that in the United States there is "liberty and justice for all"—the "Voice" lies.

When the "Voice" says that American labour is free: free to organise, to strike, to bargain collectively; free of extreme government control, interference and restrictions; free of frame-ups, discrimination and intimidation—the "Voice" lies.

When the "Voice" claims that American courts are just, impartial, free from corrupt political influences and bias, and racial prejudice, it lies.

The American Indians, who were the original owners of this nation, coined a phrase: "The government speaks with a forked tongue." For the American Indians learned in very short order that when great land and cattle barons and railroad interests claimed they were engaged in a "Christian" and "civilising mission," they were actually out to rob the Indian of his land, his buffalo herds, the very lives of his people. He discovered that the treaties he had signed with the early American government,



dominated then, as now, by the big money, were worthless; its promises of fair dealing, false; its intentions treacherous. This government, said the Indians, spoke "with a forked tongue." So does the "Voice of America."

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THE "forked tongue" of the "Voice of America" will, of course, have its explanation of why American courts ordered me, and two other union officers, to prison. But here is the truth.

For 18 years my union and I have been investigated, harassed and attacked; and I have personally been put on trial four times. The objects: to control or split the union, and to deport or imprison me.

On September 6, 1952, my conviction for "conspiracy to defraud the government" was sustained by a Federal Circuit Court of Appeals; and this time, together with two fellow officers, J. R. Robertson, first Vice-President of our union, and Henry Schmidt, International Executive Board member, I am appealing to the Supreme Court of the United States. (It will be my second appeal to that tribunal in seven years).

In 1945, that Court granted me freedom to become a naturalised American citizen; but the corrupt politicians and warmongering generals, now so busy trying to extinguish civil rights in America and throughout the world, were not deterred by that decision in my favour.

In March 1948, I was told point-blank by representatives of the late Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organisations (namely Allan Haywood, Vice-President of C.I.O.) that unless I supported the re-election

of Harry Truman (and endorsed his war doctrines, such as the Marshall Plan) and somehow induced my union's membership to do the same, the old deportation case against me would be re-opened for the fourth time. I refused.

In May, 1949, Robertson, Schmidt and I were indicted. In that same year our dock workers' union in Hawaii was on strike, and Tom Clark, then Attorney General of the United States (and now a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, the highest judicial body in the land) told an audience in Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

> "If we are successful in our prosecution of Bridges, it may be that we can break the Hawaiian situation without any other intervention."

Following our conviction and the outbreak of war in Korea, I spoke to the San Francisco dockworkers. I defended our then affiliation with W.F.T.U.; I opposed the government's then new programme of "screening" union waterfront workers and seamen off ships and docks as "national security risks" without so much as a trial; and I opposed Truman's undeclared war against the Korean people.

I was hauled back before the judge who had convicted us. The government prosecutor insisted that my freedom on bail was "inimical to the security of the United States." And it was at the hearing to decide whether my bail should be revoked that the "forked tongue" spoke unequivocally from the mouth of the government's special political prosecutor, F. Joseph Donohue. Demanding that I be jailed, Donohue said:

> *". . . . There can be no minority opinion on the subject of Korea."*

I was jailed.

The cynicism of the courts today—which are rapidly becoming more and more the instrumentalities of military, political and executive expediency—is nowhere better revealed than during my most recent appeal before the courts when my attorneys argued that I was being denied due process of law, which is guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

"Why," said the government prosecutor, in effect, "this man has had 18 years of due process. He has had four trials. He has had more consideration from the law than anyone in the country. In what other country but the great, democratic U.S.A. would he get four trials, or so much due process of the law?"

What is the reason for the four trials; the 18 years of "due process of law"? Our membership recognised the reason from the start when it engaged in a successful maritime strike in 1934, and refused government arbitration. It was a bitterly contested struggle which developed into a general strike involving the whole city of San Francisco.

Our union established the best working conditions in the maritime industry; it won the hiring hall, the 6 hour day; security and respect for dock workers; welfare and pension plans. But it did much more than that.

I.L.W.U. has been—for 18 years—outspoken on every major political, economic and social issue that has faced American workers. In recent years, the I.L.W.U. has been strong enough to enjoy good economic relationships with certain of its employers, but there are political forces which have never forgiven it for what it has won and said, and they include the American Legion, the F.B.I., the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Immigration, the big-time American labour leaders, big business, and unscrupulous politicians.

I.L.W.U. has protested—in resolution and Convention—against all restrictions on the rights and liberties of the American people, and has upheld the rights of any people anywhere in the world who suffer under fascism or imperialist aggression. It has fought against colonialism in the Near and Far East. Being a multi-national union, it has insisted on trade union democracy and complete job equality for all its members, whether black, white, yellow or brown. It has fought against war and for peace; it has recognised the right of the Chinese people to rid themselves of Chiang Kai Shek. It has opposed Franco consistently for 14 years. It has fought the high cost of living, high taxes and wages fixed and frozen by the government. It has exposed government corruption whenever possible and it has refused to accept the dictates of politicians or so-called "labour statesmen."

The frame-ups to which my union and myself have been subjected were made possible only through the use of professional and paid witnesses and informers who were caught in perjury on the witness stand and were never prosecuted. The government had a hook in every one of them and went so far as to "expunge" from the record a series of crimes committed by one, in order to "clean him up" so that he could testify.

There is nothing shocking in this when you consider that in America today there is a calculated campaign to glorify the informer as the latest American hero. He is pictured consistently as a "patriot." Every renegade from the trade union or socialist movement finds a publisher, a newspaper, a radio or television programme, a motion picture producer ready to pay him handsomely for his "confessions" and to spread his poison throughout the land.

Nor is the deliberate glorification of the informer and renegade in a nation where every school child learns to hate Benedict Arnold—so surprising when you consider what is at stake for those who are trying to corrupt the American people as Hitler corrupted the Germans and Mussolini the Italian people.

The Wall Street corporations are out to obtain, by fair means or foul, among other things, control of all the raw materials of the world. To obtain it they are prepared to bribe foreign governments, to buy them outright, or to subvert them if possible, to foment counter-revolution by force and violence, or finally—if necessary—to launch World War

III. For they fully realise that the people of the Eastern European countries, China and the Soviet Union, have no intention of giving up what they have constructed.

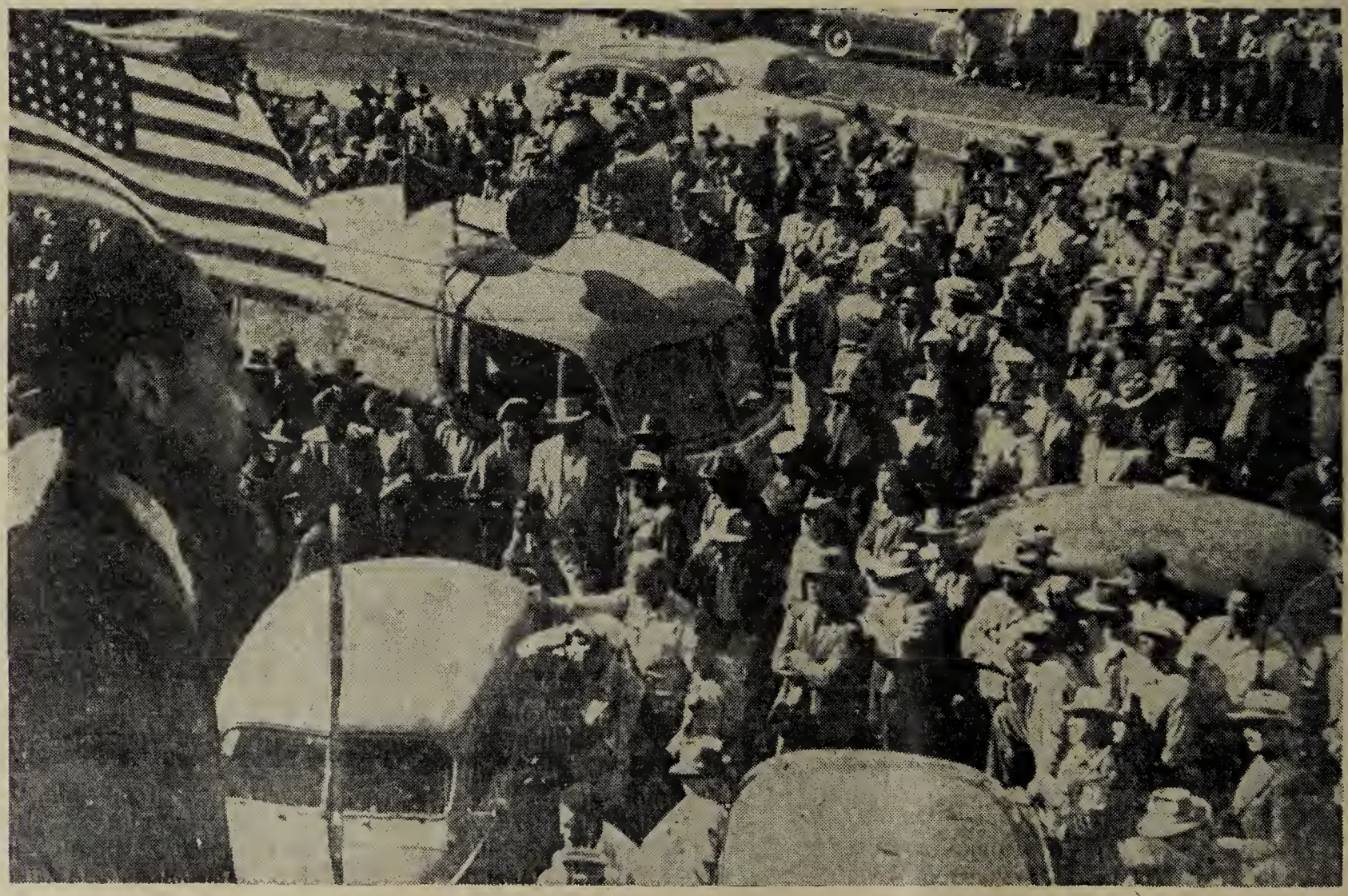
They claim they need these raw materials for current production, but it is a fact that they are also stockpiling them and—in the process—bankrupting other nations who have become so heavily mortgaged to U.S. dollar capitalism that their very economies and governments are obliged to accept subservience to American dictation—or else. Then, too, the American economy must be shored up by a vast war and armaments programme. Ending the Korean war, reducing the arms budget, would mean depression in America.

To make such a programme palatable to the American people, every medium of communication has been brought into play to convince us that there is a "national emergency"; that we are threatened from abroad by "Soviet imperialism and aggression" and from within by native-born "Communists." Large numbers of people can be (and no doubt have been) fooled by this 24-hour-a-day barrage of propaganda; but large numbers also have not been fooled. They must be driven into conformity; to a state of mind that will accept Mr. Donohue's statement: "*. . . There can be no minority opinion on the subject of Korea.*"

This programme leads to the endless witch-hunt, the demand for inquisition and "loyalty" oaths from teachers, artists, writers, doctors, actors, lawyers, professional workers, ministers, production workers—and now as suggested by none other than the President-elect General Eisenhower—everyone, every day. This programme leads to the frame-ups, the Smith Act trials (designed to convince Americans that Marxist-Leninist philosophy is an "international conspiracy" aimed at overthrowing the American government by force and enslaving the American people); this programme leads to the lowering of living standards; the staggering taxes and soaring prices, production speed-up and wage freezes, the "cold war" and the hot war in Korea.

But the American people will fight in their own good time; as they fought the original witch-hunts in Massachusetts and elsewhere; as they fought the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1789 and the institution of human slavery (also upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court) in 1861-65. When one considers all the forces

On September 10, members of I.L.W.U. Local 10 in San Francisco stopped work for 24 hours to protest against the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals. Work stoppages also took place in Hawaii and other localities. Our photo shows Harry Bridges addressing part of the stop-work meeting in front of the San Francisco hiring hall at Pier 18 in San Francisco.



directed against them by the government and those who control the media of communication, one realises the full extent of the resistance which has already been shown. For they are far more misled than sold on the "national emergency" and in their majority they oppose the continuation of the Korean war and its spread to China or anywhere else. They are growing restless and dissatisfied under the daily crisis-psychology promoted by the Pentagon, and the workers in particular have ignored the demand for "equality of sacrifice" by engaging, in the past year, in great strikes in steel, communications and transportation that found, at one point, well over a million men and women on the streets.

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IT is not surprising, therefore, that my own union has been under continuous attack for 18 years, in view of its record as an independent, democratic and militant organisation.

As its elected President, I have carried out its policies publicly and with a sound conscience. That is why I face 5 years in prison and deportation unless the decision of the Court of Appeals is reversed.

All legal technicalities aside—and judges can think up thousands—my conviction is based, in the words of the appellate judges, *not* on the "crime" I was alleged to have committed, not on the law as made by Congress and interpreted by the courts in other cases, *but on the opinions I held and expressed.*

In its opinion upholding our conviction, the Circuit Court calls attention to an article I wrote in our union's newspaper, in which I said:

> "Thus stripped of all camouflage the Marshall Plan is a scheme to use money and food of the American people to purchase and turn over to Wall Street at practically no cost to the private interests, the basic industries and raw materials of Germany and all western European nations."

In spite of the fact that I was under oath to tell the truth, the appellate judges complained that I was "singularly lacking in caution . . ."

About the Chinese revolution, I had said:

> "The people have finally taken over and changed things, something like they did here in the United States in 1776 . . . they have had a people's revolution, and if they are wrong, then the people of the United States were wrong in 1776."

To every question I was asked I answered fully, and the appeals judges comment:

> ". . . he apparently overlooked no opportunity . . . to make speeches to the jury in what they must have understood was an effort to prove to them the soundness of the views generally expressed by World Communism with respect to national and international affairs . . . these . . . must have caused the jury to wonder whether they were watching a man filled with missionary zeal for expounding the views commonly understood to make up the Communist Party line, or one who was supremely indifferent to whether he gave the jury the impression that if he was not a Communist Party member, he must at any rate be a fellow-traveller."

I had said at one point that a similar atmosphere of hysteria existed during the American Revolution, when reactionaries accused Washington, Jefferson and Paine of being "foreign agents," and it seems significant to me that in order to rationalise my conviction on "legal" grounds, the three appellate judges had to reach back to 1809 (when Jefferson was still President and the year Paine died) to find an interpretation of the law under which they could uphold my conviction.

In doing this, they naturally had to brush off or ignore decisions of other Federal Circuit Courts and of the Supreme Court itself which were not only relevant to our case, but held that prosecution under the particular statute applied could not be had.

Such incidents as these, multiplied a thousand times, are making it more and more obvious to increasing numbers of Americans that the issue in America today is not the "inquisition" question asked by national, state or local inquisitors: "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

The issue in America today is conformity—total conformity to what is no longer a theory of "containment of Communism" but of "liberation" such as is practised in Korea with napalm bombs—total conformity to the plan to grab the world's raw materials.

The technique that has been devised to smear, intimidate, silence, deport or imprison Americans who refuse to conform to the dictates of military or executive expediency is simplicity itself:

You first "establish" by saying it over and over and over, night and day, week in and week out, that "Communists" are "agents of a foreign and enemy power." You then label the non conforming individual a Communist. But the actual purpose and significance of the technique are *not* directed at the actual political beliefs or affiliations of the individual. The purpose of the technique is to attack and vilify every decent, basically American principle or belief the individual may hold.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was attacked in exactly the same way. And since there are literally millions of Americans who at some time or other have belonged to militant unions, opposed war, signed petitions, joined popular organisations to bring down the rent or to protest against the high cost of living or reactionary legislation, what is demanded of Americans today is not only a denial of all progressive ideas, but a total repudiation of all decency, past present and future—

and *a declaration that the individual under attack will himself shun or fight anyone who is actually a Communist or even called one, and will support the government's foreign and domestic policies.*

The penalty for refusal to make such disavowal or to enlist in the great world grab of Wall Street's generals, politicians, and monopolists, is permanent blacklist from one's trade or profession—when it is not actual imprisonment—and there are already thousands of Americans in every walk of life and every type of job who have been so blacklisted.

For those who are inclined to resist—either individually or collectively—there are the many weapons in the arsenal of reaction: the Taft-Hartley Act (used to smash or sue unions out of existence); the McCarran Act (under provisions of which the first American concentration camps are being prepared); the Smith Act; the new McCarran Immigration Act, which has made second-class citizens of foreign-born Americans and provides for their de-naturalisation and deportation without trial, and there is the increased use of anti-Semitism and anti-Negro violence.

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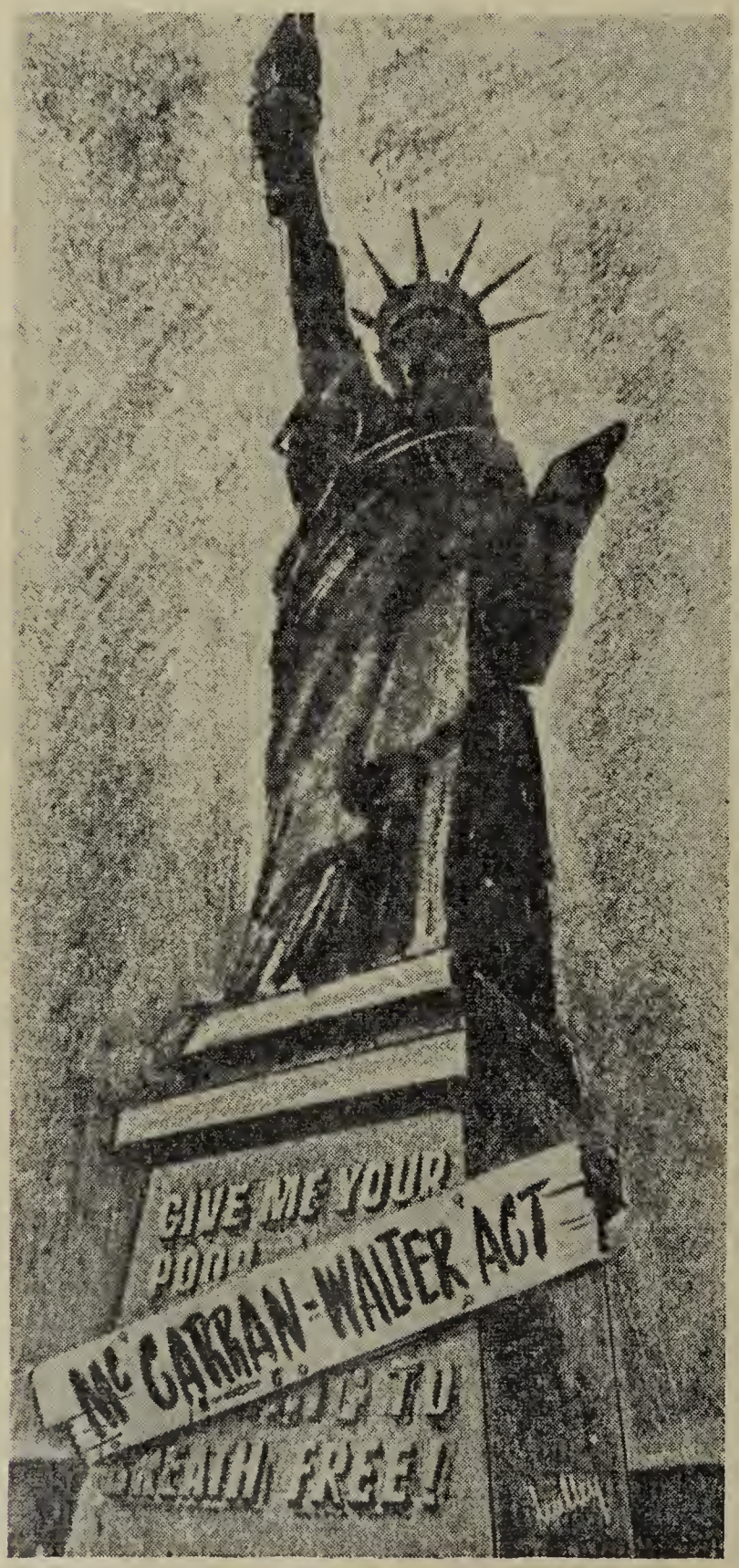
IN 1886 a statue was dedicated in New York Harbour. The gift to America of the people of France in admiration of our own revolution and in tribute to the land of "liberty and justice for all," the Statue of Liberty bears on its base these eloquent and moving words by Emma Lazarus:

"'Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!' cries she
With silent lips. 'Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door'."

The door remains "golden"—for a small percentage of our population—but those yearning to breathe free, the tired, poor, the homeless are no longer welcome here.

Our doors are open today (and remain "golden") to the scum of the earth, to discredited kings and feudal lords such as the Shahs of Iran and Iraq; the Madame Chiang Kai-sheks, the Bao-Dais and the Franco emissaries—almost anyone who can claim and prove to be a first-class reactionary or pro-fascist can have our money and our hospitality.

In my own city of San Francisco, the West German Consul, Gerhard Stahlberg, is a cynical example of our present policy. According to information from Berlin, this gentleman was an



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"Give me your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" (from the inscription on the Statue of Liberty). The McCarran - Walter Act embodies racist and anti-democratic repression in the U.S. immigration laws.

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active participant in the Nazi campaign to annihilate the Jews of Germany. Formerly employed in the legal department of the Nazi Foreign Office under Herr von Ribbentrop, he is now the "legal" representative of Western Germany.

While world figures such as Picasso, the great Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, Joliot-Curie and Diego Rivera, and now, as I write this, Charles Chaplin, among hundreds, are ordered excluded from our shores, certified fascists or "reformed" concentration camp keepers find a refuge.

That this sort of "policy" can be maintained in the face of official government protestations that America remains the "arsenal of democracy" and protector of the freedom of the individual throughout the world, is a measure of the cynicism of our government and its laws, as they are now operated, and its contempt for its own and for the world's democratic peoples.

It sees nothing inconsistent in making such claims and, at the very same time, cementing military alliances with every moth-eaten reactionary regime in the world, from Indo-China to Spain, from the Argentine to Portugal; from Formosa to Turkey and Greece.

But the language spoken by "the forked tongue" is not so subtle that Americans—as well as people in Europe, Africa and Asia—will not understand in time exactly what is being said.

The next "legal" step in the frame-up of my union and its leadership will be taken by the Supreme Court of the United States. It will be interesting to see if it will consent to an appeal of the case; its record in this regard, in recent years, is extremely bad and the simplest way to avoid making a decision (and allowing a framed conviction to stand) is to deny an appeal. This the Supreme Court has done in scores of civil liberties cases in the past seven years—every one of them involving basic constitutional questions. (No reason need be given for refusal to allow appeal).

But whether the Supreme Court takes the case or not, its action will provide an index—for all who can read—of whether or not American courts dispense justice, uninfluenced by military or political considerations, or whether they do not.

The courage and greatness of the American people has, in the past, overcome many roadblocks thrown up against them by judicial bodies. That courage and greatness will eventually prevail in this case. Of that I am sure.

Role of the Factory Trade Union Press in the Argentine

By NORMANDO ISCARO

— An active worker in the Movement for the Democratisation and Independence of the Argentine Trade Unions.

ALMOST all the official trade union newspapers in the Argentine, from that of the General Confederation of Labour (government trade union centre), to the bulletins published by officials of local trade unions, have as their purpose the defence of the capitalists' and government's interests within the trade unions.

Although they are financed by trade union dues automatically deducted from wages by the employers, these extraordinarily bulky newspapers (some have 40 to 50 pages) do not open a single column to the workers, whose spokesmen they are supposed to be. Their pages are entirely reserved to editorials reproduced from the government press, publicity advertisements for capitalist concerns and government bodies, as well as articles by the trade union bosses. These articles, marked by their "working class language" and demagogy, are designed to give a "trade union" tone to these papers and thus conceal the true role of this press. Workers, as a whole, seldom read these trade union papers, which faithfully reflect the reactionary ideas which the Peronist trade union leaders are trying to spread in the movement.

At the time of the printers' strike in 1948, and still more clearly in 1949, when the government blocked work contracts and thereby froze wages, the official trade union press was openly used to smash strikes and curb the wave of protests which was rising in the factories. It would have been quite in vain for the workers in action to have looked for fraternal words of encouragement and support in the columns of this press—their own trade union press. On the contrary, they would have found government decrees declaring strikes to be illegal, articles distorting the real causes of strikes, editorials congratulating strike-breakers and appeals to the workers to give up the fight. Later, when the Rosario railwaymen went on strike in 1950 against the sending of Argentine troops to Korea, provoking such support that the government was compelled to change its decision, the so-called trade union and working class press, instead of praising this magnificent act of the Rosario railwaymen, did not hesitate to describe their strike as a "movement to create disorder" and to welcome the scandalous measures taken by the railway management against the principal strike leaders.

* * *

IN the Argentine, in addition to the official trade union press, there are genuine factory trade union papers issued by rank and file workers. These papers were formerly organs of the factory committees known to the workers as "Internal Commissions," which exist in all the enterprises. These rank and file trade union organs have always had a very great influence on the working class movement. During the years when Peronism reached the height of its power, the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour, who enjoyed undeniable popularity among the people, had very strong positions within these "Internal Commissions." As long as they could influence them, the C.G.T. leaders did not mind if certain "Internal Commissions" published their own papers. But it was not long before the slump overtook the Argentine economy, whose artificial post-war prosperity had done so much to help Peronist demagogy. Strikes began to break out in the factories and work

● **Some of the most popular factory trade union papers.**

EL AGUIJON

VOCERO DE LOS OBREROS DE LA CORPORACION SOMA CHACALTAYA

AÑO III - Nº 23 — SEPTIEMBRE DE 1952 — Precio: 0.50 ctvs.

UNIDOS en DEFENSA de nuestra ORGANIZACION y nuestro PAN

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Unidos en el Frente Popular Unido

EL FRIGOL

DEFENDEMOS NUESTRO TRABAJO Y EL SALARIO

¡LA PULGA!

"PARA QUE LE PIQUE A MISTER FRASER"

ORGANO DE LOS OBREROS DE APARCADAS

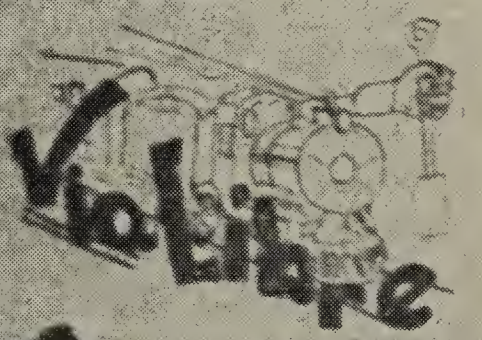
AÑO I • JULIO DE 1952 • No. 7

UNIDOS LUCHEMOS CONTRA los EXCESOS de Minoria y de Alimentos

EL CLAVO

POR LA UNIDAD PARA LA SOLUCION DE NUESTROS PROBLEMAS

EL NUEVO COMITE DE EL SINDICATO ASAMBLEA GENERAL



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places. The legitimate demands of the working people and their determination to fight clashed with the class-collaborationist policy and the treachery of the Peronist trade union leaders, whose popularity dwindled from day to day. Trade union democracy became dangerous for Peronism. The "Internal Commissions" were no longer their strong-holds. They stopped publication of factory newspapers, which were tending to become the expression of the mounting anger of the people as the struggle reached higher levels.

This measure, symptomatic of the mistrust felt by the Peronist leaders for rank and file bodies belonging to their own trade union organisations, did not, however, succeed in gagging the workers. Faced with the crisis which was developing in the country and the growing offensive against their working and living conditions, the workers felt more than ever the imperative need to express themselves and to organise to fight for their social and economic demands. Consequently, bulletins, most of them duplicated, soon began to appear in the main enterprises of the textile, metal, food and transport industries, etc., published by "Press Committees" set up by the most class-conscious and politically developed workers in the enterprise, with the participation, in general, of several members of the "Internal Commission." This workers' press, speaking the language of the workers, and defending their interests, rapidly won considerable influence and popularity in the enterprises. To better thwart repressive measures, the names of our brothers who belong to the "Press Committees," as well as the places where the printing and distribution of the papers and bulletins take place, must remain unknown to the employers, the police and the trade union bosses. What enables the "Press Committees" to work effectively, in spite of the repression of the employers, the police and the puppet trade union leaders, is the close contacts which they maintain with the "Internal Commissions," whose militant stand of opposition and resistance to the policy of the leaders of the government trade union centre is demonstrated from day to day and also with all the workers in the enterprises who support and protect them by their active solidarity. It is therefore not by isolating themselves from the people but, on the contrary, by constantly strengthening their ties with them and becoming part of them that the "Press Committees" are able to defeat employer and police repression. At the same time, this makes it possible for the factory bulletins to reflect faithfully the desires of the working people and their will to fight. The workers regard these bulletins as their own. In difficult times, not only do they defend the bulletins, but they help to publish them. They organise the circulation and collection among its readers of the funds necessary to cover publishing costs and where need be they help those who are being persecuted. A large number of editors and distributors have either been expelled from the trade unions, dismissed or arrested by the police. This is further proof of this "trade union democracy" and its character of "justice" about which the Peronists like to boast.

WHAT is the policy of this factory press?

The experience of the trade union movement throughout the world proves the fundamental importance of the struggles for the day-to-day demands of the workers. It is, indeed, on the basis of fighting for these modest demands, affecting all the workers in a workshop, factory or work site, that united action of the rank and file arises, which is the indispensable condition for raising the level of struggle and for success. In addition, the victories won by the workers during these struggles, however small they may be, increase the confidence of the workers in their own united forces and inspire them to wage further struggles for more important objectives.

Thus, the policy of the independent factory trade union press is directed towards building up and strengthening united action by rank and file workers in the factory, in the fight for the most pressing demands, no matter how small they may be. Most of the pages of these bulletins are devoted to concrete demands concerning the working conditions in a workshop or factory in order to show the connection between the demands and the more general political and economic questions as, for example, the policy of subservience to the American imperialists, and the war policy. The point of departure in all cases is the particular social and economic demand which is most likely to unite the workers regardless of their political convictions or their trade union affiliations.

Here are examples of some of these demands:

1) Increased wages and reduced prices;
2) The establishment of canteens where they do not exist;
3) If there is a canteen, a reduction in meal prices;
4) The provision of, or improvement in, as the case may be, health services, toilets, showers, etc.;
5) The furnishing of working clothes by the factory management;
6) The heating of workshops in winter and in the summer the improvement of the ventilation system and the distribution of cool drinks for the workers;
7) The free distribution of milk to workers employed in unhealthy industries, etc.

In all this, the factory newspapers play an extremely important role. Thanks to the workers' press, its energetic campaigns and its correct policy, the workers in several factories have succeeded in uniting and carrying out successful struggles to better their working and living conditions.

The following are among the most popular of these newspapers: *El Aguijon,* published by the metalworkers employed in the workshops of the Urban Transport Company (tramways, omnibuses, metros and trolley buses in Buenos Aires); *Sudamtodos* (menos los patronos),[1] published by the men and women workers of the "Sudantex" American textile mill; *La Pulga* (the Flea), which is published by the 10,000 workers of the big English "Alpargatera

[1] "Everyone Sweats Except the Bosses." The name of this newspaper is a play on words to which the name of the "Sudantex" enterprise lends itself.

Argentina" textile mill; *La Lingada,* published by the Buenos Aires' dockers; and *El Clavo*, issued by the workers of the Tamet metal plant in Buenos Aires.

In addition to these factory newspapers, correctly called factory newspapers because of their contents and lay-out, the various movements which are fighting for the democratisation and the independence of the trade unions publish a number of bulletins and pamphlets which are distributed either on a national scale or on the basis of a specific industry. These publications have, of course, a more general and a deeper political content. They often contain editorials and articles reproduced in full from *World Trade Union Movement.*

* * *

IT is now clear that the reactionary forces in the Argentine and the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour are seeking to speed up the process of fascisation of the trade unions and to permeate them with the ideology of class-collaboration. They hope in this way to force the Argentine workers to bow before the capitalist exploiters.

But the workers of my country are carrying on without respite the struggle for their demands and their trade union rights. In this fight, vigorously led by the Movement for the Democratisation and Independence of the Trade Unions, the factory newspapers are playing an outstanding role. The absence of ordinary and general meetings, which are feared by the trade union bosses, the growing number of obstacles faced by the workers in organising their struggle, adds still further to the importance of the organising role played by the factory newspapers as spokesmen of the united forces which are leading the struggle of the Argentine working class under difficult conditions, but which have complete confidence in victory.

Against Racial Discrimination and for Freedom in South Africa

By "Afrika"

When the leaders of the people, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Mr. Moses Kotane, Mr. J. B. Marks and Mr. D. W. Bopape were tried under the fascist Suppression of Communism Act, the court was crowded with men and women who overflowed into the courtyard and corridors shouting "Afrika."

IN order to appreciate the importance and significance of the Campaign in Defiance of Unjust Laws that was started by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress on June 26, 1952, one has to understand the social, economic and political structure of South Africa.

The Union of South Africa consists of four provinces: the Cape, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal. The total population is 12,437,229. Of this figure, 2,588,933 are Europeans (whites); 1,078,621 are Coloured People (of mixed descent); 358,738 are Asiatics (Indians and Chinese); and 8,410,937 are Africans.

Discrimination in Every Sphere of Life

SOCIALLY, South Africa is a country of a very strong and rigid caste system. Non-Europeans may not use the same railway subways, the same lifts in buildings, the same bridges, the same buses or the same railway coaches as the whites. Non-whites may not use the seats reserved for whites on railway stations or in public parks; they may not use the same entrances or counters at post offices. Hotels, restaurants and tea-rooms are for whites only. Whites and non-whites live in separate residential areas. And all the social services for non-whites—education and technical training, medical services, housing, transport and entertainment receive scanty attention.

In the economic and industrial field, the whites are in the dominant position, entrenched there in many cases by the country's laws. The colour bar has preserved skilled jobs in industry for whites, and reserved to them a monopoly of administrative posts. Prejudice and custom bolster up the law of the land. The civil service and the professions, heavy and light industry, commerce and trade are almost entirely closed white preserves. The non-white workers are the victims of ruthless exploitation, forming the

Note.—"Afrika," the rallying cry of the defiance campaign, is used as a pseudonym by the author, a leader of the campaign, who, for security reasons, cannot write under his own name.

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RIGHT: **Wretched housing for Africans is an important result of the policy of persecution and racism in South Africa.**

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LEFT: In Cape Town, the courtroom was packed and scores of people crowded the outside passages and streets during the trial of Sam Kahn and Johnson Ngwevela for contravening the Suppression of Communism Act.

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RIGHT: **The defiance campaign at Krugersdorp Location. The resisters, giving the "Afrika" salute, are being herded by police into the pick-up van.**

★

cheap labour force of the country and receiving in many cases starvation wages.

Though they are a minority of the population, the whites own and occupy 87 per cent of the land, while the Africans are confined to the remaining 13 per cent. By law, Non-Europeans are not allowed to buy or lease land anywhere they wish, nor are they permitted to live in any part of a town. They are confined to certain areas, like ghettoes, set aside for them. Africans live in " locations " policed and controlled. The majority of the Africans are landless, poverty-stricken and a prey to diseases of hunger and exposure.

At the age of 21 years, every white has the right to vote for Parliament and the provincial and city councils. He is compelled by law to register as a voter. All members of Parliament must be of " pure European descent." Only in the Cape Provincial Council may persons of mixed or Asiatic origin stand for election. Here, too, Africans are excluded as they are from every national and local governing body.

Non-whites have no say in the making of laws under which they are governed. No non-white has the vote in the Transvaal, Natal or the Orange Free State. In the Cape, an African and Coloured who has the necessary literacy, financial and property qualification may vote. The African, however, has a communal franchise as he may vote only for a special representative in Parliament, there being altogether seven who represent Africans throughout the entire country (three in the Lower House of Parliament and four in the Senate). Coloured voters are still on the common roll, but this right the Nationalist government is at present engaged in removing, by means of the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, which is being challenged in the courts of South Africa, and which has provoked a severe constitutional crisis this year.

It is the purpose of the rulers of South Africa to maintain and perpetuate their political overlordship, superiority and economic domination over the non-whites. This is the key to the policies of successive ruling parties since the establishment of the Union in 1910.

At all costs, and the costs over the years have been heavy indeed, the non-whites must not be allowed to compete for skilled jobs in industry. They must thus be denied education and training, and kept as a reservoir of cheap labour for the gold, coal and diamond mines, for the farms and industry.

To buttress and preserve this system has come a procession of discriminatory, restrictive, retarding, oppressive and humiliating laws and regulations aimed at "keeping the non-whites in their place."

The status of the African—who is the main source of labour—is no better than that of a serf.

Land hunger and the poll tax drive him from his home in the country to the farms and towns to seek work to augment his meagre earnings scratched from an exhausted soil. His every movement, from the countryside to the towns, from one town to another and in the towns, is controlled by a network of pass and permit laws so that he is not free to enter any labour market, to bargain for the best avenues of employment and to change his job and occupation at will. The industrial colour bar closes the way to his acquiring skills in industry and advancing economically. His trade unions are not recognised by the government and the organisation of workers is hampered at every turn. His Indian brother may not travel from one province to another without a special permit, and no Indians may live in the province of the Orange Free State at all.

With the coming to power of the Nationalist government, under the premiership of Dr. Malan, these oppressive laws were increased and intensified to an intolerable extent.

A People's Protest Against Fascist Policies

THE Campaign in Defiance of Unjust Laws must be reviewed against this background. It is a protest and practical demonstration by a disfranchised and oppressed people, a people who have no recognition in the councils of state. No statutory representation of the non-white peoples was ever listened to: the white spokesmen of the Africans in Parliament have been talking since 1937, but to deaf people. A dummy council, the Native Representative Council, was abolished by the Nationalists when it expressed the grievances and demands of the people. Pleas from the non-white communities that their representations be heard and that they be treated as human beings have been dismissed as impracticable and "Communistic."

The Pharaohs hardened their hearts. New harsh and inhuman laws were being added to the Statute Book and the future looked dark and gloomy.

It was in this situation that the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress came together, and while not abandoning their demands for the abolition of all discriminatory laws and for full citizenship rights, decided to work for the repeal of six specified measures. The two Congresses decided that their campaign should be strictly non-violent, and based on a disciplined volunteer force recruited from the different sections of the non-whites, and also sympathetic whites.

The campaign, it was made clear, was directed not against the whites but against the laws and measures which bind the non-whites in a permanent state of subservience and inferiority.

The volunteers, organised in units, have contravened laws and regulations selected by their leaders for defiance. When arrested and convicted, they do not pay their fines but serve their prison sentences. The campaign is planned to develop in three stages:

1. Units to go into action in the large centres of the Union.
2. The number of units going into action in the large centres to be increased, and the struggle to be extended to the smaller centres and rural areas; and
3. The struggle to assume a mass character including, where possible, industrial action.

Thus far, the campaign has been highly successful. It has confounded the calculations of the enemy and the pessimists, and surprised even the most enthusiastic.

Since the launching of the campaign, thousands and thousands of volunteers, men and women, workers, teachers, clergymen, trade unionists and members of youth organisations, have defied unjust laws, despite bloody repression. The authorities are baffled and shaken by the tremendous support the campaign is receiving from the people.

To counter the movement, the government tried to muzzle its leaders and cripple its organisation. Orders prohibiting them from speaking at and attending any public gatherings were served on Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, J. B. Marks, D. W. Bopape and Moses M. Kotane. These prohibitions only rallied greater support to the campaign. Then, after widespread police raids on the offices and homes of the national leaders, over thirty of these leaders were arrested, to stand trial under the Suppression of Communism Act for advocating communism by the conduct of the Defiance Campaign.

The campaign is a concrete expression of the peoples' protest against discrimination and the fascist policies of the government. Its main targets for attack are the Pass Laws, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, the Group Areas Act and the stock limitation regulations[1]. It will go down in the annals of South Africa as one of the greatest blows struck for freedom by the non-white people of this unhappy land.

Already two important successes can be counted: the campaign is educating the masses politically and forging an unbreakable alliance between the people and their national organisations; and from the defiance actions launched in the different parts of the country a new type of political fighter for freedom is emerging.

The initiative in the political struggles in South Africa has passed into the hands of the non-whites, still voteless it is true, but determined to stop at no sacrifice to gain liberation and to build a democracy that will discard the colour bar and extend the vistas of skilled employment, opportunities for development and political rights to all.

1The Pass Laws require all African males to have a number of permits which restrict freedom of movement, residence and employment. The Bantu Authorities Act prohibits the extension of democracy in the Bantu reserves (areas set aside for the Bantu tribe, to which most Africans in South Africa belong). The Suppression of Communism Act restricts freedom of thought and speech and is used by the Malan government against all who oppose its fascism. The Separate Representation of Voters' Act eliminates the Coloured people from the voters' rolls, depriving them of their full franchise. The Group Areas Act seeks to force non-Europeans permanently into separate ghettoes and requires the forcible removal of hundreds of thousands of people from their long established homes. The stock limit regulations compels Africans to sell their cattle to the government and compels them to accept prices below the market price.

IN A HUNGARIAN PLANT

How Workers Administer Social Security

● By JOZSEF VINCZE

Secretary, Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (Head of the Social Department).

HALF past six in the morning. Hurrying to work, men and women, young and old, are coming into view round the corner of Villám Street to pass very shortly through the gate of the Ganz Railway Coach and Machine Works and begin their day's work. Once again, the workers of the Ganz factories take up the task of fulfilling the daily plan for the building of socialism. Their work, as well as that of all Hungarian workers, is being crowned with success. The Hungarian People's Republic is continuing its march towards the development of the country and its gains in the economic field are constantly growing.

The millions of Hungarian workers, peasants and intellectuals are working for themselves and their fruitful efforts are making it possible to launch great social schemes, to extend the care already given to the children, to make continuous improvements in public health and housing, in other words, to make the life of the workers still happier.

It is to the workers and their trade unions that the Praesidium of the Hungarian People's Republic has confided the administration of social security. The factory workers themselves designate those who will administer social security for who, after all, will be better able to safeguard their interests? Previously, the workers took their complaints to an official for whom their human sufferings meant little more than a record in a file. Today, red tape has been ended once and for all. The workers in factories with more than 100 work people have already elected Social Security Committees. Following the example of the U.S.S.R., and profiting from the abundant experience of the Soviet trade unions, thousands of organised workers throughout the country are devoting themselves to the job of health care and protective measures at work.

The Ganz Works has a Social Security Committee composed of 15 elected members. In the interests of the workers, and with the help of volunteers, the Committee has set up sub-committees which are responsible for arranging visits to the sick, questions of assistance, holidays in the country, and inspection of the factory's nursery and canteens. These sub-committees function according to work plans co-ordinated by Geza Baronai, chairman of the Social Security Committee. Each workshop has a person responsible for social security and in each factory trade union section there are elected delegates responsible for dealing with social security matters, attached to the section's representative. These delegates watch very attentively over the living conditions of their workmates, transmitting their requests and proposals to the Social Security Committee. For example, when Mrs. Janos Biro gave birth to a child, Mrs. Ferenc Szabo immediately took steps to have a place reserved for the child in the factory's day nursery. How could she have done otherwise, having several children herself! She well knows what it means to a mother to know that her child is surrounded with every care and attention.

The help given by the People's State and the trade union is shown in all cases where the workers have had unforeseen or special expenses. Special allowances are granted for marriage, when a child is born, and in the event of death in the family. The sub-committee in charge of this job examines with the greatest care and attention the position of those asking for help and grants this help on the basis of their examination. During 1951, more than 435,000 forints were paid in the Ganz works for these purposes. The enterprise now has an independent social security budget. One of the main tasks of the Social Security Committee is to help in the administration of social insurance in the enterprise and to check up on whether the workers have received full and speedy payment of family allowances and indemnities in case of sickness, as well as any other benefits to which they are entitled. The workers are no longer required to wait humbly for hours to obtain their due.

In the Hungarian People's Republic, the worker is the most valuable capital. It is the worker who is constructing and adorning our new society, it is his work which is ensuring the fulfilment of our plans. The sick person is no longer left to himself with his worries and troubles. When one of their work-mates falls ill, the social security delegates in the Ganz works visit him within 24 hours. If it is necessary, they put his home in order, provide food for him and his family. Should the patient have no family, the delegates get his

medicine, bring him books and do everything to surround him with an atmosphere of affection. In this way, the sick worker is made to feel the devoted care of his workmates and remains in continual contact with the factory. There are a number of particularly outstanding workers who are in charge of this activity in the Ganz Works.

It goes without saying that the factory Social Security Committees are not only concerned with the cure of sick workers but still more with the prevention of disease and with protective measures against accidents. This huge task is carried out by the Committee in co-operation with the Factory Committee for Protective Measures at Work. Statistics for illnesses show clearly just where preventive measures are needed. . Gyula Dévai, voluntary inspector of labour protection in the Ganz works, fulfils his duties in an exemplary manner. He inspects the safety appliances, checks on the enforcement of protective measures, and sees to it that the workers themselves carry out this inspection. Dévai has given several lectures to the workers pointing out to them ways of preventing disease and avoiding accidents and insisting on the need for each one to take care of his own health. The workers are showing increasing interest in these lectures.

There were no fewer than 180 workers at a health lecture held in workshop 580 recently. Following the lectures, suggestion days for accident prevention were organised in the factory during which a flood of useful ideas and proposals came from the workers, and 36 out of 143 proposals were accepted and paid for on the spot. The best innovation for accident prevention won a prize of 1,600 forints.

No less fine and noble is the task of the factory doctor. No longer the tool of the capitalists, he does not have to hide the real status of the patients' health in order to ensure the maximum profit for his employer. Dr. Ferenc Valer, the Ganz works' doctor, is a very assiduous worker for health protection. He visits the workshops every day, knows the working conditions and each worker's state of health, and in his dispensary, provided with the latest technical equipment, he keeps a regular check on the workers' health.

The Hungarian People's Republic places a very high value on good work.

It guarantees the workers the right to annual holidays in rest homes. The Ganz works has its own rest home in Balatonlelle on the shores of Lake Balaton. But other watering and countryside places are also at the disposal of the workers. The trade unions ensure them country holidays under the most favourable conditions. In 1951, 927 Ganz workers enjoyed the care and solicitude of the Hungarian People's Democracy for a two-week period. We quote one letter from among a number sent to us—"I am 50 years of age," writes Karoly Kubista, senior, "I have been working since the age of 12, but only the Liberation has made it possible for me to spend two weeks at Lillafured, accessible only to the capitalists in the old days. The food and service are irreproachable. On my return to the factory, I shall prove that I appreciate the care which the government has lavished on me and this unforgettable good fortune by working still better." Other letters express the same sentiments of satisfaction and enthusiasm.

In 1952, 970 workers from the Ganz Railway Coach

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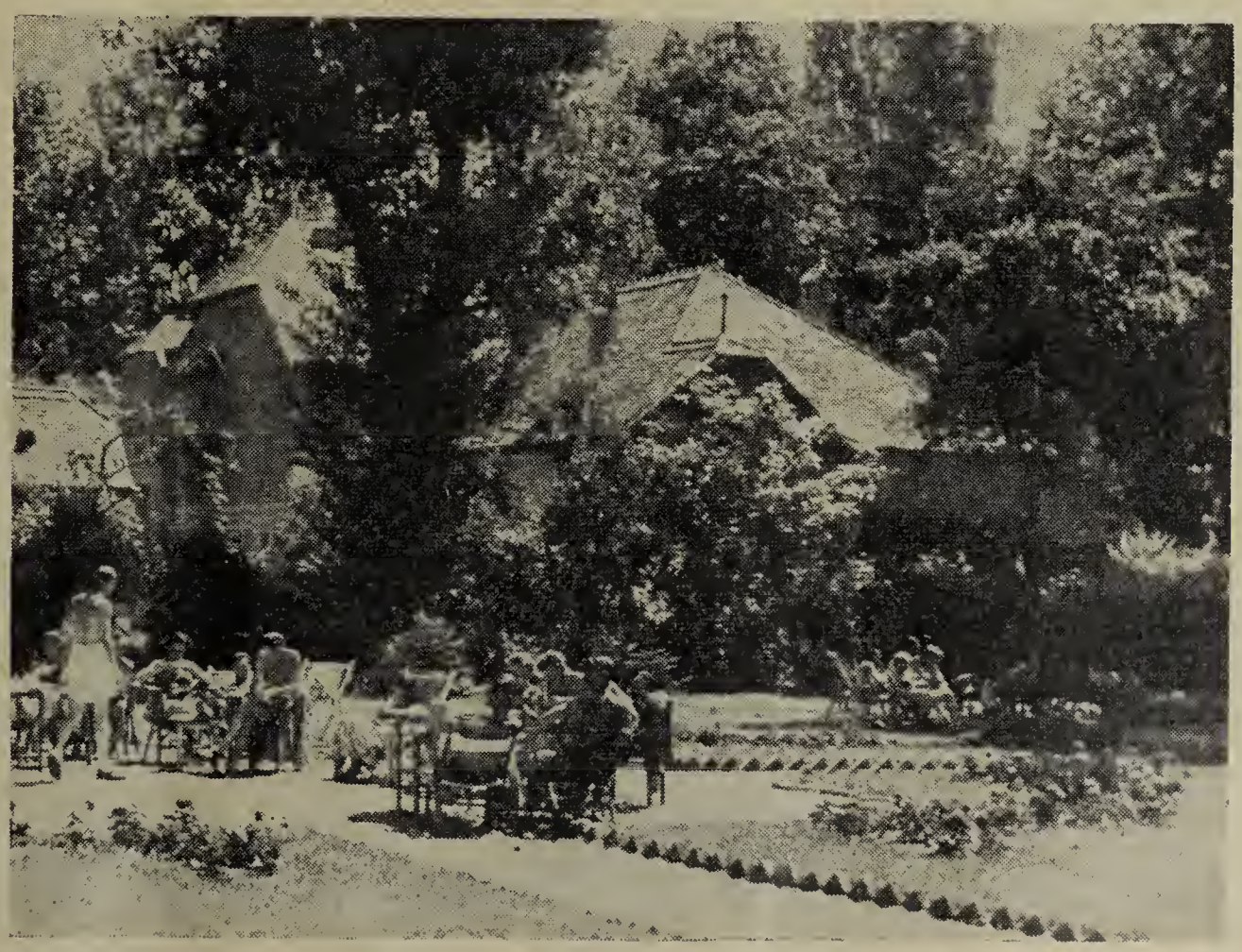

In the garden of the metalworkers' rest home at Soifok, holiday-makers recover their strength in the fresh air.

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The former chateau of Vajta was, in the old days, the summer residence of young lords. Now the joy of life of workers' children bursts forth in this magnificent park under the watchful eyes of mothers and qualified nurses.

and Machine Works will, thanks to their trade union, have enjoyed holidays under favourable conditions. Stakhanovites are exempt from all payments for their holidays. Among these are Daniel Fischer, tool grinder, Samuel Balazs, miller, twice decorated, and Ferenc Csellovszki, foundry worker.

The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the children a fine and happy life, freeing the working mother from all worry. The Ganz works has a nursery sparkling with cleanliness, which can accommodate 80 children, who are under the supervision of 5 qualified nursery workers. The enterprise has invested 300,000 forints in the construction of the nursery. Plump children with shining eyes, well fed and cared for, wait for their mothers to come for them on finishing their work. The women no longer worry about children left alone in the house, they can be sure of finding them safe and sound.

The canteen, with its appetising meals, has freed the women workers from the kitchen. Cloakrooms, baths and showers are at the disposal of the staff once work has finished.

Here we can mention the hostels attached to the Ganz works for the workers coming from the provinces and for those taking a refresher course. These hostels are scrupulously clean and provide every comfort. The veterans of the factory look after the newcomers, welcoming them with affection, teaching and inspiring them, and establishing comradely relations. Mihaly Kiss, a new worker, writes in the Ganz Works journal *Motor*:

"I can describe what our government does for the workers from my own experience. It was a real event for me to see the fine new workshop where the apprentices are trained, our house of culture, and our sports field. The State spends millions on culture and sport. I have taken part in a conference dealing with the recent law on old age pensions and I heard that the pension would ensure very great advantages for the workers. All this gives us great happiness and a magnificent feeling of workers' power which can ensure peace and freedom for our country, and between the peoples of the world."

Mihaly Kiss' letter expresses the feeling of millions of Hungarian workers. It expresses the fact that we, the Hungarian workers, enjoy the fruits of our labour in the form of social security, culture and an improving standard of living. It also expresses the conviction that the Hungarian workers, by working well, are fighting for peace in their own country and therefore for the whole world and for the happiness of all peoples.

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After the Liberation, infirmaries and prophylactic centres were established in many enterprises. The administration of all social security institutions is completely in the hand of the trade unions.

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FACTORY WORKERS PROCLAIM THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE WFTU

NEVER before has the spirit of working class internationalism and world working class loyalty to its great trade union centre been so vividly demonstrated as on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the founding of the W.F.T.U.

And it is a highly encouraging sign of the strength and influence of the W.F.T.U. to find that among the flood of messages received from all countries there are many which come from countries where the unions, as a result of the wishes of trade union leaders unworthy of the name, still remain outside the W.F.T.U.

These demonstrations of confidence are all the more significant as very often they come directly from the rank and file workers, who express the genuine feelings of those who toil and struggle, the desire for international trade union unity, well-being, freedom and peace.

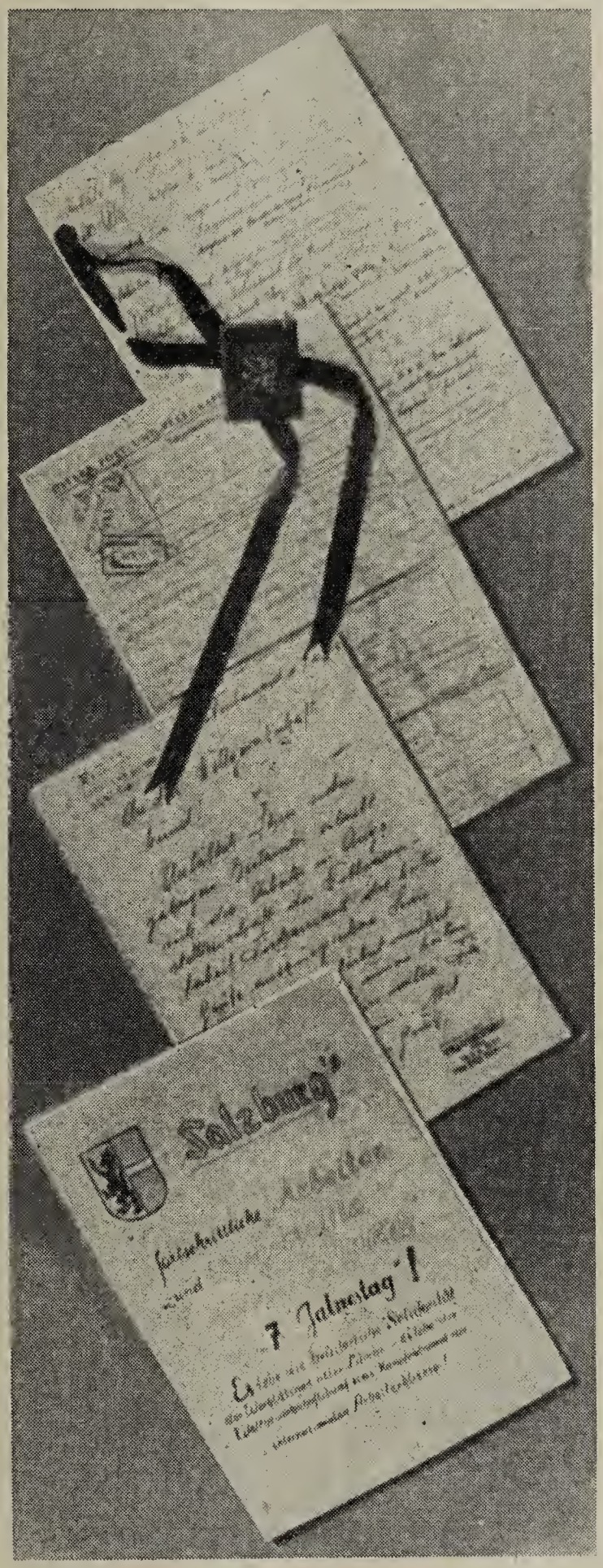
Message from Austrian Workers

HOW moving these letters from the Austrian workers are, adorned with ribbons and delicately designed, such as the message of the Styrian workers, as well as the covering letter from the workers of Salzburg province, accompanying the messages from the factories.

These messages confirm, often in striking terms, what the delegates coming from all Austrian provinces have expressed by word of mouth to the W.F.T.U. Secretariat: namely, the passionate will for unity of the working class of this country, its readiness to fight solidly united with the working class of the whole world against deteriorating working and living conditions arising from the war policy, for social progress and the maintenance of peace.

Carinthian shop stewards and trade union officials, after describing the natural riches and also the beauty of this province, write: *Although the prerequisites exist in our country for a life of prosperity and social security for all, this in no way relieves the distress and, even worse, the threat of slump and unemployment which face the workers.*

We know that one of the essential conditions for improvement in the workers' conditions is the existence of a trade union movement which tirelessly



Some of the messages received from Austrian workers.

defends the interests of the workers against the capitalist class, a movement which fights against reaction and fascism and for the maintenance of peace, for sovereignty and independence of the peoples threatened by the dollar imperialist lords, greedy for conquests and profits. And we also know that the W.F.T.U., with its 80 million members in all parts of the globe, is precisely such an organisation.

The platform of the W.F.T.U. is a platform of action in unity and action for unity. Divisive and splitting tactics are the weapons of the enemies of the working class. The Austrian workers know this and are ever more loudly proclaiming it.

We intend, write the Kromag cartridge factory workers in Hirtenberg, *to continue our activity and our struggle against the decision taken by the OeGB right-wing* leaders (Austrian General Confederation of Labour) *behind the back and against the will of Austrian workers and office employees to disaffiliate the OeGB from the W.F.T.U.*

Postal, telephone and telegraph shop stewards state in their message: *The progressive workers of the Austrian postal services do not abandon the hope that in the not too distant future they will be able to fight as members of the only workers' organisation for workers' rights and peace—the W.F.T.U.*

Recalling the fatal policy of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions, the shop stewards' committee in the engineering factory Wagner-Biro A.G. in Vienna states: *In all the countries where the policy of the American monopoly capitalists, fully supported by the I.C.F.T.U., is being carried out by obedient servants, the workers' economic position has become considerably worse. Since the OeGB left our organisation this also has been particularly true of Austria . . . We mean to do everything in our power to support the W.F.T.U. in its fight for the interests of the international working class.*

A letter from workers of the Ford Motor Company in the United States

AFTER these few examples, we now quote a letter which was sent by a group of Ford workers in the U.S.A. It bears powerful witness in its very sobriety of expression to the existence of forces of unity, peace and progress in the American working class despite fascist-like measures, violent campaigns organised by those who want war and poverty, and the splitting manoeuvres of reactionary trade union leaders. Taking care not to expose our brothers to reprisals by reactionary forces in their country, we have decided to publish this letter without signature.

"Representing a large group of militant and progressive workers of the main plant of the Ford Motor Co. in Dearborn, Michigan, U.S.A., we send greetings of friendship on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

"The effects of the war in Korea have caused to the people of the United States much unemployment and suffering. Food prices have increased to a record high. Up to mid-August of 1952, prices have increased 16 per cent. higher than they were just before the outbreak of the war in Korea. Rents are increasing monthly.

"We are fighting for wage increases, for a thirty-hour week with a forty-hour pay. We are fighting the speed-up, and we are fighting for peace. The efforts of the Truman administration, the Dulles and Harriman forces are trying by all the measures they can employ to stop the efforts of the workers by deportations and imprisonment. We shall continue, against all odds, our fight against the war and reactionary forces, within and without the ranks of labour.

"Continue your good fight against all the forces who are pressing for war. We shall win, by our courage, strength and knowledge. Peace is important for the people of the United States as it is for the peoples in Europe and Asia. Representing a large group of Ford workers, who send you warmest greetings and fellowship."

From the Antipodes—a moving letter to the W.F.T.U. from a group of railway workers in New Zealand

FROM a small country, at the antipodes of the earth, with a population of only two million people, comes this greeting to the W.F.T.U. on the occasion of its seventh anniversary. "Seven years ago, on the formation of the W.F.T.U., the working class of the world looked forward with hope and joy to the promised "New Order." Whereas in the socialist countries, the Peoples' Democracies and New China this hope has been fulfilled, the working class of the capitalist countries have had a taste of a "New Order" of a different kind. They have seen grow before their very eyes the terrible scourge of unemployment and insecurity, they have seen their working conditions and wages attacked and whittled away to satisfy the hungry maw of the exploiters already distended with super profits. Worst of all, they have seen thousands of human lives sacrificed in the campaign to "Stop aggression." But the day of the exploiter is about to end. In our time we believe we *will* see the emancipation of the workers, and fear, worry, exploitation and bloody war vanished from the earth.

"At this very minute, as we write this message to our brothers the world over, New Zealanders are playing an honourable part in the Peking Peace Conference, while others are visiting the Soviet Union. These are missions of peace. We workers in this country have sent these delegates abroad because we want to know from *workers* the truth about China and the Soviet Union. We no longer trust the daily press owned and controlled by the newspaper barons. The time has gone when the worker is entirely at the mercy of the capitalists; today he is determined to find out for himself the truth of the things that matter to him. As a consequence, the movement for world peace cannot be contained, the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions

cannot be hindered, but will continue to grow and expand, until, truly, the workers of the world are united.

"When the gloomy future of the capitalist system is weighed in the balance against the bright and rosy future of dawning socialism, there is no doubt in our minds here, tucked away in a corner of the Pacific, that very soon the weight of all workers will be thrown on the correct side of the scales.

"To all our friends in the W.F.T.U. we say, although the trade union movement here is not yet tied to the REAL international trade union movement, there is in New Zealand a considerable number of trade unionists and others who keep the flag of internationalism aloft. We are not yet in the majority, but neither are we a small minority. WE ARE, I REPEAT, A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER AND WE CARRY A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE.

"To conclude, fraternal greetings to the W.F.T.U. on the seventh anniversary of its foundation and our pledge to work and strive for the abolition of capitalism and the greatest of all tasks at the moment—WORLD PEACE.

From a group of railway workers,
Auckland, New Zealand.
per Len Reid."

Unemployed Indian Workers Starve

THE entire coastal region of the States of Travancore-Cochin is in the throes of acute starvation as a result of the present unprecedented unemployment. One million one hundred thousand workers engaged in the coir[1] industry of Kerala are in its grip. In the port of Alleppey itself there are 51,000 coir workers, about 5,000 who were employed in the coconut oil mills and a further 1,000 or so port workers. Unemployment, starvation and disease are the lot of these workers today.

The figures below give a striking proof of the very grave state of affairs.

Coir Factories in Alleppey Town and Suburbs

Year	No. of Factories.		
1945-46	296	Factory workers	23,000
		Coir production workers (cottage industry)	28,000
1951-52	98	Factory workers	7,200
		Coir production workers	8,500
		Oil Mills and Copra Depots	
1945-46	46	No. of workers	5,000
1951-52	18	„	1,200

In 1945-46, the coir factories and oil mills in Alleppey employed 56,000 workers; today in 1952 only about 16,900 are employed and even these work only one or two days in a week. Of the 1,000 port workers, none get any work at all. The following statistics collected from a thickly populated labour area in April last are a typical example of the appalling conditions.

A sum of Rs. 4,324[2] is the aggregate income for the month of March earned by 218 workers' families, consisting of 1,124 members, in Kalarkode ward of Alleppey; thus the average daily income of a worker is only 2 as.—2 ps. (about 2d.). The position of the workers of Shertalai is no better.

In May this year, the Calcutta session of the A.I.T.U.C. in a special resolution, pointed out the very serious nature of the still deteriorating conditions of the coir industry, and in June 1952 the Kerala Provincial T.U.C. stressed the urgency of declaring these regions as famine areas.

To appraise the Travancore-Cochin government of the gravity of the situation and to urge them to take immediate and effective measures, two memoranda were submitted and seven deputations waited. A number of meetings were held, several telegrams sent and thousands of statements were issued. Besides these, deputations waited on, and memoranda were submitted to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Commerce and Industries. The Kerala M.Ps., irrespective of party affiliations, submitted a joint memorandum to the Prime Minister, drawing his attention to the desperate need of immediate relief measures. In the Parliament and the State Assembly, this daily worsening problem

1Coconut fibre used for mats, ropes, etc.
2One Rupee equals 1s 6d equals 16 Annas. 1 Anna equals 12 pies.

An unemployed coir worker with his child. The swollen belly and shrunken frame of the child are clear signs of the malnutrition which is the lot of too many children in the world.

was raised. In spite of all these, the Travancore-Cochin government has practicaly done nothing except issue a few statements, which have served only as eye-wash.

It was the Ambalapuzha-Shertalai (Punnappra-Vayalar) workers who, with their epic heroism, fought and tore Sir C. P. Ramawamy Iyer's American model constitution to shreds. It was they who, with their bullet-riddled bodies, blocked his mad schemes of crushing the national movement of the country. But it is they who are now the victims of revenge of the Congress regime. But the heroic workers refuse to be cowed down by this bitter man-made famine. They have roused themselves. They have resolved to kick the merciless Congress out of power by uniting all the democratic forces and putting an end to the ever-mounting starvation deaths over the country.

The workers have sold all the movables in their houses. In some cases even the homesteads were pulled down and exchanged for cash. This brutal famine has prevented their children from going to school. Those who still go, go half-starved and half-naked. The hungry women are often forced to sell their bodies to get the luxury of a morsel of food. Hopelessly desperate, the workers escape from the flames of hunger by putting a tight noose round their necks. Able-bodied, sturdy labourers in thousands flee from their homes to wherever their feet will carry them in search of work and wages. Homeless and hopeless, the workers are thrown into the streets. There are cases of workers dropping senseless on the roads. Already famine deaths have been reported.

It is the duty of everyone to do his mite to halt this march of famine and hunger. We have started relief measures in the Ambalapuzha-Shertalai Districts. We appeal to one and all to contribute liberally to relieve these human sufferers and to save them from disease and famine deaths. Any contribution, however small, in cash and kind will be gladly welcomed.

K. K. Kunjan,
General Secretary, Travancore Coir Factory Workers' Union.
Alleppey, Travancore-Cochin State.
E. Vasudevan,
General Secretary, Alleppey Kannitta & Oil Mills Workers' Committee.
K. R. Sreedharan,
General Secretary, Alleppey Port Workers' Union.
K. V. Vaidyar,
General Secretary, Muhamma Coir Factory Workers' Union.
C. K. Bhaskaran,
General Secretary, Shertallai Coir Factory Workers' Union.

Liverpool Dockers Look Ahead

AMONG the first victims of the mad drive to war forced on the British people by the Tory government, at the behest of Wall Street Big Business, are the dockers. Cuts in imports to conserve cash for arms are answered by similar cuts by the rest of the "Marshall Aid" states, so the docker loses doubly—no "loading boats"—no "discharging boats." This policy over the recent period has meant that the dockers' living standards have been reduced to what they were in the "hungry thirties" when thousands of dockers and their families lived on the border-line of starvation. Liverpool is amongst the most badly hit ports. It is, however, becoming increasingly evident that the dockers are not prepared to accept meekly the capitalist formula of near starvation to prepare for a war against the peoples who have rid themselves for ever of capitalism.

Slowly but surely they are breaking through the barriers of confusion placed there by the capitalist press and their right-wing trade union officials, and are beginning to see where their interests really lie. For a considerable period, reaction had success with their lies that "sacrifices must be made to deter aggression by the Soviet Union," but as events unfold, it is becoming clear that the real threat to world peace comes not from the socialist Soviet Union, but from the gangster-politicians and Big Business interests of the United States. British workers, and particularly the dockers, are not prepared to endure hardships to promote the war aims of the capitalists. In the past few months, every dockers' union branch on Merseyside has passed resolutions demanding the implementation of the "Dockers' Charter," a series of demands that can greatly improve living standards.

These demands are (1) seven shillings and sixpence a day increase to bring the daily rate up to 30 shillings; (2) increase in fall-back guarantee to bring it from £4 8s per week to £6; (3) increase in attendance payments to bring them from 5 shillings to 7 shillings per turn; (4) one call per day (14 shillings attendance money); (5) pensions at 65 for dockers. Since then a petition has been circulated round the docks embodying the points of the "Charter," and of great importance, demanding an increase in East-West trade. This was signed by thousands of dockers, and the campaign of the progressive dockers around the petition helped to increase the understanding of the masses of dockers and also to kill the effects of the slanders against the countries of Eastern Europe and People's China.

A further advance in the struggle was the recent march and demonstration of Liverpool dockers through the streets of the city with loudspeaker van and posters carrying slogans such as "Unity is Strength," "East-West trade means work," "Kick the Tories out now," "We demand the Charter," "Dockers' wives can't buy their rations," "Dockers' kids are going hungry," "We demand 30s a day," etc.

Deputations from the marchers visited the local offices of the National Dock Labour Board, where a list of demands was presented; they also went to the offices of the local evening papers and handed in copies of the list of demands. The attitude of the local papers to the demonstration has been an object lesson to the less politically-minded dockers on the workings of the capitalist press. Here were hundreds of men with posters, a loudspeaker in action, all the traffic held up, dozens of policemen, all outside their door, thousands of people watching including the newspaper staffs, and yet *not one word of it appeared in their publications*! Finally, a visit was paid to the district docks' office of the Transport and General Workers' Union, where it was demanded that the union immediately starts action to win the "Dockers' Charter" and that a mass meeting of dockers be called. The march was a terrific success, and has had the effect of lifting the confidence of the dockers tremendously in their ability to carry the struggle further for the winning of their demands.

The hard struggle to make ends meet in dockland and the prospect of worse to come under the Tory government, with the policy of unemployment, wage freezing, raising of rents and prices, and cuts in the social services, to pay for their wars of aggression against the peoples of Malaya, Korea and the countries building socialism, are the issues on which the dockers are uniting to fight against.

They are rapidly learning the need for a change of policy within the trade union and labour movement and which can only be brought about by unity of struggle for the things they want.

Moreover, they are begining to understand the vital need to strengthen trade union organisation and trade union branch life because it is through the branch, combined with militant struggle on the job, that an end can be made to bureaucracy and the deceptions of self-interested trade union bosses.

In this way, feelings of frustration and tendencies toward sectarianism and opportunism can be eliminated. The situation is too serious in the minds of most dockers to permit of breakaway unions, boycotting and other splitting devices. The economic and political salvation of the dockers is in their own hands—to go forward united and determined to win their demands.

Another interesting development here in Merseyside's dockland is an awakening and growing eagerness to learn more of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Here it must be said that, until recently, only the more advanced dockers knew of the existence of this organisation, due to the fact that even when the T.U.C. was affiliated, no news or reports from the W.F.T.U. got through to the union branches. Now, however, with the circulation of W.F.T.U. literature, this is being corrected and the dockers are learning who the real splitters are, and whose side they are on. They are also begining to see that their interests favour again being joined to the W.F.T.U. alongside their docker brothers of the rest of the world. Discussions on the policy and activities of the W.F.T.U. by the branches will immeasurably strengthen and extend the tradition, most manifest among dockers, of united struggle and solidarity with all workers, irrespective of race, colour, creed or religion.

In the current situation, with the employers' profits growing to fabulous proportions, food prices, fares, rents increasing daily, right-wing trade union leaders being congratulated by the Tories for their "wise statesmanship" in trying to hold back the wage claims of the workers and collaborating in their war plans, it can be expected that soon the workers will be raising a decisive voice and there is no need to doubt that the Liverpool dockers, whose background, like the rest of the British dockers, is a history of glorious struggle, will be in the forefront.

Jack Lyden, a Liverpool docker.

Cuban Textile Workers Fight for Wages

IMPORTANT strikes for demands are now developing in Cuba: they are the consequence of the growing dissatisfaction of the people caused by the constant deterioration of working and living conditions which have become worse since the reactionary coup d'etat of General Batista, the servile agent of the American imperialists.

Possibly the most important movement which has taken place up to now is the strike of 15,000 workers employed in the textile, clothing and henequen[1] industries in the provinces of Havana, Matanzas and Pinar del Rio. This strike is particularly significant as it illustrates the posibilities of success of a movement based on rank and file unity and because it has forced the government trade union leaders to expose themselves before the workers as real agents of the employers.

The origin of the strike can be found in the agreement signed by the leaders of the Federation of Textile Workers (the federation led by government agents affiliated to the breakaway trade union centre known as the C.T.K.) and employers, providing that the level of the workers' wages in the henequen industry be periodically adjusted to variations in henequen fibre prices on the world market.

When the price of this fibre recently fell by 44 per cent, the employers, relying on this agreement, imposed a corresponding reduction in all wages. Thus, the henequen workers had their wages slashed overnight by nearly half.

The workers' reaction was immediate. In the main regions where henequen is produced, Cardenas, Limonar, Mariel and Nuevitas, the agricultural workers on

1A sort of hemp whose leaves provide a textile fibre used in rope making, brush and packing material manufacture.

the plantations went on strike, demanding that their wages be restored.

Frightened by the militancy of the workers and the extent of the opinion which was developing in favour of the strike, the government decided to intervene: it upheld the workers' case, promised to settle the matter to their advantage and called on them to resume work to facilitate its action. To give a semblance of sincerity to its words, it issued a decree on the restoration of wages to their previous level and appointed a commission charged, on behalf of the government, with checking the enforcement of the decree.

This commission was, of course, nothing but a piece of bluff. It had neither sufficient authority to enable it to impose its decisions on the employers, nor the necessary funds to give satisfaction to the workers' just demand for immediate payment of the money owing to them. The employers took care not to leave a single dollar either in the safes of the enterprises or in their bank accounts. The agricultural workers who had gone back to work at the government's request, realised that the famous decree was just a scrap of paper and went back on strike.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the Textile Federation, who bore the main responsibility for the situation and who had tried by every means to hold up the movement of solidarity for the workers in action, were compelled, under powerful mass pressure, to give the order for a general solidarity strike throughout the whole of the textile and clothing industry.

The strike received one hundred per cent support in Havana, and in the two great Cuban textile mills "Ariguanaba" and "La Rayonera" in Mantanzas. The workers waged the fight in complete unity, not only as an act of solidarity with the henequen plantation workers, but also to support their own social and economic demands.

The Federation leaders, as was to be expected, did everything possible to cripple this strike which they had not been able to avoid. They opposed any mass action of the workers, but this did not prevent the workers from demonstrating on several occasions in front of the Presidential Palace and the Labour Ministry; they resorted to the police in order to deny the most popular fighters for unity the right to attend general meetings and strike meetings; they prevented the election of a broad and democratic strike committee capable of giving a militant lead to the movement; further, seeking to split the united front of the workers in action and to smash the movement, they expelled the trade union of the Cardenas henequen workers from the Federation. This union, led by supporters of unity, had distinguished itself by its drive and militancy.

But all their efforts were in vain. The workers supported the policy of the unity leaders who called on them to extend their united action to enlarge and strengthen the movement, putting them on guard against the insidious manoeuvres of the trade union leaders in the service of the employers.

As a result, the strike assumed a mass character which no other strike had had since the Batista coup d'etat.

After the strike had lasted a week, the government, in agreement with the leaders of the Federation, declared its readiness to concede some of the workers' demands such as an increase in allowances and old-age pensions and the conclusion of new and more favourable work contracts in the two great mills in Ariguanaba and La Rayonera.

These proposals, which in no way met the main demand of the strikers, that is, the restoration of wages in the henequen industry, could not satisfy the workers; nevertheless, they represented a retreat on the part of the government, which would have been followed by others had the leaders of the Federation not carried out a further piece of treachery.

They hastened to call a general meeting, in which the most militant workers were prevented from taking part, and imposed the government conditions on the strikers against their will.

Betrayed by despicable leaders, government and employers' accomplices, the men and women workers of the textile and henequen industries went back to work after winning partial results by their fierce and united fight. They went back to work strengthened for future battles by the experience gained, strengthened by the unity achieved from below which they intend to widen and consolidate still further so as to isolate more effectively those who betray the interests of the workers. They returned to work in a spirit of unity created in the joint struggle with the firm determination to strengthen this unity by all possible means, in the factories, workshops, plantations and to inflict a crushing defeat on the government, employers and their agents in the working class movement.

P.A.

Editors' Note.—At the moment of writing, news has reached us concerning another extremely important strike involving 20,000 tobacco pickers in the province of Las Villas in Cuba. Betrayed by their official trade union leaders and by the government, as the henequen workers were, the 20,000 strikers are waging a courageous struggle under difficult conditions. The strike is being carried out with great militancy, supported by the active solidarity of the whole of the working people of Las Villas. We shall publish a detailed analysis of the strike in a future issue when further information is available.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. Negroes Discuss "Their Folks in Africa"

PAUL ROBESON, famous Negro singer and freedom fighter, was chatting to some of his friends on a street corner in New York recently, when they got round to discussing the South African defiance campaign.

Here is Paul's report of the discussion, as printed in the American weekly *Freedom*.

. . . "I'll bet they're going to win this time," said one. "Can't see how they can lose, the way they're going," said another.

"They mean to win, you can see that," said still another man.

"That's right," I agreed. "All the Coloured people have gotten together this time. The leaders too. They say Jim Crow has got to go and no two ways about it. Yes sir, it looks like this is the last go round for white supremacy, and furthermore—"

"Hold on a minute, Paul," said a man moving closer to our street-corner discussion. "I can't get all this—are you fellows talking about my folks?"

One of the men took an exaggerated look at the newcomer. "No doubt about it, chum," he answered finally. "Your folks."

"We're talking about South Africa," I explained after the laughing. "But that's U.S.A. too—Union of South Africa—and it's really the same thing as here, only more so."

Here we are pushing for civil rights now, for performances not promises, and over there—well, they're really rolling. And it's so much the same that we ought to compare notes on these two great movements against white supremacy in the two U.S.A.'s.

Take some of the laws that they're fighting against over there: the Removal of Coloured Voters Act, the Group Areas Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Flogging Law. . . . Sounds mighty like "down home," doesn't it?—and up North too for that matter.

And what about that item in the paper the other day that told of how Dr. J. S. Moroka, President of the African National Congress, was arrested on charges of breaking the anti-Communist law because he is one of the militant leaders in the fight against segregation? Makes you think of our own brave Ben Davis, jailed for over a year now under the Smith Act because he led the fight against Jim Crow housing and for equal rights for his people.

More than 2,300 Africans and Indians have been jailed in South Africa since June 26 for such "crimes" as walking through public entrances marked "Whites Only" or for sitting on a railroad station bench reserved for "Europeans." And now we read that four Africans are to be flogged.

But despite the jails and the whips, my friend on the corner is right. They are going to win because they mean to win.

We mean to win, too, but we ought to take a lesson from our South African brothers and sisters. The lesson is UNITY. It was harder for them in many ways but now they've gotten together—the leaders and the people, the blacks and the Indians and the "Coloureds," and they say: "This is it! Freedom for us now!"

Somehow we've got to get united like that, and it had better be soon. Not after the elections, but today. And why not? We're united now in our insistence on civil rights, but when we unite all our strength—churches, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.), trade unionists, lodges, women's clubs, business and professional groups—and more together, well, we'll get our civil rights in 1952.

And there's something else we talked about on the corner along with all the rest about whips and jails. There are the invisible chains, too—like denying me a passport because, as the government noted in one brief, Robeson "has been active politically on behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

I have for a fact, and I'm still fighting for my passport which they are still keeping from me . . . . but the African freedom fight just keeps rolling along. And how it must have pained certain people down in Washington to read in the *N.Y. Times* that parading black and brown men in Johannesburg were singing "Robeson songs"!

Songs of liberation—who can lock them up?

The spirit of freedom—who can jail it?

A people's unity—what lash can beat it down?

Civil rights—what double-talk can satisfy our need?

O my brothers and sisters of the two U.S.A.'s we are going to be free!

People's World,
(South Africa), 18.9.52.

ALGERIA

An Example of Imperialism's "Work of Civilisation"

On October 9, four Algerian workers appeared before the French court of Aix-en-Provence to appeal against a verdict of the Court of Algiers. They were accused of "concealing criminals" and "of being accomplices in this concealment," at a time (beginning of 1950) when the French colonialists had staged a huge provocation against the Movement for the Achievement of Democratic Liberties. Not a trace of these "criminals" was found. But here is how these four honest men were forced to confess their crime.

HERE is Benmadjou. He has a direct gaze behind his glasses, and he speaks slowly and carefully.

"Your Honour, I was arrested on August 24, 1950, at 9 a.m. in the estate agency office where I work in Algiers. They took me directly to the villa of Oiseaux, police headquarters, where I was held for ten days. On three occasions I had to undergo the bath torture. This torture lasted at least 20 minutes on each occasion. They made me strip completely and then two policemen tied my ankles

and wrists and they also made me crouch so that my elbows almost touched my feet. They then slipped an axe handle under my legs behind the knees so that my body could turn round this pivot like a bundle. They then carried me in this way to the bath. One of them got hold of my hair and dragged me to and fro like a pendulum. My head was then held under dirty water in which the others before me had spat and even urinated. This was done three times until I completely collapsed.

"I was also flogged. They struck me with their fists and kicked me so much that at the end of it I would have signed anything."

Benmadjou continues:

"We had scarcely anything to eat, we even had to sleep on the ground. Speaking and smoking were forbidden. During the night we could hear the cries of those being tortured in the next cell. All of us were unrecognisable. Some tried to escape these treatments for we knew what awaited us. I saw a comrade who had been tortured throw himself out of the first floor window so that he would not have to undergo another one of these sessions. I saw another one kill himself by jumping from a train which was transferring us to Blida.

"That was not all. Once the confessions had been obtained, they then had to be confirmed by the examining magistrate. Not one of us had the services of a lawyer before the trial. Police inspectors took us into the magistrate's chambers where most of us appeared only once before the examining magistrate, without a single witness being produced. It we tried to alter the confessions signed in Oiseaux in the slightest way, they threatened to call the police commissioner who conducted the first interrogation. We had been indicted, we were transferred to Blida, where the police kept us in their hands for six days."

Throughout the hearing the same words could be heard repeatedly: horse-whipping, bath tortures, electrical treatment, threats, absence of a lawyer, presence of the police in the examining magistrate's chambers when the evidence was being taken down. . . .

Le Monde, 10.10.52.

CHINA

China's Trade Union Movement

CHINA now has a total trade union membership of 8,100,000. Figures released by the All-China Federation of Labour in a general review of China's trade union movement in the past three years, gives this as the total up to August, 1952. Over 90 per cent of the industrial workers have joined trade unions.

The widespread emulation campaigning constitutes one of the salient features of China's trade union movement since the liberation. More than 2,200,000 workers took part in emulation drives in 1951. This forms the driving force in the van of China's industrialisation. In the past three years, the total annual value of industrial output has more than doubled. The average labour productivity of a coal miner has nearly doubled and that of a textile worker has increased by one half.

In almost every field, valuable advanced production methods have been elaborated by the workers themselves and popularised throughout the country. They include a new spinning and weaving method in the cotton mills and a new tunnelling method in the coal mines. In the past three years, workers have submitted nearly 400,000 technical innovations and rationalisation proposals, of which over half have ben put into operation. Over 86,500 workers have distinguished themselves by outstanding production achievements.

This new labour enthusiasm stems from the new political and economic status the workers have gained since liberation. The Trade Union Law protects their every right. In the state-owned factories, where they suffer no exploitation whatsoever, the workers take part in factory management through their delegates on the factory administrative committees. In privately owned factories, the workers enjoy the full protection of their political and economic interests.

Labour protection measures have been greatly strengthened in the factories and mines. Forty per cent of the workers in the chemical industry had occupational diseases before the liberation. Now the figure has dropped to only 0.5 per cent. The casualty rate in the coal mines last year was lowered by more than one half compared with the previous year.

The average wages of Chinese workers this year are between 60 to 120 per cent above 1949. The People's Government has begun a series of large-scale housing projects this year so that the whole housing problem of the workers will be solved within three to five years. In North-East China alone, an aggregate floor space of over 2,600,000 square metres of housing have been constructed.

Labour insurance, in force since May Day 1951, provides security in sickness, disablement, or old age. Altogether, 3,020,000 workers are now enjoying these privileges, or more than 10,000,000 if dependents are included. The state has established 37 sizeable sanatoria for workers in the country's health resorts, in addition to large numbers of rest homes and night sanatoria set up by various enterprises.

Women workers are entitled to eight weeks' paid leave during childbirth. Over 1,600 factory nurseries have been set up for use by working mothers.

Considerable effort has been spent on raising the workers' educational standards. Several million workers now attend spare-time schools. In addition, by the end of June this year, 26,400 had entered technical schools. There are altogether 66 sizeable cultural palaces and central workers' clubs throughout the country apart from thousands of smaller clubs.

New China News Agency Daily Bulletin, 29.9.52.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

October 13

JAPAN.—One hundred and forty thousand miners in Kyushu hold a 48-hour token strike in support of their economic demands.

October 14

DENMARK.—Shipbuilding workers threatened with unemployment succeed in forcing the management of the Arrhus floating dock to undertake the repair of a Polish ship.

U.S.S.R.—J. Stalin makes a speech of historic importance during the closing session of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. (See No. 21 of **World Trade Union Movement.**)

FRANCE.—The 18th Congress of the National Federation of Metal Workers (CGT) opens in Lyons.

ALGERIA.—Six hundred miners at Boucaid in Cuarsenis have been on strike for eight days for increased wages and for the reinstatement of five dismissed workers.

October 15

KENYA.—The leader of the African group in the Legislative Council proposes a one-third increase in the wages of African workers, who live in conditions of frightful poverty.

NORWAY.—In a resolution addressed to the Norwegian trade union centre, trade union leaders representing the workers in 87 chemical products' plants demand that strong measures be taken to bring about price reductions.

AUSTRALIA.—The crews of more than 180 coasting ships hold a 24-hour strike in Australian ports in protest against the manoeuvres of the employers to reduce their wages and increase the length of their working day.

CHINA.—A new contract providing for the delivery of 50,000 tons of rice from China to India is signed in Peking.

AUSTRIA.—Over 2,000 Viennese students strike and demonstrate in the central streets of the Austrian capital in protest against increased entrance fees.

October 16

ITALY.—The "Congress for the Defence of the Health and Lives of the Workers" is held at Bruzzi, in Abruzzi during which workers accuse the Montecatini Company.

IRAN.—The government of Dr. Mossadeq announces that diplomatic relations with Great Britain are to be broken off.

October 17

GREAT BRITAIN.—An international trading association is set up under the chairmanship of Lord Boyd-Orr, with the aim of promoting the trade envisaged by the Moscow Economic Conference.

JAPAN.—Two hundred and fifty thousand miners employed by sixteen coal-mining companies strike for increased wages.

SPAIN.—The death sentence is demanded at a Barcelona court martial of three anti-Franco workers.

WESTERN GERMANY.—The Congress of the Trade Union Confederation meeting in West Berlin fails to re-elect Christian Fette as President. Delegates accuse him of being a supporter of rearmament and of the new Wehrmacht.

October 18

UNITED STATES.—One hundred and sixty-eight thousand coalminers go on strike in protest against the postponement of the ratification of the recent wage agreement by the Wage Stabilisation Board.

SOUTH AFRICA.—A serious riot takes place at Elizabethville. The police fire on a crowd of 3,000 Africans, killing and wounding a number of them. Considerable feeling is aroused throughout the whole country by this further crime of the Malan police.

October 19

IRAN.—A widespread signature campaign is developing throughout the country, demanding the immediate departure of American missions.

ITALY.—Thirty-five thousand Sicilian peasants occupy large estates whose sharing out is provided for in the truncated agrarian reform measures. The authorities are forced by pressure of the peasants to distribute the first 277 plots of land.

JAPAN.—The National Federation of Automobile Workers, which has 30,000 members, holds a special Congress, which decides upon affiliation to the Japanese Trade Union Centre (SOHYO) and the opening of a campaign for increased wages.

FRANCE.—Throughout the country there are work stoppages, the election of deputations and the signing of petitions in protest against the illegal arrest of

Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U.

KENYA.—The British authorities let loose a wave of repression against the national independence movement..

October 20

NORTHERN RHODESIA.—In response to the appeal of the Northern Rhodesian African Miners' Union, 40,000 miners strike in support of their wage demands. All the copper mines are brought to a standstill.

KENYA.—Martial law is declared. Eight hundred British soldiers arrive from the Canal Zone to reinforce the armed police. A large number of Africans are arrested, including the Secretary and President of the Kenya African Union, which has 100,000 members.

BRITISH HONDURAS.—On the occasion of the arrival of the new governor, the General Workers' Union, calls upon the workers to hold a 48-hour strike in support of their demand for a 35 per cent. wage increase.

UNITED STATES.—About 300,000 miners of the bituminous coalfields stop work in protest against the decision of the Wage Stabilisation Board to cut by forty cents the $1.90 accepted by the mineowners under the terms of a new labour contract. One hundred and sixty-eight thousand miners have already been on strike for two days.

JAPAN.—One hundred and twenty thousand workers in the electrical industry stop work in support of their economic demands. This new strike adds to the existing strike of 250,000 miners.

October 21

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Arbitration Tribunal grants the railwaymen seven shillings a week wage increase. Their demand was for a general increase of 10 per cent. An increase of seven shillings and fourpence a week is offered to the engineering workers, who were demanding a further £2 per week. The trade unions consider the offer inadequate.

UNITED STATES.—John L. Lewis, President of the United Mineworkers declares that the miners' strike will continue until the negotiated increase of $1.90 a day is fully paid to the workers.

GREECE.—Telegraph and telephone workers launch a 48-hour strike to express their protest against the government's refusal to meet their demand for a wage increase.

October 22

FRANCE.—An important meeting is held in the Velodrome d'Hiver in Paris under the chairmanship of Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U., to demand the release of Le Léap and the imprisoned youth leaders and to oppose the attempt to lift the parliamentary immunity of certain Communist Members of Parliament, including Jacques Duclos.

DENMARK.—Alberg shipbuilding workers, who are suffering from serious unemployment, demand in a resolution sent to the national trade union centre that normal trading relations with all countries be established, and protest against the occupation of Denmark by foreign troops.

TUNISIA.—A further spate of strikes for economic demands and against colonialism. Among workers now on strike are the lead miners of El Akhouat, the stock-farm workers of Sidi Tabet, and the employees of the El Bathan stock-raising centre.

ITALY.—The 2,000 workers of the Bruzzo firm in Genoa win complete victory after a 40-day occupation of their works, which had been threatened with closure by the employers.

October 23

FINLAND.—The Conference of factory trade union leaders of the paper-workers' union unanimously demands an hourly wage increase of thirty marks and observance of the 40-hour week.

TUNISIA.—Frightened by the magnificent united strike of the M'Dilla miners for increased wages and against anti-working class repression, the colonialists arrest the General Secretary of the M'Dilla trade union, El Hamed Ben Mohamed, who is also a member of the Union of Trade Unions of Tunisian Workers (U.S.T.T.).

ALGERIA.—The miners of El Halia hold a 24-hour strike for their economic demands and demand the release of Le Léap.

October 24

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Executive Council of the South Wales District of the National Union of Mineworkers decides to give its support to the British sponsors of the Peoples Congress for Peace.

IRAN.—Dr. Mossadeq approves an ultra-reactionary law forbidding strikes in state establishments and enterprises of vital importance. This decision is taken following strikes by the railwaymen and textile workers at the beginning of October.

YUGOSLAVIA.—In order to meet the catastrophic economic situation, which is daily worsening as a result of his fascist war policy, Tito decides to freeze wages, increase prices, to reduce social expenditure by over thirty million pounds and to increase rents by 100 per cent.

October 25

FRANCE.—The National Conference of Peasant Women is held in Saint Denis (Seine-et-Oise), presided over by members of the Executive Committee of the Union of French Women, which took the initiative in calling this conference, the first of its kind to be held in France.

ALGERIA.—The Algiers dockers honour the pledge that they have made in refusing to load the freighter S.S. Briancon, bound for Indo-China.

October 26

WESTERN GERMANY.—The movement for wage increases is developing throughout the country. At present 110,000 textile workers are on strike in Baden and Wurtemburg, as are the Nuremburg railwaymen.

SPAIN.—The Franco police arrest 33 patriots in Madrid,

accused of having distributed clandestine leaflets and newspapers.

ITALY.—The release of the war criminal Kesselring by the American authorities in Western Germany arouses a tremendous wave of indignation. Many protest strikes have broken out in Genoa, Milan, Livorno, Mantua, Pisa, Ravenna and other towns.

October 27

U.S.S.R.—The Volga-Atkuba canal, part of the system of the great Stalingrad project, is opened to navigation two months before the date planned.

NORWAY.—Protest demonstrations against the military manoeuvres now taking place in Norway are held in Narvik, Sandegford, Horten and Toensberg under the slogan "We want peace."

October 28

BRAZIL.—Over 2,000 delegates of municipal institutions, meeting in their second congress, call for new outlets for Brazilian exports, particularly to the countries of Eastern Europe and Asia.

FRANCE.—In response to the call of the General Confederation of Labour and the French Confederation of Christian Workers (C.F.T.C.), all workers in the arsenals and naval establishments, in a broad unity movement, carry out work stoppages of from one to 24-hours, according to localities, in support of their wage demands and in defence of social security.

U.S.S.R.—The reports of the achievements of the Soviet Five-Year Plan for the third quarter of 1952 show an 11 per cent. increase in industrial production in a year.

October 29

AUSTRIA.—A large unemployed demonstration takes place in Vienna to protest against the continual increase of unemployment.

CYPRUS.—The dockers of the port of Famagusta go on strike for an unspecified period in solidarity with the Limassol dockers, who have been out on strike for their demands since October 8.

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(W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, Vienna, June 14th, 1952)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor:
T. F. McWHINNIE

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JANUARY 1953–

WFTU Executive Committee

THE 9th Session of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions will be held in January 1953.

The important tasks and responsibilities of the Executive Committee must be appreciated in relation to the basis upon which the World Federation of Trade Unions organises its work.

The Executive Committee is the governing body of the W.F.T.U. between meetings of the General Council. It directs the activities of the W.F.T.U. and assumes responsibility for executing the decisions and resolutions of the W.F.T.U. General Council and the Congress.

The W.F.T.U. Constitution also provides that:

"Wherever necessary, the Executive Committee shall take emergency steps upon all questions affecting the interest of the workers throughout the world."

The present international situation is of such importance for the lives of the workers that it may well be imagined that the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee will have to take important decisions in the interests of the world working class.

It is well to have in mind the principles which govern the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Here again we refer to the Constitution adopted by our organisation in 1945. It remains fully valid. It constitutes the common law of all organisations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. or which have friendly relations with the W.F.T.U.

The Constitution of our organisation provides:

"1. Full democracy within the trade unions of all countries and close collaboration among them;

"2. Permanent contact with affiliated trade union organisations, fraternal support and assistance to them in their work;

"3. Systematic exchange of information and experience in trade union work with the object of strengthening the solidarity of the international labour movement;

"4. Co-ordination of actions by the workers' organisations for the realisation of their international aims and decisions;

"5. Protection of the workers in emigration and immigration;

"6. Using every available means of making known and explaining the purposes for which the World Federation of Trade Unions is organised, the objectives which it seeks, its programme for the achievement of these objectives and its decisions on specific issues."

The present period differs from that in which these six points were drawn up and adopted, but the basic problems which confront the international working class movement are the same. That is why each of these six points still remains a rule for international trade union activities.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE requirements of working men and women following the Second World War were immense. At that time, the Executive Committee strove to direct the W.F.T.U.'s activity towards urgent and essential questions in order to intensify international trade union activities and make more comprehensible to all trade union organisations the community of interests which exists among the workers of the whole world.

Let us recall the past. The first important activity undertaken by the W.F.T.U. in 1945, which was further developed in 1946 and 1947, dealt with help by the international trade union movement to the German workers.

The Executive Committee held out a fraternal hand to the German workers in order to promote democratic trade union activity in a de-Nazified, democratic and, in the actual terms of the W.F.T.U. decision, "demilitarised" Germany.

However, during 1947 and 1948, obstructions to the application of the decisions of the W.F.T.U.—decisions which were fully in line with the needs and wishes of the workers of the whole world—developed in a systematic manner within the Executive Committee. Within the W.F.T.U. the representatives of the British T.U.C. and the American C.I.O. led this policy of obstruction, while governmental reaction in the capitalist countries, stimulated by the U.S. government, assumed the task of placing obstacles in the way of winning the workers' demands. Concurrently with the rising danger of war, which was clearly perceptible at that time, and the reactionary offensive, which was endangering the social rights of the workers and the democratic liberties of the peoples in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, the splitters in the leadership of the T.U.C. and the C.I.O., sabotaged the application of every one of the decisions which had been unanimously taken at the time of the formation of the W.F.T.U.

If we take the present concrete example of the need to intensify the workers' fight against the reconstitution of a German army of revenge, headed by the

Nazi officers' corp which has got the upper hand in Western Germany, we shall get some idea of the heavy responsibility assumed in the eyes of all the workers by those who, a few years ago, sought to paralyse the W.F.T.U.'s activities on this important question.

Working men and women should never forget it.

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THE international situation has evolved to a considerable degree since 1947 and 1948. The responsibilities of the W.F.T.U. as a mass trade union organisation representing the interests of the workers of all countries have grown to the extent to which the international situation has worsened.

The January 1953 meeting of the Executive Committee will have to analyse the development of international events and the character of the struggles which have taken place since the last session of the W.F.T.U. General Council in November 1951.

International questions directly influence the solution of a large number of national problems in many countries. For instance, living and working conditions in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries are being subjected to the exigencies of the militarisation of the economy. The most immediate result for the mass of the workers is the deterioration of their living standards.

But the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, in analysing the international situation since the last W.F.T.U. General Council meeting, will have to take note of an important point :

— *corresponding to the growth of contradictions and conflicting interests between the capitalist countries, there is a growth of contradictions and internal conflict within the I.C.F.T.U., that trade union organisation which was set up by those who brought about the split in the international trade union movement in 1949 in order to weaken the forces of the international democratic and progressive working class movement.*

Nothing better reveals the dependence of the leaders of this pseudo trade union international on the capitalist regime than the automatic repercussions within the I.C.F.T.U. of the conflicting interests of the various imperialisms.

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THE World Federation of Trade Unions in no way associates the working men and women in various countries who are experiencing (and fighting against) the present rotten state of the capitalist system with those reactionary trade union leaders who constitute within the trade unions an agency truly foreign to the working class.

We have very valid reasons for not being guilty of such confusion.

Here is a quite recent example of these reasons, directly linked with the present struggles of the workers.

So-called trade union leaders are openly acting as accomplices of anti-working class repression, when they do not openly provoke it.

In the July number of the I.C.F.T.U. magazine there is an article on the "Political and Social Aspects of the Situation in France." Rarely has a so-called trade union journal published an article of this type. The anonymous author of the article can only be a police agent. After having put forward his theme by speaking of strikes which may seriously affect the national economy, hinder defence plans and stir up the masses against any governmental policy which is not favourable to the diplomatic or military interests of the U.S.S.R., the I.C.F.T.U. Review appeals to the French government for repression to be exercised against the C.G.T. and its leadership, declaring that it is guilty of obvious acts of treason.

That is what appears in the I.C.F.T.U. Review.

Alain Le Léap was arrested on October 10, following the publication of this abominable article.

Workers, and all honest trade union leaders, even if they are not affiliated to the W.F.T.U., will pass severe judgement on those who are playing the role of police agents and informers, those who are responsible in the I.C.F.T.U. for the publication of such an article. Even those workers not affiliated to the W.F.T.U. are nauseated to read such disgraceful literature, and are joining with those who are already demanding the release of Alain Le Léap and defending democratic rights and liberties.

The W.F.T.U. has full confidence in these workers.

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THE Peace Conference of the Workers of the Scandinavian Countries has just shown that the W.F.T.U. is fully justified in this confidence. This recent conference, which was attended by organised workers affiliated to the W.F.T.U. and otherwise, by Socialist, Communist and non-party workers, holding different religious views or without any religious convictions, reached its highest point of enthusiasm when the 433 delegates from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark unanimously passed a resolution addressed to the W.F.T.U., the I.C.F.T.U. and the Christian Trade Union International asking them to "negotiate jointly with a view to uniting all workers in the common fight for peace" and proposing "that the three international organisations unanimously call upon their members to unite their forces in the fight for peace —the greatest good of humanity."

Thus, after having passed a resolution calling for the release of Alain Le Léap, Scandinavian workers demanded in effect that international trade union

organisations such as the I.C.F.T.U. should cease to attack working class militants who are fighting for peace.

In the weeks preceding the meeting of the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, this decision of the Scandinavian workers must be given the great importance it deserves.

It is impossible to ignore the voice of working men and women when they express themselves so clearly, and when they say so precisely what they are thinking, what they hope for and what they want.

It is true that peace is the great need of humanity.

It is true that all workers, whatever their trade union affiliations, must unite their forces in the fight to defend humanity's greatest treasure.

It is true that trade union organisations should have as their fundamental aim that of uniting all workers in a common struggle to safeguard peace.

We shall not disregard the workers' demands. The W.F.T.U. Executive Committee will not be deaf to the determined and powerful voice of the working masses.

The essential thing for an organisation which wishes to be in a position to speak and act on behalf of the workers is to be able in all circumstances to take their desires into account, to give heed to all the expressions of their will, and to give solid support to all initiatives which they take.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE W.F.T.U. Executive Committee will fulfil its duty by not forgetting the aforementioned rule and by making it valid for the W.F.T.U. itself.

It will have to take decisions to raise even higher the level and content of international solidarity and mutual aid between the trade unions of all countries.

On November 7, an accredited representative of the State Department held a conference at the Hotel Statler in Washington in order to give vent to some pitiful remarks on the subject of the W.F.T.U., and to give the U.S. government's blessing to the I.C.F.T.U., expressing at the same time his regret at the lack of credit given to the latter organisation for its very special activities.

We know to which of the two voices the I.C.F.T.U. leaders will lend their ears. Not to that of the Scandinavian workers who met in Oslo on November 15, but to that of the authorised spokesman of the State Department who held forth a week earlier on "trade union questions."

For the W.F.T.U., there is only one voice which can resound in the meeting room of its Executive Committee.

It is the voice of the workers.

It is the voice coming from Oslo, and equally from all countries of the world.

Louis Saillant

To Free Alain Le L

By our special corre

Seven o'clock in the evening . . . The darkness and the cold of the winter spread quickly over the working class suburbs of Paris. This evening, as every evening in these friendly lighted houses, women are waiting expectantly while preparing the meal, and children stop their play for a moment to listen for a familiar step. But in this little house which I visited there is a mother who knows that she has no hope of seeing "him," and there is a pretty smiling little girl of four who knows that "the judges are keeping daddy, and they won't even give him the parcel of cakes and butter I sent him."

Alain Le Léap will not come home this evening.

He has not been home for a month. This year again he will not be at home for his daughter's birthday.

He was in Peking on Marie-Claude's second birthday, in Rome on her third, and he is in prison on her fourth birthday.

This perhaps gives the key to an understanding of who Alain Le Léap is, and why French and international reaction are today hounding him and the French General Confederation of Labour. The General Secretary of the French C.G.T. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. has devoted the major part of his time and energy to the service of the working class of France and the world, to the service of peace and the well-being of all peoples. Today the French government, on orders of the American rulers, bring a charge against him which can carry a death sentence.

"Why have they arrested him, when he has never done anything but good ?"

True words spoken by a mother. "They" have arrested a man who defends the rights and the victories of the French workers, a man who has done nothing but good, as the retired civil servant, who sent him his meagre three months' pension by way of thanks and in order to help him, knows. "A man who has done nothing but good," is also the opinion of those workers who, on coming home this evening, will say, "We had a one-hour stoppage in the factory for our demands and for the release of Alain Le Léap," or "We sent a resolution to the examining magistrate signed by all the workers in the factory, of all trade union affiliations and political opinions, and we held a meeting. Things are moving."

★ ★ ★

I am in the Le Léap home, a home in which everything speaks of him. They tell me to wait a little; Madame Le Léap will be home any minute now. She has received special permission to see him this afternoon.

I wait, and the little girl, Marie-Claude, starts to tell me the story that her father had taught her before he was taken away . . . Then began another story, to which everybody listened attentively. Some part of the absent one is reflected in his wife's smile as she told of her visit.

"So he hasn't changed much ?"

"No, mother, he's still in good spirits, though he's a little thinner. I saw him for an hour, and as a result of all the protests that have been made, we shall all three be able to see him next Tuesday. He said that, through the window of the barracks to which they took them for the opening of the bags filled with the so-called documents in the dossiers, they saw the protest delegations marching along. You can imagine their joy, after a month of silence and darkness. A first victory has been won as a result of the pressure and the continual protests of national and international public opinion; Alain and the other political prisoners have now received an improvement in their conditions, especially in being allowed to receive parcels and newspapers."

Little enough, in fact, but it means that for a month Alain Le Léap, who has not yet been tried, who is charged and threatened with death because his opinions (which are those of millions of others) do not please the Pinay government, has been subjected to the regime of common law prisoners, to that of thieves, criminals and swindlers. It means an unheated cell, thirteen feet by ten, a half-hour's exercise each day, all his letters opened, nothing to read, nothing with which to write, and being deprived of the opportunity to follow events and to see the growth of the workers' struggle for his release.

★ ★ ★

Why all this hatred and fear, and why all these illegal measures ?

The reasons are of two kinds—trumped-up reasons, which are the pretexts for the government's fascist measures, and the real reasons, which should be a warning signal for all workers.

THE PRETEXT is the campaign carried on by the French C.G.T., and thus by its General Secretary, against the unpopular colonial war in Viet-Nam, and for the right of the peoples to determine their own affairs. This campaign of the French C.G.T. for peace is in line with the traditions of the international working class.

However, in relation to this campaign, which is to the honour of the C.G.T., Alain Le Léap is only charged with newspaper articles and official letters of the C.G.T., which means that the whole C.G.T. is under attack. Further, all these actions which he has carried out in the name of his organisation have been carried on openly within the framework of the normal exercise of trade union rights and freedom of opinion. The "secret attempt to demoralise the nation" of which the government talks is merely a deception. If there have been attempts to demoralise the nation, it can only be attri-

... is to Defend th

éap from Prison ...

spondent R. CLAIN

buted to the anti-working class and imperialist policy of the French government.

THE TRUTH is that the fight of the French and international working class for a better life and peace hinders the warmongers' preparations and they want, by convicting the General Secretary of the C.G.T. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., to try to reduce the working class to silence. The truth is that the French government, in order to please the American right-wing trade union leaders, is attacking the best artisan of working class unity of France and of the world. But the French government's attack goes even further by attacking the very exercise of trade union rights. It is an attempt to limit, and eventually to forbid, the right to strike. That is why Alain Le Léap has himself stated quite correctly: "The workers have complete right to refuse work that is against their conscience or opposed to their economic interests. Their leaders have the right and the duty to clarify all problems for them, to show them the causes of their poverty, and the actions which must be taken against those causes. To dare to refuse them this right is to attack the right to strike." This is what the French government and its American masters are seeking to do.

The General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. extols Alain Le Léap during an enthusiastic meeting organised by the French General Confederation of Labour to secure the release of this great French, and international trade union militant.

There is no doubt that the monstrous plot against the French working class, its rights and its organisations, is an experiment. If successful, it will be generally extended to other countries. The aim is to stop the activity of the workers of all countries for a better life and for peace. Today the workers of the world are even more united in the struggle which one of our best defenders and friends, a man who has a place in the hearts of all workers, the Vice-President of the W.F.T.U,. is carrying on behind the bars of his prison.

Our mighty voice can open the gates of prisons. It is up to us. We will respond to the appeal which Alain Le Léap has sent to us across the walls and the silence through his wife who writes:

"Dear Brothers and Friends,

"Your encouraging and fraternal messages and letters and your resolute actions have deeply moved my husband and me.

"As he is unable to reply to you, having been subjected to the regime of common law offenders in the Fresnes Prison, Alain has asked me to thank you, and to express his confidence in the success of the great fight which you are carrying on for the defence of working class liberties which have been won by so many heroic struggles over so many years.

"He has asked me to advise you to close ranks everywhere, to unite the working class, for he told me, in demanding his release and that of his young comrades, it is a question of the right of each one of us to fight for our demands and for peace according to our own political, religious or philosophical convictions and in accordance with our own conceptions.

"Please allow me, dear friends, as a woman militant, a wife and mother, to ask you to do everything possible to carry on with your activities until you smash this monstrous governmental plot, which is being carried on by methods inherited from fascism against our most sacred interests, against peace.

"Please accept my most ardent wishes for victory."

Alice Le Léap

e Workers' Rights

Little girl with Dove, by Picasso.

IN A FEW DAYS...

The Peoples' Congress Opens in Vienna

AS this number of our Review comes off the press, thousands of delegates representing all the peoples of the world will be on their way to Vienna to take part in a Congress of major importance—the Peoples' Peace Congress.

Men and women of all social and political opinions, races, and philosophical and religious beliefs will be mandated to state that the spirit of negotiation must prevail over solutions by force, to look for ways to stop the wars in progress, to end the cold war, to ensure national independence and to guarantee the security of all countries.

It would not be out of place here to pause an instant in the tremendous excitement engendered by the preparations for the Peoples' Congress, and to make a deeper analysis of the part played by the working class and its trade union organisations in this preparation—a part which is of essential importance.

Both in the largest factories and smallest workshops, countless meetings have been held. These are friendly and comradely meetings to which everyone simply brought his contribution to the immense work of maintaining peace. We shall refer again to this effort of the working class. In the meantime we wish to give a number of examples of this activity sent in by our correspondents in continuation of those previously published in our last number.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE LIVERPOOL DOCKERS' HOOK

THE dockers' hook, familiar to the many thousands of dock-workers throughout the world, has taken on a new significance in Liverpool.

In recent weeks it has become a symbol for peace. A large metal model of a docker's hook is to be taken to the Peoples' Congress for Peace inscribed with a peace message from the Liverpool dockers. The 120-strong sponsoring committee responsible for the campaign to elect a delegate are making their peace symbol—the docker's hook—as well-known in Liverpool as Picasso's Dove of Peace.

Throughout the dock area drawings of it have been chalked on dozens of factory walls, it has appeared overnight in the roadway at busy crossings. It is embossed on the notepaper used by the sponsoring committee.

It is a living symbol which will be carried to Vienna bearing the names of all who gave at least threepence towards their delegate's expenses. On the model is a copper plate with room for 5,000 names which will make up Liverpool's "Roll of Honour."

Already "the talk of Liverpool," the docker's hook is also well-known in the inland port of Salford. For there is friendly rivalry between the dockers at these two Lancashire ports in their campaigning for the election of a docker's delegate. Each has challenged the other to be the first to raise the £70 needed to send a delegate.

* * *

ENGINEERING workers in Sheffield, the country's largest armaments centre, are to send a delegate elected from nominations from all the large factories. Here the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee at Firth Brown's Ltd., the second largest factory in the city. are responsible for co-ordinating the campaign.

In the very workshops where the weapons for Churchill's "defensive" rearmament programme are being made, collections are also being made towards the cost of a delegate. Peace notebooks are being circulated in which personal messages are being sent to the Congress. A similar campaign is being conducted in neighbouring Rotherham, where, spurred on by

local rivalry, the engineers and steelworkers intend to go one better than Sheffield.

The campaigning in Rotherham was launched by the Political Sub-committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, but now embraces all sections of the labour and trade union movement.

At Harrow, Middlesex, the 5,000 workers in the Kodak factory will be represented by Mr. Charles Wolfendale, a member of the Association of Cinematograph and Allied Technicians. Mr. Wolfendale was elected at a meeting of the factory branch of the association where £10 was immediately collected towards his expenses. In the factory, 50 Peace Notebooks are being circulated and collections taken.

So the campaign goes on all through the country. Railway workers in Dundee, Scotland, and Earls Court, London, miners in South Wales, clothing workers in Leeds, motorcar workers in the Midlands, woollen textile workers in the West Riding of Yorkshire, cotton workers in Lancashire, shipyard workers in Glasgow and on the Tyneside, leading shop stewards from every major industry, Labour Party councillors from numerous places, housewives and professional workers from all the large and many small towns and cities.

Collections are being taken not only at factories, pits, rail depots and other places of work, but in the streets at busy shopping centres, from door to door, at trade union meetings, at Co-operative, Labour and Communist Party meetings. Women are collecting for industrial delegates and industrial workers are helping to finance housewives and professional delegates.

At the beginning of November just two-thirds of the way through their campaign, the British Sponsoring Committee had information that more than 60 delegates had been elected towards their target of 100. In many other cases, it was known that delegates would be elected but the results of the elections are not yet completed.

This remarkable achievement, made in spite of the official ban placed on the Congress by the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, reveals the growing desire of the British people for a peaceful settlement of international differences.

By proscribing the Congress, the official leadership of the British Labour movement hoped to intimidate their members and so prevent a wide representative delegation from attending. But, in fact, a review of the widespread activities throughout the country reveals that the leadership is isolating itself from the rank and file members and not the rank and file members from the growing peace movement.

Ernest Wellan.

GERMANY

PEOPLE AGREE ON STEPS TO PEACE

THE results of the International Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem held in Berlin which was attended by 200 delegates from 12 countries among whom were worker delegates of the most varied opinions, are bound to have very big repercussions. The Conference passed an important resolution with only three abstentions.

The Conference came to the conclusion that the Bonn and Paris treaties "must not be ratified, but must be definitely rejected and denounced where they have been ratified." In addition, the resolution declares: "Energetic steps must be taken to bring about a meeting of the Four Powers charged with drawing up a peace treaty which would restore to the German people their unity and political independence and which, at the same time, would guarantee the security of Germany's neighbour States."

The delegates from Western Germany and from the German Democratic Republic issued a joint declaration stating that "the principal task common to all Germans is to prevent the ratification of the Bonn agreements and to act for agreement among the Four Great Powers on a peaceful solution to the German problem." It also underlines the fact that a peace treaty must be signed without delay with an all-German government, elected freely in a general direct election by secret ballot. It is therefore necessary immediately to set up, in agreement with the four Great Powers, a commission of representatives of East and West Germany, who, after examining proposals from the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic and the People's Parliament of the German Democratic Republic, will prepare a common electoral law.

The declaration also goes on to say:

"The overwhelming majority of the German people in the interest of their existence and national independence, refuses to participate in military alliances and pacts which could only serve as preparation for war. A reunited Germany dedicated to peace will support all proposals and measures aimed at the general disarmament of all peoples."

NORWAY ***(By Telephone)***

WORKERS ASK UNITY FOR PEACE

THE Peace Conference of Workers of Scandinavian Countries was held in Oslo on November 15 and 16, 1952, with more than 430 delegates from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark present. These very broad and representative delegations from different sections of Scandinavian working class opinion elected 9 delegates to the Peoples' Congress in Vienna, after passing a general resolution calling for unity for peace.

The Conference passed a resolution which was addressed to the W.F.T.U., the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.C.C.T.U. (Christian International). It asks these organisations "to negotiate jointly with the aim of uniting all workers in the common fight for peace and proposes that the three international organisations make a unanimous appeal to their members to unite their forces in the fight for peace—the greatest good of humanity."

O.B.

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In Austria peace supporters prepare for the Peoples' Congress in Vienna by selling the "peace farthing," which gives them the opportunity of discussing the problems of peace. RIGHT: Every day in the headquarters of the Austrian Peace Council many people pass through, taking a supply and accounting for the "farthings." BELOW: This woman of Lower Austria, a peace supporter belonging to no political party, lost three of her sons in the last world war. To fight for peace is for her a sacred duty.

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Hundreds of thousands of peace farthings have already been sold.

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Workers in a paper-making machinery factory in Traismauer (Lower Austria) meet after work in one of the plant's workshops to discuss the problems which will be brought up in the Peoples' Peace Congress.

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ITALY

PREPARATIONS GO AHEAD

TREMENDOUS interest is being aroused in the factories by meetings called to discuss and write messages in "the Peace and Reconstruction Notebooks." Concrete and local economic and cultural demands are being compared with the burdens and destruction caused by war and by the armaments race.

With what care and with what a passionate love for peace each working man and woman, and each young worker writes his or her message in the notebooks. They are veritable treasures of the people's genius.

Thus throughout Rome there has been a real mobilisation of the workers. Large and small meetings are being convened, with the theme—"Priority for Peace Expenditure over War Expenditure." Appeals for the Peoples' Congress are welcomed with enthusiasm.

P. Colombini.

FRANCE

BRITTANY WORKERS MAKE IT A REAL PEOPLES' CONGRESS

THE problem before the Nantes Peace Committee for the Workshops and Shipyards of Brittany was how to make it a real Peoples' Congress. The Committee was hidden away in a corner, practically unknown by the workers in the factories, not daring to take any large-scale initiative, planning no collective work for the distribution of peace postcards, and doing nothing about stimulating discussion on peace.

Our trade union branch was invited to a meeting of the above Peace Committee and decided to take a very active part in preparing and popularising the Peoples' Congress among all democratic organisations and men and women of goodwill.

From the very first meeting, we felt the revival of confidence among the members and collective work was organised. However, we were afraid to set an objective and timidly decided to distribute 1,000 peace postcards.

One of our members offered to take 500 of them. Needless to say, we considered that he was being very unrealistic, but he told us what he intended doing: He would get into discussion on the question of peace with 10 of his fellow workers and get them to take 10 each and to come back for more to distribute among the other workers with whom they held discussions.

It was then that we decided unanimously that 1,000 cards would only be our first objective and that it would be quite easy for us through collective work to attain and even to exceed 3,000. Now, as a result of our experience, we are certain that we shall attain our objective and that our general meeting will elect its 20 delegates to the regional meeting.

Lucien Bagrain,
Secretary of the Brittany Shipbuilding Yards Trade Union Branch, Nantes.

UNITED STATES

BREAKING THROUCH THE WALL OF SILENCE

ACTIVITIES have been increased to break through the curtain of lies in the American big-time Press and to reach the workers. Thus, for example, thousands of workers in the clothing and furrier district in the centre of Manhattan heard the appeal asking them to vote for an immediate cease-fire in Korea.

From midday until 1 p.m., out of 414 persons questioned, 411 answered "yes."

That is characteristic of the ever-growing opposition by the American working class to the war.

Another example: The 48th Convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers held in New York issued a construction programme showing that in order not to endanger industry there must be a peace economy and a programme of peaceful production based on broad international economic co-operation.

W.J.

THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PEOPLES' DEMOCRACIES

UNITED FOR PEACE

"*AS for the Soviet Union, its interests in general are inseparable from the cause of world peace.*" These words of J. Stalin illustrate in splendid fashion the leading role of the Soviet people in the peace camp. Immediately following the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when the Soviet people have thrown themselves with redoubled fervour into the work of building Communism and great peaceful achievements, it is quite easy to understand how great their effort will be for the Peoples' Peace Congress.

In the Peoples' Democracies, the people are also preparing to affirm at the Congress their ardent love of peace. Thus in Hungary where the National Peace Congress was held on November 22, considerable mass work was carried out by local committees and thousands of large and small meetings were held in the towns and villages.

Twenty-seven thousand peace committees have been set up on a local basis and thousands in the factories.

The Railwaymen's Trade Union has taken the initiative in sending a peace train round the country.

In Albania, the Peace Congress took place on November 5, in Bulgaria on November 16, and in Czechoslovakia on November 15, in an atmosphere similar to that in Hungary.

In unity, we must and shall save peace.

V.B.

THE 35th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, following upon the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the Congress of the Builders of Communism—a Congress preceded by the publication of Stalin's masterly work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." and closed by his historic speech,[1] has aroused enthusiasm among the workers throughout the world.

In all countries, this event was celebrated with imposing mass demonstrations and, in addition, many workers' delegations participated in the impressive celebrations of the 35th Anniversary in the Soviet Union bringing fraternal messages to the great Soviet people, to its working class, to the friend and guide of the workers of the whole world, J. Stalin. A W.F.T.U. delegation, led by its General Secretary, Louis Saillant, took part in this celebration in Moscow.

W.F.T.U. Sends Stirring Message to the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions

FOLLOWING is the text of the telegram sent by the W.F.T.U. to the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, on behalf of the workers of the whole world, on the occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution:

"On the occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the World Federation of Trade Unions fraternally greets the men and women workers of the Soviet Union and warmly congratulates them on the occasion of their great festival of world importance, as well as on the tremendous successes achieved by the peoples of the Soviet Union in the peaceful construction of an enthusiastic and happy life. The workers and progressive people of all countries, all those who desire peace and happiness for themselves, their children and future generations, look towards the Soviet Union. The workers of the whole world are following with great admiration and deep gratitude the firm and consistent struggle of the Soviet people for the consolidation of its Socialist State, for peace and friendship among all peoples. The World Federation of Trade Unions, in the name of its 80 million workers united within its ranks, affirms once again that it will continue the fight for the rights and interests of the workers, for the raising of their living standards against the instigators of war and for peace, the supreme good of mankind, with all its ability. The W.F.T.U. sends this message of friendship of the workers of the world to the Soviet trade unions, whose prestige is constantly growing in the world trade union movement, within which they are raising high the banner of international

The 35th Anniver
October Socia

[1] See No. 21 of World Trade Union Movement.

working class solidarity by the magnificent examples which they are giving to the trade unions of all countries. The World Federation of Trade Unions takes this opportunity on the occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the October Revolution to wish the Soviet workers new and great successes in their peaceful and creative work under the guidance of their esteemed leader, the friend and guide of the workers of the whole world, Comrade Stalin.

ary of the Great

ist Revolution

"Long live peace and friendship between the peoples.

"Long live unity and international working class solidarity.

"Long live the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

"Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, bastion of peace throughout the world.

Louis Saillant,
General Secretary of the W.F.T.U."

DELEGATION STATEMENTS :

● **For the celebration of the 35th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, delegations from all countries went to the U.S.S.R. Here are some of their impressions formed on the spot.**

L. Langley, member of the New Zealand Carpenters' Trade Union, made the following statement to our special Correspondent, Régine Lacazette, on behalf of the New Zealand delegation, composed of four workers and a trade union official:

"We were all deeply impressed by the life and work of the Soviet people. What struck us particularly was the great care shown for children, the comprehensiveness of the system of kindergartens and creches, the beauty of the Palaces of Culture.

"There are crowds of customers in the shops. which are full of goods. We got a full picture of the development of the building programme and efforts which are being made everywhere to provide the workers with comfortable homes in modern buildings.

"We visited churches of various creeds and the worshippers there proved to us that complete religious liberty exists in the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviet people want peace. This wish is expressed everywhere and the great plans for peaceful development are the guarantee of the sincerity of this desire for peace on the part of the U.S.S.R."

● **Extract from the statement of Alex Dowling, Trade Union Secretary, Newcastle (New South Wales, Australia).**

"The visitor to the Soviet Union sees very clearly

a happy, well-fed, well-clad people : a people devoted to their homeland and their leaders. This expression of national unity and pride was displayed in the great demonstration in the Red Square on November 7. Two million singing, dancing, happy people celebrated the 35th Anniversary of the October Revolution in a manner that almost defies description. The people marched through the Red Square, hundreds abreast, for four and a half hours, showing by banners, slogans and voices their desire for peace and peaceful relations with the nations of the world.

" There are, of course, endless examples of the desire of the Soviet people and government for peaceful development of their great nation, and I would like to refer to some of these out of the variety witnessed and examined.

" The exhibition of building and national development projects in Moscow must convince any observer of the driving force for peace and development of the Soviet Union. Large blocks of first-class apartment houses have been erected, and more are under construction, as the old Moscow makes way for the new. Hospitals are being built in a manner which is unbelievable to the visitor from a capitalist country, where works on hospital, home building and school construction is stopping, despite the urgency of these national needs.

" The newly-completed Moscow University is a high-light in a land of surprises and progress. This building can best be described as an architectural achievement that would defy comparison in the world. However, some practical description may be best : this University can accommodate some 6,000 students in their own separate living quarters, and caters for many more thousands who will attend. The real magnitude of the building can be seen when it is stated that if a person wished to visit one room daily in the University it would take 60 years to visit every room.

" This, of course, is a staggering statement to make to readers in many capitalist countries, where there is overcrowding in schools : in some cases, to such an extent that pupils have to sit on floors in classrooms.

" A visit to the Technological Museum brings forth very clearly the great technical advancement and mechanisation of industrial production in the Soviet Union. This is a large exhibition, and if the visitor desired to merely walk through all the exhibition halls it would take 2½ hours. Here one can see such exhibits as a model of the only piston-producing plant in the world where car pistons are produced completely by mechanised processes; also of interest is the electrode-controlled micrometer—a machine measuring finished products, and placing them in sections according to measurement. The mass production of television sets is a feature of interest . . . .

" The cultural advantages of the Soviet peoples and excellent standard of production of ballets and operas are not likely to be surpassed in the world today. The Russian ballet needs no other comment than to merely affirm that it has been recognised as the premier ballet in the world, and the Bolshoi Theatre is packed for every performance.

" What, then, of the people of the Soviet Union—the men, women and children? Soviet workers say : "The only privileged class in the Soviet Union are the children," and deep affection is the common lot of the Soviet children. In this country, the death of a child is regarded as a loss to the nation, and a very thorough inquiry is made in such cases . . .

" The trade union movement in the Soviet Union is powerful and democratic. Its officials are elected by the workers in a manner which could leave nothing to be desired by any country . . .

" The workers, also, have the added advantage of being able to criticise the conduct of management of industries, and it is a serious charge if any factory director is proven guilty of any negligence or intolerance to the workers . . .

"The Soviet Union does sincerely offer the hand of peace and friendship to the nations and peoples of the world, the peoples of the world have nothing to fear from the Soviet Union.

" Those who speak to the contrary do so either from lack of knowledge or are calmly and deliberately making false statements of the land of Socialism —where fear of the future and unemployment have been banished forever."

We Have Seen a Country Where the People are Brothers

Before leaving the Soviet Union, where it had just visited a number of widely different regions, an Algerian trade union delegation held a Press conference in Moscow on October 9, 1952. During this conference, the delegates made an important statement. Due to lack of space, we are only able to publish a few extracts.

ON the invitation of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, our delegation has just spent four weeks in the land of Socialism. It is the first time that a delegation of Algerian trade unionists has visited the Soviet Union. During our stay we visited various regions :

(1) Firstly, the city of Moscow, various factories in the city and district, museums, a church, etc.

(2) The region of Sochi, a health centre and spa on the Black Sea coast, where we admired the many sanatoria and rest homes situated there.

(3) Tashkent, capital of the Uzbekistan Soviet Socialist Republic, and the surrounding region.

(4) Stalingrad, the heroic city which has become the symbol of anti-fascist struggle.

(5) And finally, that gigantic work of Communism, the Volga-Don canal.

Our delegation is composed of seven active trade unionists of different trades, with varied religious and political convictions, and from all the various ethnical groups and from all sections of Algeria. We are thereby well qualified to give a free and absolutely impartial account of the general impressions gathered during the course of the extensive tour we have just made.

We visited several large factories. These included a mechanical bakery, the "Stalin" automobile plant, a shoe factory, a meat combine, and a tobacco factory in the Moscow region. We also visited a textile combine, an agricultural equipment factory, and a clothing factory in Tashkent (Uzbekistan) and a tractor factory and a steelworks in Stalingrad.

We held discussions with workers in these factories, often questioning them at great length on their living and working conditions, rates of pay, etc. They always replied to our questions with that pleasant smile which is a characteristic of men who are proud of their labour and their factory, and contented with their life and their future.

In the capitalist and colonial countries, the reactionary Press and radio, subservient to the ruling class, are raising a great uproar, trying to make people believe that the factories in the Soviet Union are concentration camps where the workers work under the threat of militiamen and are forced to work at impossible speeds.

We were able to see how great a lie this is, how ignominious is this slander by the capitalists and enemies of the Soviet Union who, unable to advance logical arguments, resort to the most outrageous lies and the lowest type of slanders.

The factories or works we visited are fitted out in such a manner as to make the work as pleasant as possible. Cleanliness was carried to such an extent that we often asked ourselves whether we were really in a factory. In nearly all instances, the lighting is natural light, and ventilation is excellent. There are none of those dusts which are so harmful to the workers' health. In the Tashkent textile combine, for example, the air is changed 18 times an hour, which constitutes several million cubic yards of fresh air per day. The temperature is maintained at the same level the whole year round, summer and winter.

With regard to output, norms are fixed in such a way that every worker is able to achieve them. In all the factories we visited, the number of Stakhanovites, that is, those workers who greatly exceed their norm, amounts to from 70 to 80 per cent of the workers. Assembly line speeds are very moderate. In the Stalingrad tractor factory, we even saw workers waiting for the arrival of the tractor at their post or pushing the assembly line on in order to get their work done.

During breaks, we saw men and women workers dancing in the "Red Corners" attached to each workshop. If those men and women workers had been "exhausted by the speed-up" they would have preferred to lie down, as, alas, is too often the case with us in Algeria, rather than dance and sing.

There is a great emulation campaign in all factories

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While the great majority of Algerian workers live in extreme poverty and the sumptuous residences in their country are reserved for the colonial exploiters, in the U.S.S.R. by contrast, the workers spend their leisure time in magnificent palaces which they themselves own.

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to increase production. Every workers does his best to merit the title of Stakhanovite or Hero of Socialist Labour. The best workers are held in esteem, their names cited as an example, their portraits hung in a special place in the factory.

Factory workers develop production so as to provide more tractors and agricultural machines because they know that this will mean more bread, meat, vegetables and fruit on their tables. Collective farmers develop production because they know that by supplying ever more agricultural products to the city workers they will, in return, get more tractors and machines for their collective farms, and thus increase their earnings. Intellectuals are redoubling their efforts to give the people more books, plays, films, etc., because they know that the more care they take with their work the greater happiness they will bring to workers' families and the greater the love of labour they will instil.

They all know that the raising of the quality and quantity of work is the road which has led them to the building and consolidation of Socialism, and which is leading them straight to Communism, the higher stage of Socialism.

The explanation of this joy and love for labour in all the workers we questioned lies in the fact that they are working for themselves and not to enrich a handful of capitalists, greedy for profits.

The delegation was very struck by the considerable development of the very great variety of social works at the workers' disposal. For all the factories, and on all State and collective farms, there are huge palaces of culture, with libraries, cinemas, theatres, kindergartens for children below school age, creches for babies, clinics, ambulances, canteens, etc.

We remarked that very often the places put at the disposal of the workers for social welfare purposes were as impressive as the factory buildings themselves.

Tens of thousands of rest homes and sanatoria have been set up in the best regions to give the workers opportunities for rest and for pleasant holidays.

We admired the huge palaces on the seashore and at the foot of forest-covered mountains. As one of our delegation remarked, the most modern comfort and the most up-to-date medical knowledge is put at the disposal of ordinary workers in those smart and majestic palaces. It is a veritable paradise on earth. In Algeria, the few establishments which do exist, and which moreover cannot be compared with those palaces, are reserved solely for the big colonialists who live by the shameless exploitation of the workers and the Algerian people.

In the rest homes and sanatoria of the Soviet Union, the workers spend a pleasant month's rest at the expense either of the government or trade unions. For some, the stay is free of charge, while others pay only a modest 20 or 30 per cent of the cost.

Social security is compulsory and absolutely free for all workers without distinction.

Medical doctors are at the disposal of Soviet citizens both by day and night, and their services do not cost a penny. The State and the social insurance agencies finance this service. The social insurance budget is entirely in the hands of the workers through their trade union organisations. What a tremendous gap between this and the caricature of social insurance in operation in Algeria based on racial discrimination.

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UNEMPLOYMENT, that social scourge inherent in the capitalist and colonialist system, is unknown in the Soviet Union.

Not only is there work for everyone, but there is a shortage of labour both in industry and agriculture.

Soviet women play a very big role in production and in the social, economic and political life of the country. Unlike capitalist society, woman is no longer the slave of man, relegated to household chores, but is his equal in all spheres. Thus we were surprised to see women building workers, roadmenders, tram and trolleybus conductors, and tractor drivers, not to mention the prominent position they hold in medicine, teaching and other professions.

After this, we could not help thinking about the hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers at home, and those agricultural workers who are compelled to wait for the busy season of grain and grape harvests in order to obtain 10 to 15 days' work in the year. We could not help thinking of those great crowds and lines of unemployed standing in front of the Labour Exchange in order to get a week's charity work.

Finally, we could not help thinking of those factories which are closing down as a result of the "benefits" of the Marshall Plan.

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WE found that the purchasing power of the Soviet workers is far higher than that of the Algerian workers. It would be an insult to a socialist regime to make a comparison between it and the situation which exists in a country with a colonial regime. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that while purchasing power in Algeria has fallen by half since the pre-war years, and that a further 20 per cent reduction has taken place since September 1951, purchasing power in the Soviet Union is rising constantly and substantially. Increased production brings a reduction in the cost of production of goods, and consequently a reduction in prices and an improvement in the workers' purchasing power.

In these conditions, is there any need for the Soviet workers to go on strike in order to fight for their demands? Against whom would they strike? Against themselves, for it is they who control the factories, and the State and collective farms, and it is they who hold power.

During our visits we were able to appreciate the enormous role played by the trade unions. Nothing is done in the factory without the consent of the trade union and, consequently, that of the workers themselves. In addition, we saw the trade union officials alongside the factory managers in all our receptions.

After having seen with our own eyes the situation of the workers in the Soviet Union, we now realise how disgraceful is the reactionary propaganda regarding the right to strike. In Algeria, despite the savage repression, pressure and intimidation of the employers, the administration and the police, the workers are using the last weapon in their hands in order to win their legitimate demands. No one can stop the determined action of the working class. The Soviet workers have no further need to strike, for they have built a regime which has eliminated exploitation of man by man, assuring themselves a decent life and security in the days to come. They are now in the process of building a system in which there will be "bread and roses" in accordance with the beautiful phrase of Karl Marx.

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OUR delegation asked to visit the Uzbekistan Socialist Republic. We wanted to visit this Republic because prior to the October 1917 Revolution, Uzbekistan was a Russian colony, exploited and oppressed by the feudal Tsarist regime.

Like Algeria, Uzbekistan was a country with a very backward economy. There was no industry, and agriculture suffered from a lack of water, as in Southern Algeria.

Its natural wealth was exported to Russia, while poverty ravaged the country. The people were ignorant, 98 per cent of the population was illiterate, and the language and national culture were systematically stifled.

This country, which yesterday was a backward country with a feudal agricultural economy, has today become a free and prosperous republic.

Agriculture is highly developed and mechanised. Where deserts used to exist, there are today gardens, orchards and cotton fields stretching as far as the eye can see.

Water, which was formerly very scarce, is now

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"There is no religious freedom in the U.S.S.R.," the Imperialists trumpet. The Mufti of Tashkent (Uzbekistan) explains to the Algerian delegation that never has the Moslem religion been so free as since the October Revolution.

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plentiful, as a result of gigantic work-schemes. Since January 1952, that is, for a period of more than nine months, not a drop of rain fell in the Tashkent region, yet despite this, everything is green because of extensive irrigation. The output and quality of agricultural products have been improved through the many experimental stations and scientific research centres which we visited in the country. Astonishing results have been obtained. Trees and plants which yesterday were unknown in these regions, are now grown on a large scale; an apple tree, for example, gives a yield of up to two tons a year.

We visited a collective farm, where we were able to see the conditions in which the collective farmers live and work. We visited their homes: well-lighted and spacious rooms, ventilated by large windows, with carpets, radios, and kept scrupulously clean. The houses are situated in gardens planted with fruit and vegetables of all kinds. Several of these collective farmers own "Pobeda" motorcars comparable to French Ford "Vedettes."

Their work is lightened by very advanced agricultural mechanisation, including milking machines and cotton picking and cleaning machines. We were moved to tears as we thought of the Algerian agricultural workers and "fellahs," savagely exploited, humiliated, ruined, and working under conditions bordering on slavery.

In the Soviet Union there is no longer anything like the Algerian Company with "its" 250,000 acres or the Genevoise Company with "its" 65,000 acres, the Gratien Faure with "its" 15,000 acres, the Sayiah Abdelkader with "its" 50,000 acres, etc. The land belongs to the State, that is, to society, and it is given to the collective farmers for their use or worked by the State itself. There are no longer people who live by the hard work of others, and this explains, if there is any need for explanation, the resentment of the colonialists towards the socialist regime.

We found a free people, master of its own destiny. The main posts in the administration of the Uzbekistan Republic are occupied by the Uzbeks themselves. Uzbek language and culture, suppressed before the revolution, is now flowering and developing in conditions of complete freedom.

The mother tongue, which formerly was humiliated, is now compulsory and is taught in all schools in the Republic.

Before the October 1917 Socialist revolution, not more than 2 per cent of the population of Uzbekistan could read and write. Today, illiteracy is no more than an unpleasant memory. For a population of less than six million people, there are now 5,103 schools, 50,000 teachers, 1,200,000 pupils and 43 teachers' training colleges attended by 31,483 student-teachers. Twelve thousand men and women workers are studying by correspondence courses while continuing at work. We visited several schools, one of which was in a collective farm, and a mixed school where Uzbek and Russian children sit side by side at their lessons. We observed the teaching methods used. They are in no way comparable with the methods used in Algeria. Pupils of all ages have play rooms, libraries and educational pictures for their use during recreation periods. From their earliest days, the pupils are educated in a spirit of fraternity. We could not help thinking of childhood in Algeria, of the 1,500,000 school-age children wandering the streets, their shoe-shine boxes on their backs, or searching in the dust-bins hoping to find a piece of bread to appease their hunger.

The level of a people's civilisation is measured by the extent to which women have been able to develop. In Uzbekistan, women play exactly the same role in production and social and political life as is played by all Soviet women.

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ONE of the means of propaganda of the colonialist press and radio in Algeria is religion. They try by every means to convince people that religion does not exist in the Soviet Union, or that it is persecuted. We visited a Catholic church in Moscow, the St. Louis Church. We even attended High Mass on Sunday. We saw about 350 to 400 worshippers hurrying to attend the Mass. We did not see any militiamen at the church door, as they had tried to make us believe in Algeria, to intimidate worshippers or take down their names with a view to making them endure the rigours of a Peoples' Court. In Tashkent, Uzbekistan, we visited countless mosques in the town. We attended a funeral service and a Dohor.[1] There also we could see the eagerness with which the worshippers went to the mosque to fulfil their religious duty. We had a long discussion with these worshippers and we were received by the Grand Mufti Ichaa Baba I Han Ibnou Modjid Khan, who invited us to stay for lunch. During the long conversation which we had with him, he informed us that there are four Moslem religious centres in the Soviet Union: the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Volga region and the Moscow region. Each region is led by a Mufti elected by his congregation. There are 17 mosques in the town of Tashkent and 21 in the Tashkent region. The Mufti told us that the Moslem religion had never before enjoyed such freedom as it has since the October 1917 Socialist Revolution. We are now enlightened as to the nature of the lies told by the reactionaries and the enemies of the Soviet Union with regard to religious persecution.

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MORE than three million square yards of housing space has been built in Stalingrad. During 1952 alone, about 500,000 square yards have been completed.

In addition to the building of houses, enlarging towns and making them more beautiful, and the reconstruction of regions devastated by the war, enormous work-schemes have been started. Nature is being transformed by the irrigation of desert regions. Great canals such as the Turkmenian, stretching for 688 miles, are being constructed. Giant electrical plants are planned or have already been completed.

We were fortunate in being the first foreign trade union delegation to visit the great Volga-Don canal, 63 miles long. We were filled with admiration at this mighty construction project, completed in record time by the devoted work of thousands of engineers, architects, technicians and workers. This giant work is the pride of the Soviet regime.

Such peaceful works of construction are being carried on everywhere. How can this country, which is undertaking such peaceful works, want another war? After having seen the achievements and projects we can now really appreciate the correctness of Stalin's remarks to former Prime Minister Attlee when he said that no country can undertake gigantic works of transformation of nature, develop peaceful production, raise the people's

[1] Dohor: Midday prayer.

living standards, reduce prices and at the same time increase war production, without risking complete disaster.

How vile and slanderous appears to us the imperialist propaganda which seeks to convince people that the Soviet Union is preparing for war and threatening the world.

After a month's stay in the Soviet Union, during which we talked to workers in the factories and in the fields, as well as to citizens in the street, we can and must say that the peoples of the Soviet Union sincerely desire peace and are working with all their might for its preservation. And when we say the people, we also mean the Soviet government, for it is the people who are really in power.

In all the factories enormous banners and posters exalt the struggle for peace and urge the workers to redouble their efforts in the fight to consolidate peace throughout the world. We saw slogans and posters in all the factories saying: "Long live the friendship of the peoples of the United States, France, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union"; "Let us redouble our efforts to attain a peace pact between the five Great Powers!"; "Peace will conquer war!"

Lakbar Kaïli, Chairman of the Delegation, Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee of Algerian Trade Unions.

Hadj Larbi, Secretary of the Oran Tramway Workers' Union, Secretary of the Delegation.

René Bordier, Secretary of the Gas and Electrical Workers' Union of Algiers, Treasurer of the Delegation.

Belar Kadour, Secretary of the Mostaganem Dockers' Union.

Georges Accompora, Secretary of the Algerian Tobacco Workers' Union.

Belaïd Khelifa, Secretary of the Algiers Tramway Workers' Union.

Ernest Almira, Secretary of the Oran Railway Workers' Union.

A Rapacious American Trust

and Supporter of Eisenhower

Du Pont de Nemours

By VICTOR PERLO
American economist and author of the book "American Imperialism"

THE scion of the du Pont family, Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, was a French aristocrat. During the French revolution, he and his sons supported the monarchy, and never ceased reactionary intrigues. He was arrested by the Committee of General Safety, but was saved from the guillotine. Thereupon, the du Ponts left revolutionary France for the United States. Here they opened a gun powder factory, getting their start on contracts to supply Napoleon in his attempted suppression of Toussaint l'Ouverture and the people of Santo Domingo; and with the U.S. government for the naval attacks against the North Africans (the so-called Barbary pirates).

Thus began the history of the American du Ponts, munitions kings, organisers of reaction and foreign expansion. For a century and a half the du Ponts have been using part of their war profits to buy out competitors and build an ever-expanding chemical-munitions trust. The modern du Pont Corporation was formed in 1903 to consolidate the 100 companies then already controlled by the du Ponts. World War II initiated another period of rapid expansion. In the 30 years from 1915 to 1945, the du Pont Corporation absorbed another 30 companies, some of them already big trusts in their own right. For example, the Grasselli Chemical Co., acquired in 1928, controlled 23 factories, and was one of the leading industrial chemical combines in the country.

The growth of the du Pont trust was merely slowed, not stopped, by the great economic crisis of the 1930s. It was stimulated again by World War II, and especially by the post-war expansion drive of U.S. imperialism. Between 1944 and 1951, the operating investment of the du Pont Corporation doubled, between 1927 and 1951 it was multiplied ten times.

Also, beginning with World War I, the du Ponts made acquisitions which transformed the family from a "mere" chemical-munitions trust to the centre of an important empire of finance capital. In 1918, du Pont acquired a minority, but effectively controlling, interest in the leading automotive trust, General Motors. In 1928, the du Ponts bought up privately a similar interest in the United States Rubber Company, second in size of the Big Four rubber and tyre trusts. The du Pont interest in General Motors is 23 per cent, in U.S. Rubber 17 per cent. In 1933, the du Pont Corporation acquired a majority controlling interest in Remington Arms, the leading ammunition corporation. The du Ponts also control the billion dollar National Bank of Detroit, and various Wilmington banks.

The Labour Research Association has estimated the total assets of the du Pont empire at $6.5 billion at the end of 1948.

By now, the figure is at least $8 billion, not including the billions invested in government war plants operated by du Pont. The du Pont group, more than any other major financial empire, remains a tightly held family grouping. Of 34 members of the Board of Directors, 10 are du Ponts, and many others have been joined to the family through inter-marriage. Twenty-seven per cent of the du Pont Corporation's stock is owned by the Christiana Securities Co., a private du Pont family holding company. Through this holding of du Pont stock alone, the du Pont family has averaged $50,000,000 per year of personal income during the past two years.

The du Ponts maintain close connections with the Morgan group of finance capital, especially in the running of the General Motors Corporation, and in the financing of du Pont operations.

Du Pont Corporation Operations

BY the end of 1951, total assets of the du Pont Corporation reached $2,163 million ($1,599 million according to the book-keeping system of most corporations), including $477 million investment in General Motors Corporation. The du Pont Corpora-

Note—Title and sub-titles have been added by the Editor of **World Trade Union Movement.**

tion is the sixth largest manufacturing company in the United States, being exceeded in assets only by General Motors, U.S. Steel, and three oil companies. It is the largest chemical company in the United States, followed by Union Carbide and Carbon (assets $978 million). Du Pont sales in 1951 totalled $1,546 million. The products include industrial chemicals, plastic products and poly-chemicals of all kinds, synthetic textile fibres, synthetic rubber, paints, film and photo products, and explosives.

The du Pont Corporation holds 22 per cent of net capital assets in the industrial chemicals field. It holds a monopoly position or controls the patents for production of many new products, such as celluloid and cellophane, nylon, and the refrigerant freon. It is the leading factor in the manufacture of explosives, especially military explosives.

Objective: Maximum Profits

DU PONT Corporation profits in 1951 were reported at $616.0 million before taxes, and $220.7 million after taxes. These figures include investment income, especially $80 million of dividends collected from General Motors. Actually, profits are much larger than reported. Among the more obvious hidden profits are $14 million of accelerated depreciation beyond that allowed by the government for tax purposes, $24 million in bonuses paid out to company executives, and a large, but not specified amount, in excessive tax reserves.

The growth of du Pont profits is shown as follows:

	(millions of dollars) Before taxes	After taxes
	$	$
1929	84	78
1932	29	26
1939	115	93
1944	215	81
1948	264	157
1950	553	308
1951	616	221

So du Pont in 1951 made about three times as much profits (before taxes) as in the war year 1944, and almost eight times as much as in the last peace-time boom year 1929. This is truly an unusual record, even for a leading U.S. trust. The drop in profits after taxes in 1951 as compared with 1950 is more apparent than real. It involves a book-keeping allowance for more taxes than the company expects to pay, as well as reserves for repayments to the government for overcharging on war contracts, which the company hopes to avoid. Furthermore, it makes no allowance for subsequent refunds of taxes, which the trusts will try to collect as they did after World War II.

Low Wages and Company Unions

DU PONT employed an average of 86,878 workers and salaried employees in 1951. It paid a total of $382.5 million in wages and salaries. This makes an

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In the counting houses of the Wall Street imperialists human lives mean nothing when it is a question of extorting maximum profits. Among these war-minded gentry no one stands higher than the du Ponts in their desire to coin profits from the blood of the people.

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Not content with the horrible results of the atom bomb they were instrumental in producing, the du Ponts are now feverishly engaged in developing an even more frightful weapon—the hydrogen bomb. These pictures show victims of the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

average of $4,402 per employee, including the high salaried officials, engineers and chemists employed by du Pont. This means that the great majority of du Pont factory workers make well under $4,000 per year, as compared with the average of $4,200 which the U.S. Labour Department finds necessary to make ends meet in large cities—on antiquated standards which take no account of new needs for commodities which have developed during the past fifteen years.

It will be noted that the company's profits before taxes, $616 million, amount to 161 per cent of total wages and salaries. In other words, the company makes profits of more than $7,000 per employee. Even if the investment income from General Motors and elsewhere is left out, the operating income per worker comes to about $5,750 per worker.

The du Pont Company has succeeded in avoiding genuine trade union organisation in most of its plants. It maintains relations with "local collective bargaining units" in most plants, which are in reality disguised company unions. The company has benefited in this respect from the failure of the great industrial union organising drive of the 1930's and 40's to make headway in the chemical industry, partly because of jurisdictional disputes. It uses the method of "paternalism" to an unusual extent. Thus it boasts that in 1951 employee benefits such as vacations with pay, aid in case of illness, pensions, etc., amounted to $61 million, or 17 per cent of salaries and wages for time actually worked. However, for the masses of the workers these benefits are illusory. The rules are set up so that in practice they constitute additional distributions of profits to the ruling clique. Thus at the end of 1948, only 2,734 persons were on the company's pension rolls, out of the hundreds of thousands who had passed through the company's employ since 1904 when the pension plan was inaugurated. The traditional centres of the company's power, near Wilmington, Delaware, are set up as small isolated towns, in which the du Pont plants are the main enterprises. The towns are run as feudal baronies, and the workers largely insulated from the main currents of life.

During recent years, the company has carried out much of its expansion in the South, taking advantage of the low wages and the white chauvinism which impedes working class unity in that area. Seven out of eight plants in the textile fibres department, which does the largest volume of business, are in southern or border states. Five out of eight plants in the polychemicals department are in that area. By 1950, half of the company's plant investment was in the South, and the magazine *Business Week* quoted a South Carolina business man as saying: "The question is whether du Pont is out to buy up the South." Du Pont is well on its way to adding Virginia and South Carolina to its geographical empire, which has long included the entire State of Delaware.

In addition to the workers in du Pont plants, about 20,000 were employed at the end of 1951 at government-owned munitions plants operated by du Pont. Most of these were engaged in building the giant hydrogen bomb plant, in South Carolina. Despite the formality of government ownership, du Pont domination here is even more complete than in the privately-owned du Pont plants and company towns. With the aid of "secrecy" flim flam, and F.B.I. screening, the du Ponts are able to prevent any political activity or trade unionism, except for the presence of certain A.F. of L. officials who act as recruiting agents for the company, in return for which they collect huge initiation fees from the workers.

Wages are set at the low standards prevailing in South Carolina. Working hours are abnormally long. Thousands of workers were lured from distant places by stories of high wages, then not given jobs because they did not meet the exacting physical standards set by du Pont, or failed to pass the F.B.I. "security" check. Local workers are not only paid low wages, but in addition have to pay the cost of transportation, in many cases for 50 to 100 miles. Wages have been frozen since large-scale hiring began early in 1951, despite the soaring of the cost of living in an area where the population multiplied because of the influx of workers. The du Ponts rent *shacks* for $60 per month, more than a week's wages for many of the workers. Because of the bad conditions, 8 per cent of the workers quit each month.

The hydrogen bomb plant is located in the Black Belt, in an area where Negroes are a majority of the population. Of the 11,000 manual workers on the project late in 1951, 3,300 were Negroes. But 91 per cent of these were employed as common labourers, at rates of 90 cents to $1.00 per hour, or less than half the average wage of white workers. Despite formal government regulations against discrimination in war plants, neither the du Ponts nor the government Atomic Energy Commission has hired a single Negro white collar worker among the thousands on the project.

Monopolists Get Together

THE du Ponts maintain effective monopolies of various products singly, or in combination with other sections of U.S. finance capital. Du Pont operations in this field are so brazen that the United States government has filed 19 anti-trust suits against the Corporation. These suits are strictly for demagogic purposes. Either they are dropped, or after long court proceedings trifling fines are levied. In the normal settlement, du Pont writes out its own proposals for changing the form of monopoly control, so that the government can carry out its pretence of "trust busting" while everything goes on as before.

Foreign manufacturing subsidiaries of the du Pont Corporation are limited to Compania Mexicana de Explosivos, S.A., with a plant in the State of Durango, Mexico, and Compania Sud-Americana de Explosivos, located at Rio Loa, Chile. There are distributing subsidiaries in Cuba, Mexico, and Peru. The extensive foreign interests of the du Ponts are carried mainly through its domestic and foreign cartel connections.

Du Pont-controlled General Motors maintains foreign investments nominally worth over a quarter of a billion dollars, and actually worth much more. General Motors plants are in 17 foreign countries, including Canada, Mexico, England, Germany, Egypt, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand.

U.S. Rubber, also dominated by the du Ponts, owns 101,398 acres of plantations in Indonesia (Sumatra), and 131,574 acres in Malaya, on which properties 43 million pounds of rubber were produced in 1950. U.S. Rubber also has tyre-making plants outside the United States.

Du Pont and Imperial Chemicals Industries (Nobel), the British chemical trust, have maintained a division of world markets and key properties for decades. In 1919, they jointly acquired control of Canadian Explosives Ltd., later changing the name to Canadian Industries Ltd., This company is the dominant factor in the Canadian chemical industry, and through it du Pont and Imperial Chemicals own the Argentine chemical company "Duperial," which dominates Argentine production and distribution of chemicals, and has spread its influence to other South American countries.

The du Pont-Nobel combine is known as the "Grand Alliance" of the world chemical industry. The U.S. economists Stocking and Watkins write: "In effect, the two companies have acted as one in 'foreign policy matters.' To deal with one was to deal, directly or indirectly, with the other." (*Cartels in Action*, page 456.) Around this "quasi-partnership" revolve all the other chemical cartels of the capitalist world.

In its other cartel arrangements, du Pont has successfully expanded at the expense of its cartel partners.

The du Ponts first got into the dyestuffs field through the seizure of I.G. Farben patents by the U.S. government in World War I. Du Pont then invested $12,500,000 in plants to use these patents, and induced many German scientists to flee inflation-ridden Germany and join the du Pont Wilmington staff.

Subsequently du Pont worked out a division of the U.S. market with I.G. Farben through a joint company, Bayer-Semesan Co. Then during World War II du Pont obtained I.G. Farben's half share as war booty.

Du Pont has climbed to a peak position in several fields on the backs of French inventors. The procedure was to set up joint companies with French capitalists, thus obtaining access to the patents, and then as the balance of power shifted to buy out the French financiers. In the 1920s, this was done with cellophane and film. In 1924, du Pont obtained control of the Claude patent for synthetic ammonia by buying up Lazote Inc., and around it built up a large ammonia chain.

Through joint ownership with Montecatini and Schering A.G., du Pont has important investments in Italy and Germany. It maintains patent and process agreements, involving division of markets, with these outfits, as well as with Union Chimique Belge, Mitsui (Japan), Kuhlmann and various other French trusts.

Eisenhower's Masters

THE du Ponts are among the most conspicuous organisers of American reaction. They are among the heaviest contributors to the political campaigns of the Republican Party (while not neglecting the Democrats), as well as to the special campaign funds of the most notorious reactionaries seeking seats in Congress. The du Ponts, together with the Rockefeller, Ford and Morgan dynasties, made heavy financial contributions toward the recent election of the war-mongering and reactionary Eisenhower as President of the United States. In Delaware they control directly the apparatus of both parties, and several times have arranged the election of family members to the U.S. Senate.

The du Ponts have the leading voice in the National Association of Manufacturers, reactionary organ of the trusts. They have been especially active in promoting fascist movements. According to participants in the 1934 plot for a fascist coup d'état in the United States, the arms were to be supplied by du Pont and its Remington Arms Co.

In January 1934 Lammot du Pont, President of du Pont, Inc., led the onslaught of big business against the Roosevelt regime, denouncing its programme as an "adventurous attack." Later that year, the organisation which was to be the centre of fascist incitement during the New Deal period, the American Liberty League.

was formed. Three top du Ponts were also leading contributors to the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, an attempt to revive Ku Klux Klan violence in the South. Recently they have contributed to the National Economic Council, an organisation issuing pro-fascist, anti-Semitic propaganda to colleges, churches and libraries.

The fascist ideology of the du Ponts was illustrated by Lammot du Pont's speech to the National Association of Manufacturers in 1942, when he said:

"We will win the war (a) by reducing taxes on corporations, high income brackets, and increasing taxes on lower incomes; (b) by removing the unions from any power to tell industry how to produce, how to deal with their employees, or anything else; (c) by destroying any and all government agencies that stand in the way of free enterprise." (Quoted in Albert Kahn's *High Treason*, page 230.)

The Goal—War!

IN World War I the du Pont firm made 40 per cent of all the powder used by the Allies, and sold as much as in 26 peace-time years. Dividend payments reached 458 per cent of par in a single year. The company multiplied in size, and the du Ponts obtained the capital to buy the huge block of General Motors shares, and to enter the world chemical cartel.

In World War II, the du Pont firm had the inside track on the atomic bomb business. The Committee which reviewed the experimental production of plutonium had two top officials of du Pont on it, and a technician from a du Pont-endowed institution, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Through its efforts and that of General Groves, du Pont got the contract for the Hanford, Washington, plutonium works, one of the two main atomic bomb installations. In 1946, du Pont was supplanted here by the General Electric Company, but came back stronger than ever in 1950 with the contract to design, construct and manage the South Carolina hydrogen bomb plant and its duchy of 250,000 acres. In both of these projects, the du Ponts and their military associates organised the ruthless expropriation of the farming population in order to make room for these monstrous war factories.

The inhabitants of Ellenton, S.C., when notified of the action, put up a sign which read:

"It is hard to understand why our own town must be destroyed to make a bomb that will destroy some one else's town that they love as much as we love ours."

Through its atomic bomb operations, the du Pont company obtained control over a vast body of scientific and technical knowledge, giving it a huge advantage over any potential competitor in a number of fields by virtue of the military "secrecy" imposed on the findings. To further develop techniques du Pont has built up a huge private industrial laboratory, employing 1,900 technical employees and spending $47 million in 1951. Undoubtedly much of this work is devoted to development of new weapons, and is paid for directly or indirectly by government war contracts.

Du Pont and its affiliate, U.S. Rubber, obtained a foothold in the new synthetic rubber industry with the aid of government plants erected in World War II. General Motors, another du Pont affiliate, was the largest single war contractor in World War II.

The du Ponts have a penchant for gigantism in munitions production, where they have "pioneered" the development of forms of state monopoly war capitalism. During World War I the du Ponts obtained the contract to construct and operate the largest smokeless powder factory in the world, near Nashville, Tennessee. This plant was 70 times as large as the largest pre-war plant, covered an area of four and one-half square miles, engaged 25,000 men in its construction, and cost $85,000,000.

The Hanford Plutonium works involved the setting aside of most of a county in the State of Washington, the erection of several company towns, and probably the expenditure of a billion dollars.

As for the new hydrogen bomb plant, it is supposed to involve 45,500 production workers at the peak, to cost several billions of dollars, and has reserved for it an area of 350 square miles. The du Pont company boasts in its annual report that the hydrogen bomb plant "is now probably the largest industrial project ever attempted." So much the worse, for such a bomb would cause frightful destruction.

The du Ponts leave patriotic speeches to the politicians they buy. They themselves are cynical and brazen war profiteers. In 1917, they held up construction of the giant smokeless powder plant for three months by their demands for a 10 per cent commission and 15 per cent return on operations. In 1943, Lammot du Pont told his big business associates how to deal with the government in wartime:

"Deal with the government and the rest of the squawkers the way you deal with a buyer in a seller's market! If the buyer wants to buy, he has to meet your price. . . . They want what we've got. Good. Make them pay the price for it. . . . And if they don't like the price, why don't they think it over?" Is this not a striking illustration of the fact that in the United States, as in other imperialist countries, the trusts are in power directly or through the intermediary of their henchmen.

The Secretary of War in World War I, Baker, who had to bargain with the du Ponts, later referred to them as "a species of outlaws."

The same can be said of the whole ruling clique of U.S. finance capital, committing or plotting the worst crimes against humanity, atomic bombing, germ warfare, genocide and the holocaust of a third World War. The du Ponts are in the top circles of this ruling clique.

Eisenhower, the President-elect of the United States, supports their policy. He characterised American policy as follows in a speech on September 4: "Today our initiative, imagination and productive system are once more tied and shackled to war and the prospect of war. Our economy is a war economy. Our prosperity is a war prosperity." And it is this policy which he intends to make even worse. It is among the trusts and their henchmen that the warmongers are to be found, and from their policy comes the necessity for unity among all the peoples to defeat them.

United Mass Preparation

for the

C.G.I.L. Conference

By MADDALENA GRASSI

AS we go to press, the Third Congress of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) is being held in Naples. This is an event of great significance for the political and economic life of the country, for which the Italian workers have been preparing with an extraordinary spirit of united militancy in about 50,000 meetings held at all levels of trade union life. We shall return to this subject in a future number, but at the present moment it is essential to bring out the vast perspectives opened up by this Congress.

The Economic Situation in Italy

FIRSTLY, what are the economic problems with which the Italian workers are faced and which they have thrashed out with such thoroughness during the preparatory campaign ?

The country is in the grip of a crisis which has assumed a chronic character and which, in certain sectors of economic life, can be described as disastrous.

The only concern of the Italian monopolies, closely linked with the big feudal landowners, supported by a government in their service and subordinated, as they are, to Wall Street's war policy, is to seek the maximum profits within the framework of that enormous association for plunder, NATO. Their last thought is to secure the expansion and technical improvement of the means of production, which are inadequate in the industrial sector and mediaeval in agriculture, because they aim at obtaining a constant growth in the accumulation of profits through the increasingly savage exploitation of the workers.

The maximum extortion of profit is accompanied by the introduction of a veritable regime of fascist terror in the factories. The Fiat company, which has the doubtful honour of being the advance guard of the most reactionary anti-labour section of the employers, has organised a team of stool-pigeons in its factories, called "guards," whose sole occupation consists of watching the workers, especially during the breaks and meal-times, and informing the management if anyone tries to sell his workmates a trade union journal, collect trade union dues, or quite simply discusses politics with his neighbour. At the time of the great strike last spring, 23 workers, including shop stewards, were dismissed on the basis of black lists specially drawn up for this purpose. The case of Fiat, far from being unique, is *characteristic* of the introduction of fascist methods in the factories.[1]

It goes without saying that the Italian monopolies

[1] See also in No. 21 of **World Trade Union Movement** the article "Clothing and Textile Workers Faced With Poverty Show Fighting Spirit." In certain Italian textile mills the "guards" even check up on the workers when they go to the lavatory.

Victims of repression, 84 agricultural day labourers have fallen since the war in the struggle for land and work. Here are some of their relatives, called to the speakers' stand of the Congress of Day Labourers.

observe all the conditions laid down by the Atlantic powers. Thus the de Gasperi government boycotts normal trading relations with the Soviet Union, People's China and the Peoples' Democracies. But although the government itself has closed these necessary and profitable outlets, it has not found any compensation in the sterling or dollar zone. On the contrary! The United States and Britain are forcing Italy to buy machinery which could be manufactured in the country itself and shoddy goods "made in U.S.A.," while at the same time denying it the possibility of exporting an equivalent amount of goods.

On the other hand, the production of civilian goods is deliberately being sacrificed according to the rules of the NATO game.

These are the two main reasons for the closing and short time in Italian factories, especially in the consumers' goods industries. At the present moment, there are about 5 million workers who are totally and partially unemployed. From the first half to the second half of 1952, unemployment among young workers rose from 489,000 to 605,000. This means that every unemployed worker is, to all intents and purposes, one customer less for the home market, reducing to that extent the purchasing power of the mass of the workers, undermining still further the crumbling economic structure and preparing the way for further dismissals. To the artificial shrinkage of the foreign market is added the progressive contraction of the home market, both of which are sources of unemployment and poverty.

The *political* aspect of the unemployment problem must be emphasised. The monopolists—and, in general, the most reactionary employers—are systematically introducing fascism into Italian enterprises, in violation of the Republican Constitution, social legislation and collective contracts and are exploiting the workers to an unbearable degree, pocketing ever more scandalous profits and pushing war preparations ever more vigorously. These men at the same time favour the extension of unemployment hoping to make the unemployed receptive to the demagogic appeals of fascism and also because they know that the existence of a large number of unemployed severely handicaps the struggles of the employed for their political and economic demands—a truth as old as capitalism itself.

In the towns, as in the countryside, the consequences of the Atlantic policy directed by the United States and carried out by the monopolists, the government and the feudal Italian landowners, are tragic. They are hitting both the industrial workers and the small and medium shopkeepers (even small and medium industrialists) and the various categories of land workers. In agriculture, the sham of agrarian reform has not solved the problem of the peasants' longing for land. In the south, in particular, the poverty of the peasants who live close to the huge feudal estates and uncultivated land is indescribable.

Rank and File Unity Is the Solid Basis of the Congress

SINCE 1949, the struggle of the Italian workers against the policy of poverty and war of the monopolies and the government has been waged on the platform of the C.G.I.L.'s Work Plan. This plan demands a whole number of coordinated and concrete measures which would make it possible to tackle, within the limits of the capitalist system and observing the Republican Constitution, the immediate economic causes of the workers' poverty, to bring about a resumption of production, to develop home and foreign markets, and progressively to absorb the unemployed.[2] The government refused to adopt this plan on the grounds of alleged financial difficulties.

In order to make it possible for the Italian workers to deal with the fundamental problems on which their well-being and the protection of their democratic and trade union liberties depend, the representatives of all trade union viewpoints organised within the C.G.I.L. have, for the first time, agreed to draw up and submit to the workers for discussion, a United

[2] See No. 4, 1952, of **World Trade Union Movement**, "The Work Plan of the Italian General Confederation of Labour."

Motion analysing the country's economic situation and exposing the disastrous role of the monopolies, feudal landowners and the government. Thus, the whole of official policy is called into question with the *object of changing it*.

The United Motion retains as its principle the platform of the 1949 plan. However, new proposals related to those already in the Plan are being submitted to the Congress. These are of a simpler character, which can be immediately achieved and are

structive that in Genoa, 7,419 workers joined the C.G.I.L., and 5,723 in Turin, etc. The preparations for the Congress of Press and Printing Workers consisted of more than 4,000 meetings in the work places.

What emerges from these preparatory meetings is both the powerful determination of the workers to unite all sections in their common struggle for their common interests, and the deep political maturity of the workers who have realised the need to force a change in official policy by their united action.

The Congress of Italian Building Workers has declared "war against the shacks."

essentially directed towards the *development of peaceful production*.

These proposals have been welcomed by the Italian workers with unprecedented enthusiasm, and it is this fact which gives the Congress its unique significance. After animated discussions, they have been improved and amended at numerous meetings which have taken place in factory and countryside, at trade union conferences, in federations and provincial Trades Councils, with the participation, not only of the workers belonging to the C.G.I.L., but also unorganised workers and even those belonging to other trade union centres.

Thus the Metalworkers' Congress in preparation for the Central Congress, was itself prepared for in Turin by 610 meetings of rank and file workers, in Genoa by 500 meetings, in Milan by 205, in Varesa by 78, etc. These discussions were so rich and in-

The Metal Industry

IN their Congress, as in their preparatory meetings in the work places, the metalworkers examined the struggles which they have waged between 1949 and 1952, against the closure of factories: the strike of 82 days in the San Giorgio metal factory in Genoa, the 60 days' strike in the Ansaldo engineering factory in the same town; 90 days' strike in Fiat, Turin; 65 days' strike in the Ercole Marelli electrical equipment factory, etc. Repression has been of a savage character during these struggles. Six workers from the United Foundries in Modena were killed by the police, six workers employed by the Breda Shipyards in Venice were seriously wounded and many others thrown into prison.

But out of 67,163 dismissals demanded by the employers, only 31,082 were carried out,

Italian metalworkers are demanding that the clos-

ing down of industries and the import of machinery from the United States and Britain cease, that the manufacture of the utility car designed by the Fiat workers be immediately undertaken, that agriculture be mechanised, that the schemes for railway construction and electrification be started. They are also denouncing the Schuman Plan, the Plan of national abdication.

Textiles

AFTER having analysed the causes of the textile crisis (reduction in the purchasing power of the Italian workers, unemployment, restriction of the home and foreign market, etc.) the Textile workers' Congress demanded an end to dismissals, the banning of overtime, return to a 40-hour week paid at the rate of 48 hours, that unemployment pay should amount to 60% of the minimum wage for those totally or partially unemployed, further investments in the textile industry, and the extension of East-West trade.

The Building Industry

THE Congress of the building workers condemned the government policy of reducing State investments in public utility works in order to finance rearmament. The country needs 50,000 school classrooms and millions of children do not even attend school; 5 million dwellings are required, and thousands of families live in slums. The Congress decided to fight against slum conditions and demanded the building of 300,000 dwellings a year.

The Chemical, Electrical and Mining Industries

THE Congresses held by the workers of these respective industries (in the same way as the metal-workers), stressed the bad effects of the monopolistic structure of the industries and their subordination to foreign trusts. As a consequence, they demanded the nationalisation, accompanied by a radical change in government policy, of the Montecatini concern (chemicals and mines), of the Snia-Viscosa (artificial silk), Solvay (chemical products), and the I.R.I. (Instituto Riconstruzione Industriale, heavy industry).

Agriculture

THE question of agrarian reform was the central point in the discussions at the Land Workers' Congress. Even today, 40% of the land belongs to the big landowners, representing 0.2% of the total number of landowners, while the majority of land workers are literally dying of starvation.

In addition, the Congress spotlighted the shortage of fertilisers and the inadequacy of mechanisation. Out of 65,000 tractors in use at the end of 1951, 50% were only fit for the scrap heap. The national average is one tractor for about 580 acres. But in the south, the average is one tractor for 2,650 acres and in the Italian islands there is only one tractor for 2,850 acres

Unity Between All Trades

WHAT became apparent during the preparatory Congresses held by the workers of various industries, and which will give real strength to the C.G.I.L.

In Turin, strikers demonstrate to demand peace and work, reinstatement of the dismissed and higher wages.

During the big strike at the Bruzzo steel works in Genoa against the closing down of the plant, strikers meet every morning in the courtyard to listen to the daily strike bulletin.

Congress, is the fact that workers in all branches of industry are fully conscious of their identity of interests.

Like their fellow workers in the chemical industry, the land workers are demanding the nationalisation of the Montecatini chemical trust because they need fertilisers. Like their fellow-workers in the metal industry, they are also demanding the manufacture of utility cars and tractors because the material they now use is worn out. Conversely, the industrial workers are supporting agrarian reform because the countryside could provide an enormous market for the products of factories threatened with closure. Moreover, both sections are demanding wage increases and other forms of remuneration with the application of the principle "equal pay for equal work." Thus a solid alliance between land workers and industrial workers is being built up.

A similar identity of interests is also strengthening united action between different categories of industrial workers, all victims of unemployment as a consequence of the Atlantic policy, all victims of intensified exploitation and American-style "productivity" which is lowering real wages and producing an appalling increase in the number of work accidents (in the building industry one accident takes place every hour, in the metal industry one every day). All are victims of the fascist methods employed in the factories. (The Congress and the various meetings held have welcomed and enthusiastically discussed the proposals made by G. Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the C.G.I.L., for a "Bill of Rights" for the workers in the factories).

In addition, common interest is forging active unity between wage earners and other sections of the population suffering from the general decline in purchasing power, such as small and medium shopkeepers, artisans, etc. During the great strikes against the closure of factories, the solidarity of the non-wage earning sections of the working people made a considerable contribution to the victories of the strikers.

Aware of all this, the workers sent from their Congresses offers of co-operation and united action to all Italians. Stirring messages calling for unity were taken into the factories and villages.

It is unquestionable that the unity of the workers has already enabled them to win a large number of victories, among which the national agreements on family allowances for industrial and agricultural workers and the sliding scale in agriculture deserve special mention.

Throughout all the preparatory work for the C.G.I.L. Congress, the workers have expressed their growing determination to demand a change in official policy and to secure a coordinated policy of peace, trade relations with all countries without any discrimination on the basis of reciprocal advantages, to develop home and foreign markets and respect for trade union and democratic rights. Everywhere it was decided to support, by every means, the Peoples' Peace Congress.

Strengthened with this determination of the Italian workers, their maturity and their unity, the C.G.I.L. Congress is of tremendous importance not only for the Italian people, but for all peoples. It is a mighty contribution to the work for world peace.

Belgian Employers Won't Get Away With It!

By G. VAN DEN BOOM

WORKING class struggles during the last two years are causing Belgian employers particular anxiety. Their anxiety is all the more acute as they are aware of a new and powerful wave of struggles rising in the factories.

During the last two years Belgian workers have waged great struggles—a general political strike accompanied by street demonstrations forced King Leopold III to abandon his throne; from October 1951 to May 1952 numerous extensive strikes for economic demands were waged, forcing the employers to grant some of them; at the end of July 1952, tens of thousands of workers downed tools in support of the soldiers' fight against the 2 year period of military service and for the release of imprisoned soldiers, which culminated in the August 9 general strike and led to a reduction in the length of military service to 21 months.

The employers have, of course, been able to rely on the complete and active support of the right-wing leaders of the Belgian General Federation of Labour (F.G.T.B.) and C.S.C. (Christian trade unions) to impede and smash the fight of the workers. They have no doubt that this support will also be forthcoming in the future.

The employers, the F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders have concluded among themselves, without asking the opinion of the workers (and frequently in opposition to their wishes) a whole number of so-called "collective agreements" which are not limited to fixing wages and working conditions, but which also establish a number of "joint" bodies, tending, in fact, to limit the workers' activities and to "regulate" the right to strike.

The employers have secured the agreement of the leaders of the Belgian General Federation of Labour and of the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions to a system whereby the trade unions are governed by statutes and rules establishing the absolute right of these leaders to veto any working class action; that no action can be taken without their prior authorisation; that they alone can decide whether a strike is "legal" or "irresponsible"[1] and whether or not the strikers will be paid strike benefits from funds which they themselves have contributed.

The employers and the leaders of the Belgian General Federation of Labour and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions believe that this measure to enslave the workers was a most timely and firm step which would be able to prevent working class struggles. But the events of the past two years have provided irrefutable proof that such hopes are groundless. In addition, the leaders of the Belgian General Federation of Labour and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions have resorted to a number of manoeuvres involving the use of certain fighting slogans in order to retain their influence over the workers, while the employers have been compelled to make concessions so as to avoid worse consequences.

But this anti-working class combination of the employers and right-wing trade union leaders has not prevented the constant growth of united action in the enterprises nor has it prevented the workers from fight-

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1 The right-wing leaders of the Belgian General Federation of Labour (F.G.T.B.) call a strike which is not supported by them an "irresponsible strike."

ing for better living conditions, without being unduly embarrassed by the clauses of the agreements which were drawn up without them and against them.

The employers are therefore carrying out a general re-modelling of the relations between employers and workers in an attempt to ensure greater guarantees in the future. They are anxious to conclude a new agreement with the leaders of the F.G.T.B. and the C.S.C. —which they call, because of the existing situation, a "social pact" which would considerably strengthen the means at their disposal for hindering and smashing working class struggles.

THE employers have for some time been showing their impatience and dissatisfaction with the present situation, and have even made strong protests to F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders, rebuking them for their inability to "pacify" the workers. These protests have been all the more vehement as it is in the employers' interests to make the workers believe that there is a serious conflict between the two groups. The aim is also to maintain the influence of the right-wing trade union leaders over the working class.

The employers have gone over to the attack against the most militant shop stewards, particularly those belonging to the United Miners' Trade Union Centre. They are demanding the resignation of these stewards. They have managed, with the help of the F.G.T.B. leaders, to dismiss certain shop stewards and even to have them expelled from the F.G.T.B. They blame these shop stewards because they played a leading role in the fight for demands and called strikes, thus failing to carry out their conventional role as "conciliators."

Last May, wages having been cut 50 centimes an hour by the abolition of the cost of living bonuses hitherto paid by the government, the workers threatened to call a general strike. As a consequence of this, the right-wing trade union leaders and employers agreed to the payment of a "compensation" bonus of from 300 to 600 Belgian francs paid in a lump sum. At the same time, wages were "immunised" for two to four months against any reduction in the cost of living index which, under the sliding scale, would require wage reductions. And the employers succeeded in getting the reactionary trade union leaders to accept the following declarations as a binding principle:

"The employers' delegation once more points out the complete impossibility of a further increase, in the present circumstances, in either the direct or indirect charges which bear upon the country's economy."

It was on this basis of a decline in the workers' living standards (for everyone understands what "the complete impossibility to increase . . . charges" really means) that the following declaration was drawn up:

"The employers and trade union delegations agree to examine *calmly and without external pressure* (our italics) a series of general problems which condition the social and economic life of the country. This examination, in which the government should take part, should deal particularly with the actual economic situation of the country, measures to be recommended to consolidate the economy, methods of increasing productivity so as to improve the living standards of the Belgian people, the status of the social security system and other problems which might be raised during the discussion."

To make certain that this was really understood, the employers insisted on specifying that:

"The establishment of trustworthy relations between

An imposing group of young people in Charleroi demonstrate against two years' military service.

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employers and workers presupposes the full compliance with collective agreements freely concluded."

Thus the picture is complete! The examination of the re-modelling of relations between employers and workers, dealing with "a series of general problems" which would be carried out "calmly and without any external pressure"—that is, without the knowledge of the workers and therefore beyond working class action —would lead to the conclusion of an agreement between the employers and the F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders which the workers, kept in the dark, until then, would be urged "to comply with fully."

This is the way the employers regard the "social pact" which they want to force upon the working class!

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QUITE recently the employers' Press and that of the trade union leaders, began a big campaign around the "social pact." In fact, the employers and the F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders are in complete agreement with the substance of the problems raised. They have borrowed the basic principles of this future "social pact" from America, which more or less explains everything!

There are several problems which seem to engage the particular attention of all these gentlemen, proving how well they have learned their American lessons!

Firstly, it is the "social climate," and "trustworthy relations" between employers and workers which are decisive. What the employers mean by this is, of course, good relations between themselves and the reactionary trade union leaders, whose job it is to secure the unilateral observance of collective agreements on the part of the workers.

In the same field, the Press is displaying great anxiety with regard to the present status of the unions. Great prominence is being given to American practices, such as compulsory trade union membership (which greatly pleases the trade union leaders) and the Taft-Hartley Law of which the employers are seeking a Belgian version. The F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders are quite ready to show a spirit of open-mindedness towards the employers' definition of the "legal status" of the trade unions, with all that this would mean for the working class struggle, so long as they are assured a trade union monopoly and compulsory membership of workers in the trade unions with the help of the State and the employers.

Next, the problem of increasing productivity is engaging the entire attention of these gentlemen. No differences exist among them, either on the need to increase productivity—which means intensified exploitation of the workers—or on the methods for accomplishing it. These trade union leaders confine their "opposition" to the demand that crumbs of the superprofits resulting from this increase in productivity should be given to the workers. The employers will make sure that they get the cake while the workers get the crumbs! The trade union leaders are not in the least disturbed by the large number of accidents at work, many of them fatal, which have recently taken place as a direct result of speed-up.

Finally, the "solution" to all the other problems such as wages, pensions, unemployment and unemployment benefits, social security in general, etc., can be found in the employers' declaration, accepted by the F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders, which proclaims "the complete impossibility of a further increase, in the present circumstances, in either the direct or indirect charges which bear upon the country's economy"—in other words, a rejection of the workers' claims.

On the employers' initiative, secret negotiations with the trade union leaders are already taking place on this "social pact."

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BELGIUM's economic situation is constantly becoming worse as a result of the government's general policy. The grip of American imperialism on the country is tightening all the time. The Belgian bourgeoisie is a party to all pacts and agreements put forward by the Americans.

The Minister of the Interior, in a circular to the communes on April 11, 1952, insisted "on the need . . . to apply a policy of restraint made necessary by the obligations of the country arising from the international situation." This circular reflects the entire present policy of the employers with regard to the working class.

Unemployment is developing and the operation of the Schuman Plan is making the threat of closure facing certain factories and mines still more acute. The government is increasing its measures to withdraw unemployment benefits—for which the workers have paid their contributions—and at the same time they are trying to force the unemployed to go to work in the coalmines.

After the restrictive measures applied during recent months, the whole social security programme is now gravely threatened.

It is not by chance that the employers are in such a hurry to conclude a "social pact." Although the manoeuvres of the F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders and the minor concessions contained in the May 6th agreement have managed to slow down the workers' movement they are now preparing to carry forward their struggle.

The workers and local government employees, together with the teachers, are opposing the orders of the Minister of the Interior and are demanding that their wage scale proposals be granted. They are threatening to strike on short notice if their proposals are not accepted.

The miners have again taken up their demand of last year for a bonus and are also asking for increased safety measures in the mines.

The metalworkers in factory after factory are demanding an increase in production bonuses, and in many cases the employers have had to concede their claims.

Increasingly powerful protests are being made against the employers' attempts to enforce wage reductions, provided for in the agreement, in several industries.

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Thousands of elderly workers parade through the streets of Brussels demanding better pensions and reduced military expenditure.

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The resentment against the government attacks on social security is continually growing.

In fact, the employers want to be ready with their "social pact" before the storm breaks. They have no doubt as to the help which the F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders will give them.

The active progressive trade unionists in the reformist trade unions and the Unified Trade Unions of Miners and Stone Quarry Workers (affiliated to the W.F.T.U.) are fully determined to call on the workers to unite against the "social pact" which would completely subordinate them to the employers.

They will help the workers to unite around their demands and help them to achieve united action to win them.

Although in no way opposed to the conclusion of collective agreements, they will urge the workers to oppose the conclusion of an agreement which they have not discussed or to which they have not given their prior approval, fighting in this way for the observance of trade union democracy.

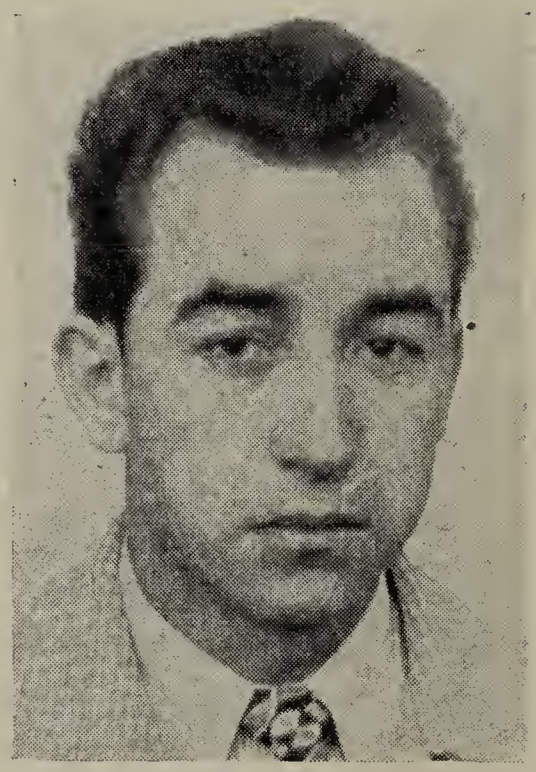
A new wave of struggle for demands is rising in Belgium and the employers and the F.G.T.B. and C.S.C. leaders are making a big mistake if they imagine that they will be able to get away with the conclusion of their "social pact."

● **A Victory of the Working Class**

In Alliance with the Poor Peasants

Agrarian Reform In Guatemala

THE promulgation by the Congress of the Guatemalan Republic of the Agrarian Reform Law represents an important victory which was won this year by the democratic forces of Guatemala, the backbone of which is the alliance between the working class, the small peasants and the agricultural workers. Since their formation in 1944, after the abolition of the feudal imperialist tyranny of Jorge Ubico, the Guatemalan trade unions have constantly emphasised the urgent need to achieve this agrarian reform.



By

MANUEL GUTIERREZ,

General Secretary of the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala

The working class of Guatemala, and the organised workers in particular, have fought tenaciously to make this reform a reality. The workers were, in fact, the first to understand the importance of agrarian reform, which will not only end the appalling poverty of the mass of the peasants, but will also establish the foundations for the country's economic recovery. Under working class pressure, the fight for agrarian reform rapidly assumed a national character.

As evidence of the tremendous importance of this reform, it is worth while quoting some statistics from the census of the agricultural wealth of the country completed in April 1950, which throws light on certain aspects of land distribution and the forms of agricultural exploitation existing in the country.

It was shown, for example, that out of about 9,200,000 acres of cultivated land in Guatemala, 27.7% (owned and rented) is possessed by 97.8% of the peasant population in lots of less than 110 acres. The big landowners, who form 2.2% of the population, own 72.3% of the land in holdings ranging from about 670 to nearly 22,500 acres.

In addition, the 1950 census showed that in the whole country only 1.5% of the holdings covered by the census have iron ploughs, the others having only wooden ploughs. There are only 750 tractors in the whole country which gives an average of 1 tractor for about 4,300 acres of cultivated land, excluding coffee plantations, orchards, natural pastures and forests; there are only 535 mechanical sowing drills for a total of 341,191 holdings.

As far as vehicles are concerned (lorries, jeeps and carts), there is scarcely more than one for every 50 holdings.

These few facts concerning the distribution of land and the forms of agricultural exploitation reveal the backward state of the country's agriculture. To complete the picture it should be noted that agricultural workers, who work more than 8 hours a day, receive an average daily wage barely amounting to 0.15 quetzal (the quetzal equals an American dollar). It is not surprising that under these conditions, the main struggles waged by the agricultural workers are aimed at winning wage increases up to 80 centavos. This demand has moreover been granted in the "Nation's Estates" (*Fincas de la Nacion*—agrarian holdings owned by the State) thanks to the steps taken by the trade union centre, the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (C.G.T.G.), its agricultural workers' organisations and to the democratic spirit of President Arbenz' government.

Feudalism and the American Stranglehold

OWING to the complete distortion of the country's economy resulting from American imperialist penetration and the tenacious remnants of a deeply rooted feudal economy, the achievement of agrarian reform is a particularly difficult problem in Guatemala.

Guatemala is, in fact, a single-crop country. Coffee and bananas provide the main exports and consequently the country's foreign exchange. The major part of coffee production is in the hands of national producers, while banana growing, which at one time was exclusively carried out by national producers, has gradually fallen entirely into the hands of two large imperialist concerns : the United Fruit Company and the Guatemala Agricultural Company. The interests of these two concerns are so closely interwined that in actual fact they constitute a single company under two different names.

To reveal the full extent of imperialism's domination of Guatemala it must be borne in mind that transport, such as the railways, port installations, docks, etc. are not owned by the State, but by foreign imperialist concerns which have a stranglehold on the country. This position has, in addition, prevented any diversity in the country's foreign trade, made all the worse by the fact that Guatemala has no maritime transport which it requires for the export and import of goods.

The landowners have therefore kept the people, and particularly the mass of the peasants, in a state of appalling poverty and complete ignorance. This has enabled them to impose their regime of brutal exploitation for hundreds of years, especially on the indigenous people whose systematic exploitation and expropriation goes back to the epoch of Spanish conquest, at the beginning of the 16th century. It can thus be stated that, taken as a whole, the great mass of the peasants live within the framework of a still half-primitive economy.

On the other hand, the degree of industrial development is extremely low. As a general rule, our tiny industry exists by importing raw materials provided by the United States at high prices. The result is that the cost of production of our industrial products is too high to enable us to compete with the bulk of American goods which pour into our markets.

Features of the Agrarian Reform

WITH the achievement of agrarian reform, the Guatemalan working class has set itself the objective of developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the country, releasing the productive forces in the countryside and establishing a home market which will serve as a basis for the development of national industry.

The most important features of the Agrarian Reform Law are the following :

1) To be distributed among the agricultural workers and peasants :

   a—all fallow land;

   b—all rented holdings regardless of the form of holding;

   c—holdings of more than 450 acres, described as "latifundia," unless they are worked by their owner or on his behalf;

   d—national estates, whether cultivated or not.

2) The following are not affected by the law :

   a—holdings of an area of less than 90 acres, whether they are cultivated or not.

   b—holdings of less than 220 acres, of which two-thirds at least are cultivated;

   c—land used as pasture by the cattle companies and land intended for installation purposes and for plantations (coffee, cotton, bananas, sugar cane, etc.) on behalf of capitalist agricultural concerns;

   d—forestry reserves;

   e—land belonging to Agrarian Communities, which are currently known as Indigenous or Peasant Communities.

In addition, the law guarantees the recipients initial State assistance to enable them to obtain the necessary equipment, seeds, etc.

With the object of fulfilling one of the aims stated in the preamble of the law itself, it frees the holdings enclosed within the large landed estates. Henceforth these holdings have only to include a minimum of 15 families to be considered as urban centres and as such enjoying advantages and privileges guaranteed to them by the Constitution. The inhabitants will become owners of the houses they live in and will receive, in addition, a plot of land of about 525 square yards surrounding their homes. Further, all the paths and roads within the latifundia have been made public with free transit.

The liquidation of the industrial or commercial establishments within the National Estates is provided for by law, and they will be exploited by mixed companies specially formed for this purpose. The law provides that 51% of the shares of these companies will be held by the State, the other 49% going to Guatemalan nationals. Moreover, the law requires that these mixed companies should give priority to products grown by the holdings which have benefited from the agrarian reform when they are buying raw materials.

The methods of allocating land to the peasants are another important aspect of the law. In general, the law grants to the recipients parcels of cultivated land of about $8\frac{3}{4}$ to $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres or from about $26\frac{1}{4}$ to $43\frac{3}{4}$ acres of fallow land, according to the number of recipients in each holding and the amount of land available. The agricultural workers and peasants working in the Nation's Estates have been granted the use of this land in perpetuity; rights of inheritance are protected, the inheritors having first claim when the land is being allocated on the death of the original title-

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Manuel Gutierrez, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala, addresses the crowd assembled before the Presidential Palace during the celebrated demonstration on June 21 held in support of the Agrarian Reform Law.

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May Day 1952. Industrial and agricultural workers strongly united demand the introduction of agrarian reform.

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The head of the National Agrarian Department, Alfonso Martinez, places land of the "Barcenas" National Domain at the disposal of the peasants.

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holder. The recipients can choose to have the land in individual parcels or in the form of co-operatives.

As far as privately-owned land is concerned, the beneficiaries themselves can decide, in each particular case, whether they prefer to become outright owners of the piece of land granted to them or simply to enjoy the use of the land for life. In the latter case, the land becomes national property.

Another interesting aspect of this law is the extensive protection which it grants to the native communities. For the first time, these communities will be protected by law, not only against the greed of the landowners, but also against arbitrary decisions of the municipal authorities. It must be stated that the local authorities have never been and are still not representative of the mass of the peasants; on the contrary, they have always defended and still defend the interests of the landowners, the land sharks and plunderers of the wealth of the native communities.

These communities have owned their land for a very long time. In certain cases, it is land which the Spanish conquerors allowed them to keep; in others it is land which was restored to them by certain governments such as that of Justo Rufino Barrios (1871-1885) inspirer of the liberal movement, after he had smashed the feudal power of the church by transforming the ecclesiastical latifundia into secular latifundia.

The law also provides for the establishment of a national bank which will grant special credits to the peasant beneficiaries enabling them to obtain seeds and agricultural material which they need.

In order to guarantee its proper enforcement, the Agrarian Reform Law sets up the following agencies :

1) Local Agrarian Committees, consisting of 5 members, three representatives from the agricultural workers and peasants, one representing the Mayor and another the Governor of the Department. This local Agrarian Committee is the basic organisation; the peasants submit their petitions to it. It takes the initial measures in the awarding of land and houses.

2) The Departmental Agrarian Commissions are composed of two representatives of the peasants, one representative of the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala, one representative of the farmer-owners, and one of the National Agrarian Department (see point 4).

3) The National Agrarian Council consisting of the head of the National Agrarian Department (see point 4), two representatives of the National Confederation of Guatemalan Peasants, a C.G.T.G. representative, one from the Bank of Guatemala, one from the National Statistical Department and a representative of the farmer-owners.

4) The National Agrarian Department, whose head is appointed by the President of the Republic and which constitutes an agency of the Presidency of the Republic.

5) The President of the Republic, who bears the chief responsibility for the Agrarian reform.

The C.G.T.G. and the National Confederation of Guatemalan Peasants therefore play an important role in the basic agencies and in the Departmental Commissions.

The agrarian reform has led, as was to be expected, to a violent reaction on the part of the landowners and imperialists. Their previous efforts to impede the country's progressive development have become even more desperate since the law came into force. Behind the smoke-screen which they are trying to create by their foul anti-communist campaign, the United Fruit Company, the big landowners, the reactionary clergy and the phalangist businessmen are organising fascist terrorist groups to sabotage, by all possible means, the application of agrarian reform. In addition, they are attempting to exploit the religious feelings of the people in order to turn, through slanders and lies, the mass of religious people against the government and its policy of social progress. But due to the firmness of our working class and peasant organisations, which are indeed impregnable bastions against the attacks of the reactionary forces, and despite difficulties, the Agrarian Reform Law is gradually becoming a reality, not only on paper but also in fact.

Thus, at the present time, more than 112,000 acres of land have been distributed to agricultural workers and peasants, or restored to the native communities.

The intense campaign of propaganda and explanation among the peasants carried out in unity by the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala and the National Confederation of Peasants has succeeded in making them realise where their interests lie, and has defeated the foul manoeuvres of the enemies of the workers and the people. Today, the great masses of agricultural workers and peasants, led by their trade union organisations, are fighting with the utmost tenacity to see that the agrarian reform is put into effect.

The full application of agrarian reform is destined to play a great role in the development of the entire economy of Guatemala and will considerably strengthen the struggle for national independence. The Guatemalan workers and their allies, the peasants, will prove themselves capable of dealing with these great tasks which lie before them and of ensuring the success of this important undertaking for national recovery.

WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE WFTU

Messages sent to the WFTU for its Seventh Anniversary

AMONG the messages sent by the workers of the world to the World Federation of Trade Unions on the occasion of its 7th Anniversary, a great many have come from colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries where the mass of the working people are subjected to savage exploitation both by their own national bourgeoisie and by foreign imperialists, as well as from those which are not colonial countries, but which are nonetheless under the yoke of a foreign imperialism and are fighting for their national independence. These sincere and heartfelt messages are evidence of the great confidence these workers have in the W.F.T.U. For them, the W.F.T.U. is not only a symbol but a real source of international working class solidarity which supports them in their struggle.

We publish extracts from some of these messages which strike us as being the most characteristic.

From the British West Indies the General Secretary of the **Trinidad and Tobago Trades Union Council,** in his message, states :

"Representing the majority of organised workers in Trinidad and Tobago . . . . the Trinidad and Tobago Trades Union Council is firmly convinced that the World Federation of Trade Unions is the only international trade union organisation standing solidly for the liberation of the down-trodden masses in colonial territories."

The President of the **Oilfield Workers' Trade Union,** in the same colony, greets the W.F.T.U. in the following terms :

"On this memorable occasion of the 7th anniversary . . . . we desire to renew our pledges of solidarity, undivided loyalty and support to the World Federation of Trade Unions. . . ."

A great many messages have also arrived from Jamaica, another British colony in this area. These messages are particularly significant because the Jamaican Trade Union Centre is no longer affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

Richard Hart, Vice-President of the **Caribbean Labour Congress,** says in his message:

"It is with feelings of respect and gratitude that I, as a Jamaican and West Indian, send these greetings to you on the 7th anniversary of the W.F.T.U. Our Trade Union Congress, formerly an affiliate of the W.F.T.U., has benefited greatly by the fraternal consideration for the colonial workers shown by the W.F.T.U."

But it is not only trade union leaders who have sent messages to the W.F.T.U., for here is a message from **a young worker in Kingston, Jamaica :**

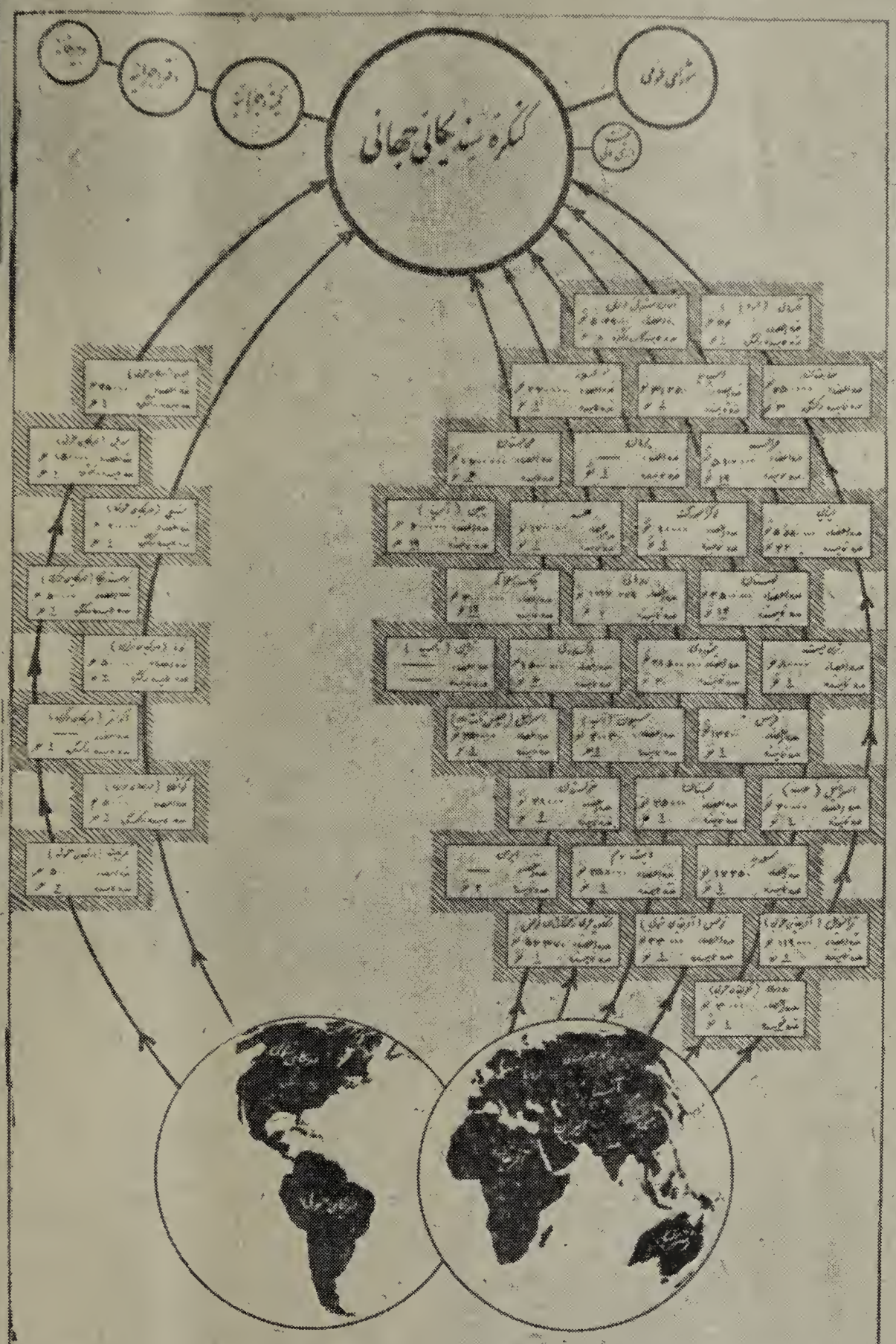
"As a worker and a member of a trade union, I send you and your organisation on the occasion of its 7th anniversary, fraternal greetings. I have every confidence that your great organisation will, in good time, lead the workers of the whole world to a better and peaceful way of life."

On the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the W.F.T.U., the Iranian trade unionists published this chart, giving in a clear and understandable manner the organisation, formation, the number of national centres affiliated and an extract from the W.F.T.U. Constitution . At the top of the page, in large characters, is the slogan of the Iranian workers congratulating the W.F.T.U. on the occasion of its seventh anniversary: "Invincible Citadel of the Workers of the World." In the centre, at the top, a large circle represents the World Trade Union Congress, while the other circles depict the various bodies elected by the Congress. The rectangles contain the affiliated National Centres of two continents with the number of workers they represent.

پیام کارگران زحمتکشان ایران آغاز هفتمین سال تاسیس فدراسیون سندیکائی جهانی، ثبت نام ۸۰ میلیون کارگران متشکل جهان در ردیف کارگران

فریاد آزادی، وزحمتکشان سراسر جهان صمیمانه تبریک میگوئیم!

۱۱ مهر ماه ۲۱



دو نزدیک فدراسیون جهانی

فدراسیون سندیکائی جهانی، نمایندهٔ ترکیب هدفهای مشترک کلیهٔ انسان‌های شیفتهٔ آزادی در بیستم اکتبر ۱۹۴۵ بوجود آمده است.

فدراسیون سندیکائی جهانی حق

سندیکائی سراسر جهان را صرف

نظر از عقاید فردی، تمایلات مذهب یا

طبقه‌بندی در خود متشکل و متحد میسازد.

برای تشکیل سندیکا در حزب کارگر

گرد نیامد.

سندیکاها بطور مستقیم دولت های

دیکتاتوری و برای دیکته کردن سیاست کلیه

تشکیلات فاشیستی حکومت و تمام مظاهر

مذهبی هر شکلی که عمل کند و هر

نامی گذاشته شود مبارزه را تعقیب میکنند.

تشکیلات ضد جنگ و بمنظور استقرار

صلح پایدار و پرداختن به نیازمندیهای

بیدرنگ آن از طرف زحمتکشان و

از مراسم آنها بوسیله سازمانهای بین

المللی آنها دعوت میکند.

مبارزه زحمتکشان را بمنظور

بدست آوردن و اجرای آنها و آزادی‌های

دموکراتیک بمنظور بهبود مداومی و مشترک

با وضع کار و شرایط زندگی، بمنظور

تامین و توسعه اقتصاد ملی و متشکل سازد.

و متشکل الملل زحمتکشان را تامین نماید.

کارگران اصناف مختلف بشهر،

محله، کارگران خیابان، کلخانی، هر یک جداگانه

سندیکای خود را تشکیل میدهند. دو

شهر یک کارخانه‌ها، کارگاه‌ها و بهره‌برداری

کارگران این کارخانه‌ها هم جداگانه یا

اینکه با هم سندیکای خود را تشکیل میدهند

اگر در این شهر کارگران صنعتی

دیگری صنعت خاصی وجود نداشته باشد، کارگران

این صنعت هم سندیکای خود را تشکیل

میدهند.

سندیکاهای مختلف این شهر طبق

اساسنامه مخصوصی با یکدیگر متحد شده

شورای شهرستان را تشکیل میدهند.

شوراهای شهرستان‌های یک استان یا

یک استان طبق اساسنامه مخصوصی با

هم متحد شده شورای ایالتی یا استانی را

تشکیل میدهند. شوراهای ایالتی

هر طبق اساسنامه مخصوصی با یکدیگر

متحد شده **شورای مرکزی یک کشور**

تشکیل میدهند. این شورای

مرکزی کشوری را مرکز سندیکائی

ملی نیز می‌گویند.

در این و یکصد و کشورهای دیگر

طرز تشکیل سندیکاهای صنفی، سندیکا

های کارخانه‌ای، سندیکاهای صنفی و

شوراهای شهرستان، ایالتی، استانی و

شوراهای مرکزی یا مرکز سندیکائی ملی

نیز متحد و متمرکز گردیده، این طرز تشکیل

سندیکا و شوراها شورای مرکزی را متمرکز

اقتصادی می‌نامند.

هر کارگر از کارگران یک صنف در ایران

و هر کارگر یک صنعت در ایران

سندیکای خود را تشکیل میدهند. این

سندیکاها را سندیکای کارگران

صنعت نفت ایران و خلیج فارس

و سندیکای کارگران صنعت نفت ایران

و خلیج فارس و سندیکاهای کارگران

کارخانه‌ها و بهره‌برداری‌های نفت

و سندیکای کارگران صنعت نفت ایران

و خلیج فارس و سندیکای کارگران

صنعت نفت ایران و خلیج فارس

و سندیکاهای کارگران کارخانه‌ها و

بهره‌برداری‌های نفت ایران و خلیج

فارس و سندیکای کارگران صنعت

نفت ایران و خلیج فارس و سندیکای

کارگران کارخانه‌ها و بهره‌برداری‌های

نفت ایران و خلیج فارس و سندیکای

کارگران صنعت نفت ایران و خلیج

فارس و سندیک

Before leaving this part of the world, we must mention the telegram sent to the W.F.T.U. from the **Wood and Saw-mill Workers in British Guiana,** fraternally thanking the W.F.T.U. and wishing it further success in its fight for the rights of the workers against colonial oppression.

Among the many messages received from North Africa, we quote from the letter sent to the W.F.T.U. by the **Moroccan Federation of Railwayworkers' Unions:**

"On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the establishment of the World Federation of Trade Unions, we thank you warmly for the support you give the workers in their struggles for economic and social demands, democratic liberties and peace. We wish to thank you most particularly for the fraternal aid you gave the railway workers of Morocco at the time of the trial and sentence of their General Secretary, Mahjoub Seddik. . . ."

And the following is an extract from a letter sent to the W.F.T.U. by the Executive Bureau of the **Tunis Regional Trades Council** (U.S.T.T.) :

"The workers of Tunis are extremely grateful to the World Federation of Trade Unions for the support it has never hesitated to give to the cause of the national independence of the Tunisian people and its working class, making numerous appeals to international bodies, sending delegations to our country, making known to the workers throughout the world the position to which French colonialism has reduced the Tunisian workers and the Tunisian workers' fight to rid themselves of this exploitation and oppression."

We also quote from two messages sent by workers in the dependent countries of Asia.

First of all, the interesting letter sent by the delegates to the **National Conference of S.O.B.S.I.** (Indonesian Trade Union Centre), which says in part :

"The Conference expresses its thanks and greatest appreciation towards the leadership of the W.F.T.U. which, during its existence, militantly and successfully defended the interests of the workers and people of Indonesia in their struggle against Dutch and Anglo-American imperialists and their agents for the betterment of conditions and true independence."

Then there is the telegram sent by the Council of the **United Trade Unions of Iran** in the name of the Iranian workers, those workers who, by their admirable fighting spirit, forced the Anglo-American imperialists to retreat. This telegram expresses the hope that the international working class will be victorious under the guidance of the World Federation of Trade Unions in the fight for peace, freedom, independence and the well-being of all the peoples.

Several messages have reached us from Latin America, where the workers are at present fighting courageously against the furious offensive by the American imperialists and their agents in the working class movement.

The workers of **Sao Paolo State (Brazil),** in their message, declare :

"We, the workers of Sao Paolo, organised under the banner of the Confederation of Brazilian Workers, commemorate your 7th anniversary, full of gratitude for the great help you have given us in our struggle for the improvement of our living conditions, national independence and peace."

Ursinio Rojas, leader of the **Cuban sugar workers,** sent a message saying :

"Your correct lead and the repeated proofs of your solidarity encourage and stimulate the Cuban sugar workers in their fight against the powerful imperialist companies which control the economic and political life of our country."

* * *

SINCE it was established seven years ago, the World Federation of Trade Unions has never ceased to fight energetically for the right to self-determination. It has supported and will unfailingly continue to support the colonial and dependent peoples in their fight for national independence, without which they cannot achieve any real improvement of their lot.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has always considered its support for the peoples' liberation struggles as one of the most important aspects of its activity. That is why messages reflecting the deep gratitude of the men and women workers of these countries for the activities of the W.F.T.U., are especially moving for us. They are an encouragement to the international working class movement to strengthen its efforts so as to give more and more effective help to these peoples whose fight for national independence is indissolubly linked with the general fight for well-being and peace.

The African Working Class in the Fight for a Democratic Labour Code

TENS of thousands of workers belonging to the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), the Christian trade union centre (C.F.T.C.), Force Ouvrière (trade union centre under right-wing Socialist leadership) and the French West African Independent Federation of African Railwaymen took part in a united 24-hour strike on November 3, 1952, which was preceded on October 26 by a day of action for their claims. The Force Ouvrière workers took part in the strike against the opposition of their leaders.

The object of these activities was to demand that a democratic Labour Code be immediately adopted and promulgated by the French Parliament. A draft for a democratic Labour Code was submitted to the French National Assembly in 1945, but since then the reactionary majority in the Assembly, having delayed the discussion for a long period, adopted a watered-down text, from which the Council of the Republic subsequently deleted all vestiges of democracy or any kind of guarantee for the workers.

The strike decision was taken at a conference held in Dakar from October 6 to 8, which was attended by 71 delegates from all the above-mentioned trade union centres, but without the Force Ouvrière leaders. A further strike, of 72 hours, is planned for next January 12, 13 and 14, unless satisfaction is obtained by January 5, 1953. When that time comes, the workers of the world will express their solidarity with their African brothers who are fighting for a real Labour Code.

In a future number of our Review, we shall again refer to this important Dakar Conference, which adopted a number of resolutions, not only on the Labour Code, but also on other problems which are of major concern to African workers.

We give below the text of the resolution which lays down the forms and methods of action to be employed in order to win the speedy passing of a Labour Code satisfying the demands of the African workers.

Bruno Tohngodo,
Member of the C.G.T. Co-ordinating Committee for French West Africa and Togoland.

RESOLUTION ON FORMS AND METHODS OF ACTION

The African Inter-Trade Union Conference, meeting from October 6 to 8, 1952, conscious of expressing the unanimous will of the African workers that a democratic and progressive Labour Code should be introduced not later than January 1, 1953, and that this code should be one that will enable them to take even more effective action for the improvement of their living conditions and against the exploitation, repressive measures and the racial discrimination to which they are subjected.

PROTESTS VIGOROUSLY against the absence of labour legislation in the French colonial territories of Central Africa, and denounces the serious consequences which deny and prevent the exercise by African workers of the democratic rights and liberties proclaimed in the French Constitution.

CALLS UPON the workers, their trade unions, federations, territorial Trades Councils and trade union confederations to organise and strengthen this activity in the appropriate forms and by the most effective means.

A. FORMS OF STRUGGLE

The African Inter-Trade Union Conference, recognising that the united action of all African workers and of all their trade union organisations, regardless of their ideology or affiliation, is the most effective form of struggle.

CONGRATULATES THE AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS belonging to the C.G.T., C.F.T.C., the Independent Federation of African Railwaymen and the Independent Trades Council of the Ivory Coast on having achieved joint action on the issue of the Labour Code.

NOTES with regret the refusal of the Force Ouvrière centre to take part in the work and activity for the speedy attainment of the Labour Code, which is undoubtedly the urgent basic demand of the African working class.

SOLEMNLY CONDEMNS as enemies of the emancipation of the peoples of the French Overseas Territories, and thus hostile to the creation of a real French Union, all who have contributed to sabotaging the draft code and to delaying its adoption by Parliament.

PAYS TRIBUTE to the many efforts made by the trade union organisations of France and of the world, and by the African and French movements, parties and progressive elected representatives to obtain the formulation and the immediate introduction of the Labour Code for the Overseas Territories.

CATEGORICALLY STATES that in the present circumstances only decisive and unanimous action by the

African working class is capable of weakening and overcoming the opposition of reactionary circles and obtaining a decision both for the speedy adoption of the LABOUR CODE and for its progressive content.

ASKS THE CONTRACTING TRADE UNION CENTRES to maintain and develop UNITED ACTION from top to bottom, against which the manoeuvres of diversion and corruption, which will certainly be used by their class enemies, will be smashed.

B. PRACTICAL METHODS OF ACTION

The African Inter-Trade Union Conference envisages:

(a) **the broadest popularisation of its decisions** among all sections of the African population, and especially among the workers, in order to strengthen the understanding of the masses and to develop their fighting spirit.

(b) **the widening of the front of struggle** to all categories of workers in private and public sectors by the formulation of a complete programme of demands which will lead to **collective action** and to winning the full support of the entire African population.

It immediately calls upon all the African trade union organisations to make Sunday, October 26, 1952, a great day of action throughout French Colonial Africa, through the organisation of meetings, parades and all other forms of collective action.

The Conference DECIDES:

(1) on a 24-hour general strike to be held on Monday, November 3, 1952, as a sign of indignant protest against the long delay in the drawing up of the Labour Code,

(2) on a 72-hour general strike to be held on January 12, 13 and 14, 1953, in French West Africa and Togoland if the Labour Code **is not promulgated** by January 5, 1953.

CALLS UPON THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES of French Colonial Africa and their parties to follow the example of the trade union centres by undertaking **united action** to give full support to the organised fight for the Labour Code.

APPOINTS THE MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE of the C.G.T., C.F.T.C. and Dakar Railwaymen to take charge of supplying information and co-ordinating subsequent activities, whose forms and methods are defined above. At the same time, the Conference decides on the role of its permanent representation with public agencies and all other authorities. This committee is responsible, should the need arise, for making preparations within the Territorial Joint Committees for the holding of a special conference.

CONCLUSIONS

The African Inter-Trade Union Conference, aware of the state of poverty and social insecurity which is unjustly imposed on the African workers,

Aware of the heavy responsibilities which it has to assume in the organisation and conduct of the fighting front of the African trade unions,

Aware of the unshakeable will and unbeatable strength represented by **The Fighting United Front of the C.G.T. and C.F.T.C. Centres and the African railwaymen, pledges itself** to work by all means in order to obtain a **Labour Code** in line with the progressive aspirations of the working masses of Africa.

Long live workers' united action for a democratic and progressive Labour Code!

Long live the unity of the workers of Africa, France and the whole world!

For a General Amnesty for the Anti-Franco Prisoners

DURING the last few weeks, a new wave of terror has been launched in Spain. In Madrid, 33 workers were arrested and savagely tortured for having distributed *Mundo Obrero,* the clandestine organ of the Spanish resistance in their factories. In Barcelona, and throughout Catalonia, the Franco police have carried out mass arrests in the textile factories, where the Franco authorities themselves recognise that broad movements for demands recalling those of the spring of 1951 are in preparation. In addition, a big trial is about to open in Barcelona during which 42 young patriots are being brought before a Military Court, charged with anti-Franco activities. It must be pointed out that these 42 young workers, among whom are three leaders of the United Socialist Youth of Catalonia (Jose Maria Sendros, Jorge Torres and Diego Armengol), were arrested in December 1949 and only after three years of torture and privations in jail has Franco decided to bring them to trial.

By these new terrorist measures Franco hopes to check the surge of confidence in their own powers which sprang up among the mass of the Spanish people as a result of the very big success won by the campaign for Lopez Raimundo and his comrades, a success confirmed by the recent release of 20 of these men and the prospect of shortly being able to win the release of Lopez Raimundo and the other six who are still in prison.

Franco would like to halt the campaign for an

amnesty for the political prisoners which is daily spreading throughout the country. But he will not be successful. The Spanish workers have understood that by their united action, supported by international solidarity, it is possible for them to stop the murdering hand of Franco and that they will be able to rescue the anti-Franco prisoners from their prison cells. Great new hope has been born among the tens of thousands of families who every Sunday queue up at the prison gates to see the emaciated face of father, son or husband through the bars. This hope Franco will not be able to extinguish. A new slogan has recently appeared on the crumbling grey and dirty walls, in the poverty-stricken working class quarters of Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao—AMNESTY! Nor will Franco be able to efface these slogans.

Indicating the direction this mass campaign for amnesty should take, *Mundo Obrero,* organ of the resistance, wrote in its issue of September 15 :

" The campaign for an amnesty must be waged in every corner of the country. In the factories, working class quarters, villages, and also in the wealthy districts, and in university centres and intellectual circles and even in the churches. Mothers and wives in all classes of society, among professors and teachers, among people in the liberal professions and even priests must be made to feel that to demand a real amnesty for the prisoners is a question of conscience and a duty to humanity."

For their part, the most eminent figures of the Spanish emigration, headed by Dr. Giral, former Prime Minister in the Spanish Republican Government and President of the Spanish Council of Peace, have sent a moving message to all Spaniards of goodwill, calling on them to unite to win the release of all anti-Franco prisoners. The appeal says :

" Because they defended democracy, thousands of men, women and young people are suffering, some of them for the last ten to twelve years, an indescribable martyrdom in the depths of Franco prisons and jails. Throughout Spain, the people are raising an outcry demanding the release of all political prisoners . . . Our duty is to respond to this outcry and to manifest our solidarity with the victims of repression. United action by all will rescue these patriots from prison and death . . ."

The new wave of terror unleashed by Franco will not succeed in checking the movement for an amnesty. On the contrary, each new crime committed by the hangmen of the Prado will lead to a strengthening of the unity of the whole Spanish people, who are determined to end the bloodshed which has been going on for almost 13 years and to win the release of all prisoners. In this sacred fight for the liberation of their brothers, Spanish patriots know that they can count on the complete and active solidarity of the workers of the world, for whom the heroic fight of the Spanish people is a lesson in perseverance and courage.

P.A.

Stop the Murders of the Greek People!

TWENTY thousand political prisoners are languishing in Greek prisons and concentration camps, twenty thousand men and women guilty of the sole crime of having fought for the independence of their country, and the well-being of their people. Among them are heroes of the national resistance, such as young Manolis Glezos, the renowned editor of the newspaper "Rizospastis," known throughout the world for his action in taking down the swastika flag from the Acropolis in 1941, and Tony Ambatielos, deputy for Piraeus and Secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions.

The systematic persecution, the cold-blooded extermination of these fighting heroes is being perpetrated by the monarcho-fascist government of Plastiras, on the orders of the American occupiers, with the bestial methods inherited from the German Nazis and Italian fascists.

Only a few weeks ago, the news of the death of Costas Gavrilides, General Secretary of the Greek Peasant Party, spread throughout the world. He was deported some time ago to a concentration camp on an island in the Aegean Sea. Costas Gavrilides was seriously ill for a long time, as a result of the sufferings, privations and inhuman torture which he had to undergo. He was denied all medical care and his death was nothing but premeditated murder.

The son of Costas Theos, Secretary of the Greek General Confederation of Labour, is faced with immediate danger of the same fate. For four-and-a-half years, he has been subjected to ghastly torture for the sole reason that he is the son of Costas Theos, and for refusing to repudiate his political convictions. This tragic list could fill page after page.

Fascist terror is reigning in Greece today. The Youra Concentration Camp has nothing to learn from Mauthausen, Auschwitz and Dachau. The persecution of the workers, of all sincere and consistent democrats, is part of the plans of the Greek fascist government. The orders of the American occupiers are precise and categoric: they demand that Greece should get rid of all those who are courageously fighting for an independent, democratic and peaceful Greece, of all those who no longer want to serve as cannon fodder for the sake of the military prestige and exclusive profit of the big American monopolies.

The reactionary trade union leaders are naturally playing a prominent role in this tragic game. Here is one of the most typical cases of the last few months: the hearing of the appeal of Tony Ambatielos and 18

Tony Ambatielos—a sketch by the well-known British artist, Paul Hogarth, during the trial.

other progressive trade unionists by a Court Martial last August.

Ambatielos was sentenced to death in 1948, charged with "conspiracy against the government," but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment as a result of the pressure of public opinion in Greece and throughout the world, and by the stand taken by the Soviet delegation in the United Nations. In the 1951 elections, while in prison, he was elected to Parliament by the people of Piraeus. At the appeal, which confirmed the previous sentence, the reactionary trade union leaders of the Pan-Hellenic Seamen's Federation (P.N.O.), sponsored by the government, appeared as witnesses for the prosecution. Unable to deny that Ambatielos' union had waged a just struggle to improve the seamen's living conditions, they had the audacity to state, with a cynicism matched only by their cowardice, that these struggles were of an anti-national character because they were organised for the sole purpose of "helping the enemies of Greece." Not a word of condemnation of the shipowners, who, during the last war, opposed the participation of Greek ships and sailors in the Normandy landings. Not the slightest mention of the glory of Greek seamen who shipped to North Africa large quantities of vital supplies in ships which were real floating coffins, and which had no lifeboats.

How different were the proud words of Ambatielos. He succeeded in transforming the trial into formidable indictment of the anti-national activities of the Greek shipowners, of the anti-working class role of the reactionary P.N.O. leaders, by defending with magnificent fighting spirit the cause of the Greek seamen, praising their heroism and showing how justified are their struggles for better living conditions.

With passionate words, he exposed the attempt of the shipowners and their puppet trade unionists, to get rid of him and his companions so as to be able to continue unhindered their policy of exploiting the seamen.

His statement describes a Greece of poverty and terror, but also of struggle and sacrifice. Here are a few figures showing conditions in the country:

The wages of the workers are only 25-45 per cent of the pre-war level. The number of unemployed has reached 450,000. Total industrial production in the second quarter of this year fell by 13 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1951; with a 32 per cent decline in the textile industry. The deficit in the balance of trade amounts to 300 million dollars. Fifty-four per cent of the State budget is reserved for armaments. The fatal policy of the government with regard to the peasants has led to famine in the countryside.

But the workers are realising more and more that this situation is only the logical outcome of the policy of war preparation imposed by the American occupiers, and slavishly carried out by the Greek government. They are refusing to continue to bear the burdens of this policy, which can only bring increasing poverty and further misery to Greece.

That is why, especially during the past few months, a vast successful movement of strikes, work stoppages, protests, petitions, etc., has developed throughout the country to force the granting of their just demands, for a general amnesty for all political prisoners, for independence and peace.

The Greek people are true to their best revolutionary traditions, inherited from 1831. Now, as then, active and stirring international solidarity is being shown in a thousand ways by the people of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Australia, France and Italy for the victims of the struggle. But it is essential that this vast solidarity movement be widened still further and that it should make itself felt still more effectively. The hand of the murderer Plastiras and his accomplices must be stopped in time.

At congresses, rallies, and meetings of all kinds, the workers of the whole world must unceasingly condemn, in the most varied and effective forms, the crimes of American imperialism and its Greek puppet.

By their active solidarity, they must help the Greek people in their fight to set free the 20,000 political prisoners who are kept in prisons and concentration camps, to secure human living conditions and to maintain peace.

They must make certain that the names of Glezos, Ambatielos, the son of Costas Theos and other heroic Greek fighters are not added to the list of martyrs headed by Beloyannis and Gavrilides.

P. Colombo.

Corrupters Without Visas

IT was bound to happen.

The American agents who have been installed for some years in France in order to subsidise division among the workers are doing the dirty on each other.

They consider that they are not getting enough for their dollars.

They have not gained the successes which they counted upon, and which were demanded of them by the Washington State Department.

So they absolve themselves by putting the blame on each other.

Victor Reuther, the agent disguised as a C.I.O. workers' representative, accuses the A.F.L. representative, Irving Brown, of incompetence. He claims the right to take over the job and to assume complete leadership.

And this is what happened as a result,

Irving Brown, supported by the French socialist paper *Le Populaire,* attacks Jouhaux, who replies.

However, in his reply, Jouhaux forgets to recall the record of services of his new adversary: "The American who lives in France without a visa."

Irving Brown began handing out dollars to the splitters in 1946. It was he who organised and paid for the split in the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Workers' Union at that time.

It was he who financed the breakaway fraction *Force Ouvrière,* whose leader was Léon Jouhaux.

Jouhaux approved and supported the activity of the corrupter Brown, including the split in the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone workers.

It was Jouhaux who, one day, thinking that he was dealing with someone of his own stamp, said to a good C.G.T. militant: "We've started with the postal workers, and we'll go on to the railwaymen, the miners and the metalworkers." At that time he was still General Secretary of the C.G.T.

You may be sure that the noble indignation of this hardened splitter does not go so far as to oppose American interference in the French working class movement, nor to reject dollars intended to finance breakaway organisations.

The domestic quarrels in the American trade unions have their repercussions merely within the French organisations which accept and solicit charity from them. This is the beauty of the kind of "independence" which accepts a wage.

At a time when Jouhaux is breaking lances with Irving Brown and talking virtuously of independence, this is what we learn from the most reliable sources:

The American C.I.O. unions are showing the greatest interest in the F.O. metalworkers' union.

They accuse Irving Brown of having failed in the support of this union at the time Chevalme[1] was its leader, the latter having too suspect a relationship with the employers.

The accession of Delamare[2] to the post of Secretary of this union is considered by them as providing the possibility of bringing about a change in the situation.

But, according to these compromising sponsors, this change is held up by lack of funds.

Never mind that. During the meeting of the Executive Committee of the breakaway metalworkers' international, held in July 1952 at Ouchy in Switzerland, the American C.I.O. representatives proposed a grant from 25 to 30 million francs to "aid" this federation.

On condition, however, that the federation achieve unity,—if not organic unity at least united action—with the other so-called free trade unions (Christian unions, independent unions, etc.), naturally excluding the C.G.T.

According to them, the promised "aid" would make possible:

The establishment in the Paris region and in the province of 25 jobs for union officials, with the necessary office staff.

An intensive distribution of a trade union journal for the industry and of posters and leaflets, by the granting of a certain tonnage of paper.

The organisation of a trade union school in the La Brévière castle, which would be attended by trade unionists appointed by F.O., the C.F.T.C. and the other "free" trade union centres.

That is the plan which Jouhaux should have spoken about. It seems that he is meeting with some difficulties in carrying it out.

In fact, a certain Mr. Levison, who is allowed to act in France in the service of the American imperialists in complete freedom and without a visa, has already tried to carry out part of this programme.

It seems that he is not acting alone. He recently went to Saint Nazaire to meet the President of the C.F.T.C. metalworkers' union in order to have an exchange of views with him.

It appears that Bouladoux, the General Secretary of the C.F.T.C., is replying to manoeuvres of this kind when he calls upon "rich foreign trade unionists not to interfere in our internal affairs."

Let the C.F.T.C. leaders defend themselves against the corrupters and splitters, and no one will reproach them for it.

It is a pity that they were so pleased when the splitters were exercising their talents against the C.G.T. They might have known that their turn would come.

Georges Levard[3] should have thought about this during the last meeting of the national council of the C.F.T.C.

During that meeting, at least two Secretaries of departmental Trades Councils: Cadoret (Côtes du Nord) and Delorme (Rhône) said that it was necessary to have united action with the C.G.T. in order to defeat the employers and the government.

That is only common sense.

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1 One of the main leaders of the split in France.
2 A leader of the split.
3 A leader of the Christian trade union centre.

Levard replied to this by repeating the insults of the American divisionist agents against the C.G.T.

What lesson should be drawn from these sordid goings on, these bargainings and salvings of conscience?

The workers, whatever their viewpoints or opinions, can quite easily clear up the whole matter. Let them make a clean sweep of this rottenness, get rid of the corruptors and the corrupted by uniting their efforts and taking united action right away in carrying forward the battle for wage increases.

We have not quoted these authentic facts merely in order to stir up the refuse heap.

But at a time when certain leaders continue periodically to act as strike-breakers, everyone will be in agreement in judging the "noble" motives which cause them to conduct themselves in a way which gives such satisfaction to all the enemies of the working class.

Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the French C.G.T. (*L'Humanité*, 5.11.52).

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

October 28

WESTERN GERMANY.—It is announced that a trade agreement totalling 15 million German marks has been concluded between Western Germany and People's China.

EGYPT.—The Minister of the Interior bans a joint meeting between representatives of the Preparatory Committee for a General Federation of Trade Unions and those from various local trade union committees.

October 29

ITALY.—Accused of pursuing a policy of unity, Doctor Bulleri, one of the founders and leaders of the U.I.L. (trade union centre under right-wing Socialist leadership) is expelled from this organisation.

October 30

CANADA.—The 16th Congress of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers welcomes, on behalf of its 25,000 members, the convocation of the Peoples' Congress and elects its President as a delegate.

KENYA.—The situation becomes worse. The British government sends warships and arrests thousands of African workers.

AUSTRALIA.—Police intervene during a procession organised by Italian unemployed immigrants causing many casualties.

MEXICO.—More than 2,000 textile workers in San Luis de Potosi are deprived of work as a result of the sudden closure of the "Espana Industria" mill. Workers and their families demonstrate in the streets.

October 31

JAPAN.—The All-Japanese Congress for Peace opens in Tokyo with the participation of 500 delegates from all regions of the country.

NORTH KOREA.—There is a substantial reduction in food prices in town and village markets.

FRANCE.—The St. Etienne miners are joined by other workers of the town in their 24-hours strike in protest against the arrest of Alain Le Léap.

IRAN.—A large demonstration of agricultural workers and poor peasants takes place in a village near Teheran. The big landowners send for the police who open fire several times on the demonstrators. One is killed and scores are wounded.

ITALY.—More than 100,000 peasants, day labourers and share croppers in Delta Fadano (Ferraro) occupy many large holdings. This occupation is effectively carried out in 39 communes.

November 1

BULGARIA.—Industrial production during the third quarter of 1952 has increased by 17 per cent. over the same period in 1951.

MALAYA.—The British High Commissioner orders the collective punishment of the village of Pekan Jelir in Johore province where the Liberation Army is particularly active. The punishment imposed includes a ban on villagers leaving their homes for 18 hours out of 24 and a reduction in the rice ration.

ITALY.—The fight of the marble quarry workers employed by the Henraux Company in Lucca, who have occupied the quarries for the last 58 days, is continuing without respite. A great women's demonstration takes place to demand the payment of wages to their husbands.

NORWAY.—The Preparatory Committee of the Workers' Conference for Peace in Oslo announces that up to now 64 Norwegian trade union organisations, representing 27,000 workers, have supported this conference.

GUATEMALA.—The workers of Pan American Airways win a splendid success: the cost of medical aid, equipment and uniforms will be paid by the company, minimum wage of 75 dollars a week, payment for time lost during the strike and 15 days' paid holiday a year.

November 2

MALAYA.—Wages of rubber plantation workers are reduced by order of the Arbitration Commission charged with settling the differences existing between workers and employers. The President of the puppet rubber workers' trade union accepts this decision.

CHINA.—A delegation of Soviet cultural workers, led by the writer Tikonov and the song and dance ensemble of the Soviet Army arrive in Peking.

ITALY.—During a speech made in Rome, G. Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour and President of the W.F.T.U., emphasises the urgency of strengthening trading relations with the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Democracies.

November 3

FRENCH WEST AFRICA.—In response to the appeal of the C.G.T., the Christian Federation of Trade Unions and the Federation of Independent Railwaymen, the workers carry out a 24-hour general strike in protest against the delay in drawing up a Labour Code. The strike is carried out in complete unity.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The National African Congress announces that it will call a general strike on November 10 in Cape Province if the Municipal Council of Port Elizabeth maintains its refusal to cancel the Bill banning open-air gatherings of Africans.

PAKISTAN.—During a demonstration held in the town of Godschra (Western Punjab) peasants demand the abolition of big holdings and the distribution of land among those who work it.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—A powerful demonstration of African growers takes place in Johannesburg to protest against increases in farm rents. The police intervene, killing and injuring demonstrators.

FRANCE.—A large number of leading personalities and many trade union organisations affiliated to Force Ouvrière and the Christian trade union centre (C.F.T.C.) protest against the imprisonment of Alain Le Léap.

CHILE.—Large demonstrations of railwaymen, peasants, miners, printing workers, and students take place in protest against the fascist law promulgated under the pressure of the Americans and cynically described as a "law for the defence of democracy."

November 4

AUSTRIA.—The "trade union unity" list of the railwaymen achieves great success in the elections of shop stewards compared with those of 1949.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Miners in several Scottish mines go on strike in protest against the refusal to grant their demand for an increase of 30 shillings per week.

U.S.S.R.—The W.F.T.U. delegation, headed by its General Secretary, Louis Saillant, arrives in Moscow to take part in the 35th anniversary celebrations.

BRITISH GUIANA.—A wave of repression is unleashed against sugar plantation workers fighting to win recognition of their trade union.

November 5

U.S.S.R.—The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions sends a telegram to the French C.G.T. in which it expresses its solidarity in the campaign being waged for the release of Alain Le Léap.

ISRAEL.—Following the strike of Arab workers of the Nazareth municipality, demanding equal wages with Jewish workers, the police arrest 53 strikers, among whom are the two leaders of the Arab Trade Union Congress of Israel.

SWEDEN.—Trade union officials of the factory trade union committee of Götawerken (shipyards), representing about 5,000 workers, send a resolution to the government urging it to go on record against the admission of Franco Spain to U.N.E.S.C.O.

ICELAND.—Twenty-three trade union organisations in Reykjavik, representing 86 per cent. of the organised workers of the town, condemn their collective agreement and demand three week's annual holiday with pay and a forty-hour working week without loss of pay.

ITALY.—In the Fonderia Della Cure in Florence, occupied for twenty days by the workers, the fifth casting operation takes place. Numerous political and trade union personalities are present at this operation.

November 6

SWEDEN.—After the break-down in the negotiations for the renewal of their collective agreements, 50,000 workers employed by the State (postal, telephone and telegraph workers, railwaymen, public works, etc.) issue a strike warning for November 17.

ITALY.—Seventy-thousand share croppers and agricultural labourers in Polesina strike for twenty-four hours to demand land improvement and the reclamation of areas devastated by last year's floods.

BELGIUM.—The sale of cards for the support of the Peoples' Congress is increasing in the factories and the mines. Two thousand two hundred and twenty cards have been sold in the big electrical construction enterprise A.C.E.C. in Charleroi, and about 2,700 in the Borinage mines.

November 7

GREAT BRITAIN.—The Merseyside dockers (Liverpool) elect a sponsoring committee of 120 workers for the election of a delegate to the Peoples' Peace Congress.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA.—Following the workers' demonstrations which took place in French West Africa, the French National Assembly begins discussion of a Labour Code for the Overseas Territories.

ITALY.—The Borgofranco Della Cogne mine (Ivrea) is occupied by the workers who are opposing the dismissal of seventeen workers stricken with silicosis.

November 8

AUSTRIA.—The metalworkers' trade union and the Neusiedl miners (Lower Austria) greet the Peoples' Peace Congress to which they are sending a delegate.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Large-scale demonstrations against the Malan government's racial policy take place, principally in the towns of Kimberley and East London.

ALGERIA.—More than 3,000 miners take part in various strike movements throughout the country. In Bou-Caid the strike has reached its thirty-second day. In El-Hadia, the miners have been on strike for eighteen days.

November 9

SOUTH AFRICA.—During the two days' demonstration against racial discrimination which took place in the towns of Kimberley and East London, the police open fire several times on the crowd. More than thirty Africans are killed and a large number wounded.

November 10

JAPAN.—The strike movement for increased wages extends. The Japanese Seamen's Union decides to launch a strike for improved wages and conditions.

NORTHERN RHODESIA.—The report of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies on Northern Rhodesia shows that the average wage of an African copper miner was £3.14 in 1951 for thirty days' work underground.

SOUTH AFRICA.—In Port Elizabeth, 10,000 African workers come out on strike in protest against the racial decrees of Malan's government.

GERMANY.—The International Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem ends in Berlin.

ITALY.—In Plati (Calabria), the whole of the population goes on strike to protest against the shortage of school-rooms which prevents 700 children (the population totals 7,000 inhabitants) from attending school.

November 11

UNITED STATES.—Nearly 30,000 building workers on the construction of the big atomic plant on the Savannah River go on strike.

November 12

JAPAN.—Electrical workers go on strike once again, leaving 700 enterprises without electrical power. The Congress of Japanese Metalworkers decide to send a delegation to the Peoples' Peace Congress.

November 13

JAPAN.—The Council of Ministers adopts the government's draft budget for 1953. It provides for a ten per cent. increase in the price of rice and a ten per cent increase in railway fares.

November 14

AUSTRIA.—After a week's strike, the lorry drivers employed by haulage companies in Vienna obtain a wage increase and go back to work.

JAPAN.—The strike of miners and electrical workers continues unabated. All attempts made by the employers and the government to smash these strikes have failed.

November 15

NORWAY.—The Conference of workers of the Scandinavian countries for Peace opens with the participation of 434 delegates.

ATTENTION ! ALL SUBSCRIBERS !

The next issue — No. 24 — is the last for 1952

We confidently look forward to 1953 as a year in which "WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT" will continue to be more than ever indispensable to every active worker in the field of trade unionism.

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WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

DEC. 16—31, 1952 ★ No. 24

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Liberia—America's African Colony . . . . . Desmond Buckle
Preparing the Fourth C.T.A.L. Congress . . . . V. Lombardo Toledano
Speech to Working Youth . . . . . Benoit Frachon
Scandinavian Workers' Peace Conference . . . . . Jan Dessau
West German Trade Union Congress . . . . . Emil Otto
Plantation Labour in Ceylon . . . . . N. Sanmugathasan
The Soviet Union Creates Happiness in Peace

Italian Food Workers' Tactics • Spotlight on El Salvador, U.S. Comics, Maoris in New Zealand • World Press Review • Fortnightly Record

Our duty, and the duty of the workers of the whole world, is to prevent the warmongers from carrying out their monstrous plans and their new bloody conspiracy against mankind. We shall succeed if we are united and resolute in this joint struggle.

Appeal to the workers of all lands on the rearmament of Germany and Japan. (W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, Vienna, June 14, 1952)

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

English Editor:
T. F. McWHINNIE

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CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

Vienna, December 12 to 21, 1952

Address to the Governments

of the

Five Great Powers

☆

Appeal of the Congress

of the

Peoples for Peace

SUPPLEMENT TO WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT No. 24, 1952

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   (c) "Fortnightly Record"?.....

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7. Could you yourself assist with the sale in your workplace, trade union organisation or locality?.....

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Use the other side for your answers if necessary ➡

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December, 1952

Dear Reader,

It is over 3½ years now since the review "World Trade Union Movement" first appeared. During this time, as you yourself may have noticed, we have consistently tried to improve both the content and the presentation.

However, we are far from thinking that we have fully achieved our aims, namely:-

> To keep our readers informed on the most important and significant trade union events in the capitalist and colonial countries and in the socialist world.
>
> To assist organisations and active trade unionists to carry on the working class struggle more effectively by providing a systematic exchange of trade union experiences and a good theoretical background. To deepen the understanding of the great united movement of the workers of the world for bread, liberty and peace.
>
> To tirelessly and factually expose the policy of oppression, poverty and war of the imperialist governments and the great monopolies, and the disruptive tactics of the 'splitters' who throw overboard the interests of the working class.

A great deal remains to be done if we are to satisfy the needs of our readers and give them a Review which will be a real weapon for struggle and education.

We are therefore writing to you, as a reader, so that by your criticisms and suggestions you can help us to improve the Review.

If you would care to discuss the attached questionnaire with your friends and reply to all or any of the questions put we would be very grateful for your advice and comments. In doing so you are by no means limited to the questions on the attached sheet; remarks of any kind on the character of our Review will be received with interest and studied.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

T. F. McWHINNIE,

English Editor,

"World Trade Union Movement."

Address to the Governments of the Five Great Powers

THE necessity of renouncing the use of force as a means of settling international conflicts becomes daily ever more urgent.

Six hundred million men and women throughout the world have already put their names to a demand that the Five Great Powers should negotiate and conclude a Pact of Peace.

The representatives of important sections of opinion have also expressed their desire that resort to force should be abandoned in favour of negotiation.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace, meeting at Vienna on December 12, 1952, expressing the will of mankind, solemnly invites the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France to open the negotiations on which peace depends.

Agreement between the Five Great Powers, the conclusion of a Pact of Peace will put an end to international tension and will save the world from the greatest misfortune.

This is the demand of all peoples.

Appeal of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace

BY proposing the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, the World Council of Peace showed its desire to unite the noble efforts of various movements, organisations and viewpoints which, though they differ on many matters, long for agreement between the peoples and desire to struggle jointly against war and to build peace.

Free discussion has demonstrated a unanimous desire to put an end to the policy of force that has brought so much misery and threatens to lead mankind to catastrophe.

We hold that there are no differences between States that cannot be settled by negotiation.

Enough of destroying towns and countries, enough of piling up weapons of slaughter, enough of preaching hate and calling for war! It is high time to discuss, high time to agree!

We call on the Governments of the Five Great Powers, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, the People's Republic of China, and France, on whom so largely depends the peace of the world, we call on them at once to start negotiating to conclude a Pact of Peace.

A tremendous responsibility rests on the Governments of the Five Great Powers. The peoples await their answer. The peoples will do their uttermost to make the spirit of negotiation prevail.

We call for all hostilities in Korea to cease immediately. While towns are shattered and blood flows, agreement becomes impossible. When hostilities have ceased, the parties will more easily reach agreement on the questions at issue between them.

We are convinced that this impartial, just and humane call will evoke support from every person of goodwill.

We call also for the immediate ending of hostilities in Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Malaya, with unqualified respect for the right to independence of the peoples concerned.

We call for an end to the violence employed

to stifle the lawful national aspirations of peoples to independence, as in Tunisia and Morocco.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace proclaims the right of all peoples to self-determination and to choose their own way of life without any interference in their internal affairs, whatever motive be invoked in justification. The national independence of every State constitutes the essential condition of peace.

We protest against all racial discrimination which is an insult to the human conscience and aggravates the danger of war.

We are convinced that military pacts whereby the stronger involves the weaker, the presence on one nation's territory of the bases and troops of another, constitute a serious danger to the security of that nation, which might find itself involved in a war against its will.

We hold that a State which takes no part in a coalition and accepts no foreign troops on its territory must be guaranteed against the threat of aggression, declared or hidden.

The ashes of the last war threaten to again burst into flames in both Europe and Asia. However, negotiation can and must achieve a peaceful solution of the German and the Japanese problem.

We consider that a Peace Treaty, excluding participation in any military alliance directed against any country whatsoever, must be concluded at the earliest possible moment with a united, democratic Germany, a Germany where there shall be no room for the Nazism and militarism that have brought such woe to Europe.

We propose the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Japan that shall end the occupation and allow the Japanese people to return to the fellowship of peaceful nations.

We hold that negotiations must be resumed on a State Treaty for Austria which shall free the country from foreign occupation.

We have heard the reports on the use of bacteriological warfare made by famous experts from different countries who went to Korea and China.

Deeply concerned by these reports, we categorically demand the immediate prohibition of biological warfare and the adherence of all States to the Geneva Protocol of 1925. The great achievements of science must not become a means of destroying millions of defenceless human beings. At the same time we demand an absolute ban on atomic, chemical and all other means of exterminating civil populations.

We criticise those short-sighted people who claim that the arms drive is capable of strengthening a country's security. We are convinced that, on the contrary, the arms drive strengthens the threat to all countries, great and small.

Interpreting the will of the peoples, we urge the immediate opening of negotiations for disarmament that shall be fair and not unilateral. We are sure that effective international control would make possible the carrying out of general, simultaneous, progressive and proportional disarmament.

We support the desire of the representatives of the peoples, who urge that material and cultural exchange between States be renewed as soon as possible. The obstacles to international trade, to the exchange of the achievements of science, literature and the arts, place in jeopardy the well-being and progress of mankind.

We hold that the Charter of the United Nations offers a guarantee of security to all the countries of the world but that this Charter is being infringed in spirit and letter. We urge that the People's Republic of China be enabled to take its rightful seat in the United Nations. We urge likewise the admission of the fourteen nations who have as yet been unable to raise their voices there.

We urge, finally, that the United Nations should become once more a place for finding agreement between the governments and should not continue to disappoint the hopes reposed in it by all peoples of the world. The peoples long to live in peace, whatever their regimes or supreme aim. War is hated by every people, war throws its shadow over every cradle. It is within the power of the peoples to change the course of events and to give back to mankind its confidence in a peaceful tomorrow.

We call on the peoples of the world to struggle for the spirit of negotiation and agreement, for the right of man to peace.

EDITORIAL

Defend the Rights of Young Workers

AS many of our readers know, a meeting of very great importance will take place in Vienna from March 22 to 27, 1953—the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth.

The initiative in this was first taken by the young workers of Holland. In July 1951, some young workers belonging to various organisations, with different political and religious convictions, but united in their desire to undertake joint action against the attacks being made on their interests, called upon the youth organisations of various countries, and also the national and international trade union organisations. They appealed "to their sense of responsibility towards the youth of the whole world," and asked them "to open up a discussion on the fight for the defence of the rights of the youth of all countries" with a view to the calling of an international conference.

The difficulties which young people have to face in the capitalist and colonial countries are so grave, and the threats which darken their future are so serious, that this appeal found an immediate response. Committees for the Defence of the Rights of Youth were set up in workshops, factories, schools, universities, rural areas and towns. National Sponsoring Committees were set up, together with a broad representative International Initiative Committee which has been joined by men and women of the most varied professions and ideologies, including workers and intellectuals, students and professors, artists, sportsmen, trade union militants, journalists and members of the clergy.

In response to the invitation which was addressed to it by the International Initiative Committee, as to the other international trade union centres, the World Federation of Trade Unions is directly represented on that Committee by its President, G. Di Vittorio, one of its Vice-Presidents, A. Le Léap, and its General Secretary, Louis Saillant. At the last meeting of its General Council in Berlin in November 1951, the W.F.T.U. examined the problems of youth, and in one of its resolutions recommended as a task of particular importance that the W.F.T.U. executive bodies, the national trade union centres and the Trade Unions International should *devote more attention to the defence of the demands of young male and female workers everywhere, particularly at their place of work, help in the organisation of and participate in the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth and take part at all levels in the preparatory conferences.*

How would it be possible for the trade unions not to consider it a fundamental part of their struggle to defend those who are the future working class and who.

precisely because of this, are subjected to particularly severe attacks by employers and governments? How would it be possible for us not to place in the forefront of our considerations the defence of those who are in the vanguard of the fight against war preparations?

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THE most terrible of the weapons turned against the young workers—and also the most dangerous in its long-term consequences—is certainly unemployment. There are those who become unemployed through being dismissed after working for a period of time, and those who look in vain for a job when they leave school.

In Western Germany 28 per cent of the unemployed are youth; 450,000 of those who left school in 1950 have not found work, and 750,000 of those who left school in 1951 are without jobs. *In Italy,* it appears from official statistics that there were 564,588 young people in December 1951 who were looking for their first job, as against 306,171 in October 1948—an increase of nearly 85 per cent.

To plunge the youth into the sufferings of unemployment is a practice employed deliberately and consciously by the big imperialist employers, who want to recruit soldiers for their armies of aggression and for their corps of police and militia from among the distressed young unemployed.

Imperialist monopoly capital inflicts unemployment on young people in its most violent forms and with deliberate discrimination in order to prevent young men and women workers from learning a trade, to hold back millions of young men and women from becoming an effective part of the great working class family, and thus from becoming involved in working class struggles and to thrust into despair and ideological confusion a youth of whose militancy, desire for a better life and attachment to peace, they are rightly apprehensive.

Discrimination against young people, however, is not limited only to the matter of unemployment. There is discrimination in all spheres, and above all on the question of wages. The general inadequacy of wages is made even worse for the youth by the practice of establishing wage-scales according to age. To this must be added the closing down of apprenticeship centres, already insufficient in number. and the difficulty or impossibility for the sons and daughters of workers to attend trade schools. Thus a large proportion of the youth are maintained at the level of unskilled workers, and that also is in line with the demands of the imperialist war policy, which is dismantling the industries of the Atlantic Pact countries and forbidding any industrialisation of the colonial and dependent countries.

Unemployment, low wages, American-style "productivity," lack of housing. all these and other features which of necessity arise from the policy of war preparation and the reduction of budget allocations for civilian expenditure, from the breaking off of international East-West economic relations, have brought the living conditions of the working youth to an appallingly low level. The few "rights" which have been granted to the youth are a mere matter of form. There can also be no question of any real right to leisure and holidays for the working youth when they are deprived of the means to enjoy this right. Even where this right exists, it is continually threatened, as are the political rights of youth. whose newspapers are suppressed or attacked and whose militant representatives and members are thrown into prison.

The rural youth in the capitalist countries, and the youth of the colonial and

dependent countries as a whole, are subjected to particularly miserable conditions. Wages are even lower for them than in industry in the capitalist countries. They are subjected to even worse ravages of unemployment. In Southern Italy there are agricultural regions in which young day-labourers work only a few weeks a year, and the average period of work in the colonial countries can be counted in days. Illiteracy, child labour, tuberculosis and slums are general features which have been described on numerous occasions.

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FACED with the terrible situation in all the colonial and dependent countries, with the even darker outlook arising from war preparations and the abandonment of peace-time industries, with the continually intensified exploitation of labour, working youth throughout the world are making spirited preparations for the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth.

Their awakened consciousness and their militancy have been further stimulated by the objective assessments which they have been able to make of the situation of the youth in the socialist countries, and by the comparisons to which these give rise. In those countries there is neither unemployment nor fear of unemployment, but abundant work for all to suit the individual talent of each. There, no discrimination exists in the matter of wages, but there is rigorous application of the principle of "equal pay for equal work." No obstacles exist to the attainment of skill, but, on the contrary, a tremendous demand for the highest skill in a society which is completely engaged in building a new world and which is placing at the disposal of the youth a continually increasing network of trade schools and facilities for general education. In these countries there is no fiction where the rights to medical care, holidays, leisure, culture and sport are concerned; the opportunities for the youth to enjoy these rights as a result of free and complete social insurance, high wages, rest-homes and sports grounds really do exist. There is no shortage of housing, but the assurance of homes for all.

The young workers of the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, determined to win improvements in their situation, are making their preparations for the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth through their trade union struggles and by their own activities adapted to the specific conditions of the various countries, localities, or enterprises.

There have been outstanding achievements, and their example has stimulated the conference preparations. We would only recall the great fight of the Belgian youth against the two-year period of military service[1] and the strike of the British engineering apprentices for a £1 per week wage increase.[2]

Innumerable preparatory meetings have been held, both on the job in the factories or based on a particular branch of industry, locality or region, organised by a trade union or a Trades Council in co-operation with youth organisations and in the widest unity, regardless of political affiliations or religious convictions. Immediate demands have been formulated on wages, holiday and leisure pursuits, hours and conditions of work, industrial training, etc. War preparations have been declared to be the basic cause of the tragic situation of the youth.

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1 See **World Trade Union Movement**, No. 17/52. Spotlight on Belgium.
2 See **World Trade Union Movement**, No. 9/52.

In Italy, young men and women workers of all viewpoints presented to the 3rd Congress of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) a "Unity Programme of the Youth," which was the result of splendid preparatory trade union work carried on at all levels both in the towns and in the countryside. This programme contains all the basic demands of the Italian working youth to meet its aspirations for work, education, leisure pursuits and peace. This is a great contribution to the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth.

An increasingly large number of activities are being developed in France in preparation for the conference. In all of these we find members of the C.G.T., of the Union of French Republican Youth (U.J.R.F.), the Christian Youth (J.O.C.) and other young peoples' organisations working in fraternal unity to sign joint appeals and resolutions dealing with the vital problems of the French youth—wages, technical education, the return to a one-year period of military service, etc.

News of great significance is coming in from other parts of the world also. In Finland, for example, eight youth trade union sections have undertaken a broad campaign of preparatory work in the factories, villages and schools. In Australia, during a representative meeting of young trade unionists in Melbourne the young workers decided to call a conference for the State of Victoria, and set up a permanent committee representing the railway workers, sugar refinery workers, printers and electricians. In Iran there have been hundreds of preparatory meetings, bringing together thousands of young men and women, students, industrial and agricultural workers. Of special note, as a characteristic feature, is the reply made by the young workers of the Abadan oil refineries to an appeal from the young oilworkers of Venezuela. In Western Germany, 200,000 copies of the International Initiative Committee's appeal have been distributed.

The whole character of the preparatory work reveals the fundamental importance of the role already played and to be played by the trade unions. To help the youth to draw up their demands, first in meetings on the job, and then in regional and national conferences, to unite on this basis young men and women workers of all political and religious convictions, and to help them to understand better the fatal consequences of a policy of war is the indispensable contribution which the trade unions have to make to the preparations for the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth, and one of their prior tasks in the present period.

Preparing the Fourth C.T.A.L. Conference

by **V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO**
Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and President of the C.T.A.L.

The Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.) was founded in Mexico City fourteen years ago. Ever since its establishment it has systematically carried on a determined and enthusiastic struggle in line with the principles laid down in its programme in order to attain the objectives set by its Constituent Assembly.

THE main item in the C.T.A.L. programme is the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the working class of Latin America, linked with the liberation struggle of the twenty sister-nations of the American hemisphere from the yoke of foreign imperialism. The C.T.A.L. has been, and is, the standard-bearer of the national revolutions for the complete independence of the Latin American peoples.

In accordance with its Constitution, the C.T.A.L. is governed by the Central Committee and the General Congress of the Confederation. The Central Committee elects a Secretariat, which has its headquarters in Mexico City, and which is the responsible permanent leadership of the Confederation. The Central Committee meets once a year, and the General Congress every three years. Up to the present, the Central Committee has held two meetings in Mexico City and one meeting in each of the following: Havana, Montevideo, San José de Costa Rica, Milan (Italy), Bucharest (Rumania) and Vienna (Austria). The General Congress has met twice in Mexico City and once each in Cali (Colombia) and Paris (France). The Fourth General Congress will be held during the last week of February 1953, either in Santiago de Chile or in Mexico City.

Since the foundation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in which the organisations affiliated to the C.T.A.L. participated, the C.T.A.L. has been considered as the liaison body between the W.F.T.U. and the Latin American working class. It has thus, since 1945, fulfilled the role of representative of the world working class movement in the vast territories of the American continent from Mexico to the Rio de la Plata.

The last meeting of the C.T.A.L. Central Committee was held in Mexico City from September 17 to 20, 1952. It was one of the most important meetings in the history of the C.T.A.L. Under the special conditions in which the C.T.A.L. was formed, its Constitution provides complete autonomy for the organisations affiliated to it. Neither the President nor the Secretary of the C.T.A.L. can interfere in the internal affairs of its affiliated organisations without previous request. Taking into consideration the experience of the fourteen preceding years of the C.T.A.L's existence, its Central Committee decided to strengthen the direct liaison between the C.T.A.L. Secretariat and the national centres, either by sending members of the Secretariat to the various countries or by visits of leading members of the national centres to the Confederation headquarters, in order to examine the various questions affecting the member organisations.

Another important decision provided that the C.T.A.L. Secretariat, as well as the leading committees of the national centres and affiliated bodies, should develop and lead the struggles of the working class by faithfully applying the united action policy outlined by the W.F.T.U. In this connection, despite the discussions and decisions of the W.F.T.U. from the Budapest meeting of the Executive Committee to the General Council meeting in Berlin, and despite the joint discussion between the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau and the C.T.A.L. Central Committee in Bucharest, we must recognise that some of the Latin American trade union organisations have not yet fully understood the tremendous importance of the policy of united action for winning the concrete objectives of all the workers, and they still have a tendency towards that spirit of sectarianism which has for many years characterised large sectors of the Latin American trade union movement. This resolution, together with the one mentioned earlier, will contribute to increasing the authority and prestige of the C.T.A.L. among the mass of the workers and peasants of the American continent, and thereby the authority and prestige of the W.F.T.U.

Of equal importance was the decision that the national centres and organisations affiliated to the C.T.A.L. should try to meet their financial obligations more regularly, and thus enable the Secretariat in Mexico City to operate more efficiently and to extend the C.T.A.L's activities. The Central Committee, which consists of the principal leaders of the

C.T.A.L. and the best cadres of the trade union movement which the W.F.T.U. has in the American hemisphere, took important decisions in this connection, which in the near future should provide the C.T.A.L. with the possibilities of carrying out its tasks under better conditions.

Another important decision was that establishing the forms and methods by which effective and direct relations will be maintained between the Latin American working class movement, the W.F.T.U. Secretariat and the Trade Unions Internationals (Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.). Because of the weakness of the industrial development of Latin American countries, there are few industrial unions which can become part of the Trade Unions Internationals of the W.F.T.U., and the industries covered by these latter organisations do not correspond to the branches of industry which have developed in Latin America. The majority of these countries are still agricultural countries and exporters of raw materials. Manufacturing industry is weak, and basic or heavy industry is only just beginning to develop in Mexico, the Argentine and Brazil to support manufacturing industry. The main industry of all the Latin American nations is textiles, the typical industry of semi-colonial countries. The C.T.A.L. Central Committee has decided to set up a special bureau of the Secretariat to deal with matters affecting the W.F.T.U. Trade Departments in order to promote the affiliation of industrial unions and federations to the Trade Departments and to co-ordinate the tasks of these groups, to undertake studies, to establish minimum programmes of activities, to call industrial conferences and congresses for Latin America and for the American continent, and to serve as an overall and effective liaison between the W.F.T.U. Trade Departments and the corresponding Latin American organisations.

On this question, the Central Committee took the necessary measures to enable the C.T.A.L. regional committees which were set up some time ago to begin to function regularly, and to enable them to fulfil the role for which they are designed, within a specified time. It is planned to establish a South Atlantic Regional Committee, with headquarters in Montevideo, to deal with trade union problems in Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and the Argentine. A South Pacific Regional Committee, with headquarters in Santiago de Chile, will deal with the problems of the working class movement in Chile, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. A Caribbean Regional Committee will deal with trade union problems in Cuba, the West Indies, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama. Central American trade union problems will be the direct responsibility of the C.T.A.L. Secretariat in Mexico.

These bodies, which will be auxiliaries of the C.T.A.L. Secretariat, will be of valuable service to the Latin American working class movement, for, with the vast expanse of the continent, experience has shown that it is impossible to give immediate help to organisations which are more distant from Mexico than are some European countries. The South Atlantic Regional Committee was set up a few days before the meeting of the Central Committee in Mexico City, and it hoped that the other regional committees will be in full swing before the holding of the Fourth General Congress of the Confederation.

Another important resolution is that which the Central Committee adopted on the problems of the trade union Press and propaganda. The C.T.A.L. Secretariat is publishing the W.F.T.U. magazine *World Trade Union Movement* in Spanish, but this work is still meeting with serious difficulties. Fully aware of the great importance of this magazine in providing information to the workers and raising their level of trade union education in the spirit of working class internationalism, the Central Committee has adopted new measures in order to ensure its regular appearance and wide distribution among the mass of the workers throughout Latin America.

The Central Committee also decided to give the Fourth General Congress of the Confederation the character of an assembly of delegates from the national centres and affiliated organisations and of representatives elected in the factories and work places. This is being done in order that the main branches of production and the public services in each country may be represented. It also decided to invite all independent bodies to express freely their opinions on the programme and line of the W.F.T.U., and to send a direct invitation to the Inter-American Workers' Organisation (O.R.I.T.) which is linked to the I.C.F.T.U., and to the Latin American Trade Union Committee recently set up in Paraguay under the auspices of the Argentine Central Confederation of Labour, whose aim is to found a new Latin American body representing the so-called third position or "justicialismo" put forward by the President of the Argentine, General Juan Domingo Peron.

The Fourth General Congress of the C.T.A.L. will hold a thorough discussion on the programme and policy of the W.F.T.U. in the light of the concrete problems of the Latin American workers, in order to show even more clearly that the W.F.T.U. is the only organisation which really and effectively fights with courage and working class understanding for the rights of the working class, for the rights of the oppressed peoples of the world and the interests of all humanity, linking its work with the problem of the maintenance of peace among the nations.

Such were the main decisions of the September 1952 meeting of the C.T.A.L. Central Committee. Such is the new spirit which prevails among the leading cadres of the C.T.A.L. and the W.F.T.U. on the American continent at a time when working class struggles are extending throughout Latin America, presaging a new peak in the working class movement of our countries, which has found the way to defend its own interests and those of its peoples in spite of the tremendous pressure of United States imperialism.

The World Federation of Trade Unions will in the immediate future take the leadership in even more heroic efforts of the Latin American trade union movement.

LONG LIVE UNITED ACTION BETWEEN THE LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS

• *Appeal by the C.T.A.L. for the preparation of its Fourth Congress*

Working Men and Women, Peasants and Intellectuals of Latin America!

THE Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.), founded in 1938 to defend the economic and social interests of the working class and to emancipate the Latin American nations from the yoke of imperialism—objectives to which it has devoted all its energies without fail or compromise—again appeals to all men and women who live by the fruits of their own labour in the twenty sister-Republics of our continent to take part in joint struggle for the basic demands of the workers, peasants and office employees—of all workers, whatever their political, ideological or religious opinions.

The situation compels us—workers and their leaders—to take part together in concrete activities with no other purpose than to obtain by our united strength, and for the benefit of all without any frontier limitations, a decent standard of living and the guarantee of a peaceful and democratic life.

Brothers and Sisters of Latin America!

LET us fight for increased wages, for price stabilisation, for social security and social insurance, for respect for the right to strike, for effective protection for women and youth, for the workers' right to freedom of association, for an independent and constructive national economy in each and every one of our countries.

We are going through a difficult period, full of privations and sacrifices imposed on the workers and our peoples by their internal and external enemies, but we can enter into a new stage of well-being and progress if we are able to unite in our activity instead of fighting separately.

Brothers and Sisters of Latin America!

LET us meet together in every factory, every workshop, every peasant community, every centre of work, every region, in each branch of production and public service in every country, to discuss common action for our common demands, while respecting each one's trade union affiliation, opinions and beliefs.

Only united action for immediate and essential objectives can save the workers and the broad masses of our peoples from greater poverty and heavier sacrifices.

The Fourth Ordinary General Congress of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America will meet in Quito, Ecuador*, in the last week of February 1953. All groups of workers without exception, are invited without any obligation to attend this meeting. All workers may send their proposals in advance to the C.T.A.L. Secretariat for the Congress.

Long live the united action of the workers of Latin America!

Long live Latin America, mistress of her own will and freed from the reactionary forces of imperialism!

"For the Emancipation of Latin America."

The Secretariat of the Central Committee

JOSE MORERA	VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO	LOURIVAL VILLAR
Secretary	President	Secretary

ENRIQUE RAMIREZ Y RAMIREZ

Mexico City, October 6, 1952.

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* Since the publication of this appeal, the Ecuador government has refused the necessary permission. The C.T.A.L. Secretariat, therefore, plans to hold the Congress either in Santiago de Chile or Mexico City.

Scandinavian Workers' Peace Conference

☆ A Delegation Elected to the Peoples' Peace Congress

By JAN DESSAU

THE Peace Conference of the Workers of the Scandinavian Countries was held in Oslo on November 15 and 16, the first of its kind which had taken place in these countries.

Coming from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, 430 elected delegates and 22 observers, representing all trends of opinion in the working class of these countries, were able to reach a real, sincere agreement based on respect for one another's opinions and bearing on the need for the fight for peace, on the direction to be given to this fight and on concrete specific decisions to extend it.

The Conference, which was organised on the initiative of over 60 trade union representatives of the Scandinavian countries, was preceded by widespread preparations.

The 167 delegates from Norway, and the 81 from Sweden, to take only these two countries as examples, besides representing those workers who directly took part in their election, also spoke for hundreds of thousands of other workers. Thousands of local and factory trade union branches discussed the Conference; hundreds of motions of support were unanimously passed in general meetings of workers; dozens of organisations helped to organise the Conference although unable to send a delegate (organisational difficulties were very great: for example, it is as far from the north of Norway to Oslo as it is from Oslo to Rome).

Workers of all viewpoints took an active part in this preparation. The following are a few characteristic examples of this activity.

In Fredriksstad, Norway, the workers in a shoe factory elected as their delegate Arne Melby, well-known in the town as an active pacifist. Accused by the local Social Democrat newspaper of "camouflaging a Communist manoeuvre," Melby asked the publishers of this paper to come to the Conference to defend their ideas. They did not reply, but unanimous support of the factory workers was gained for the Conference.

At Vesteras, in Sweden, a general meeting of the trade union organisation in the important ASEA factory did not elect a delegate to the Conference because of the abstention of a few reactionary bureaucrats. An inaugural committee was immediately formed in the factory which explained the importance of the Conference to the workers and sent round collection sheets. A week later the committee organised a meeting of the workers in the factory during which a delegate was elected.

In the Siwetz cable factory in Stockholm, Sam Jonsson, elected delegate at a general meeting, passed collection sheets round to raise the necessary money for his trip to which 380 workers of all opinions in the factory contributed.

The trade union organisation of the women metalworkers in Copenhagen (Section 5) of the Federation of Trade Unions of Women Workers, sent six delegates to the Conference, two Communists, two Social Democrats and two non-party, four of whom were elected in general meetings of the women in important electro-technical factories and two at a meeting of 1,200 unemployed women workers from the Copenhagen engineering industry.

Many more such examples could be given as evidence of good preparatory work.

A Useful Discussion

THE Oslo Conference was a very lively one.

More than 50 speakers, reflecting all the diversity of the Scandinavian countries, took part in the debates. There were the calm and stolid Finns, the thoughtful, sedate Swedes, the more impassioned Danes, the southerners and eloquent speakers of the northern regions, and the highly-strung and resolute Norwegians, all however, with similar traditions and the mutual understanding which closely unites the workers of these countries.

Their traditions in the fight for peace were recalled. For example, a Swedish miner reminded the delegates that when Norway, which had for a century been a Swedish province, regained her freedom in 1905, the workers of Sweden en masse went on strike to the cry of "No war against our Norwegian brothers."

The sufferings of the last war were recalled. The representative of the Finnish war disabled was able to tell why the people of Finland would never again go to war against the Soviet Union; the Danes and Norwegians, recalling the Nazi occupation and the unity of the resistance, expressed their anxiety at the rearmament of Western Germany and the release of war criminals; the Swedish workers expressed the certainty that were it allowed to break out, a third world war would not spare their country.

Several delegates—Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic—expressed the opinion that membership in the Atlantic Pact would constitute, not only a threat to peace, but a serious attack on the independence of their countries.

In particular, there was firm denunciation of the

consequences of rearmament, the rise in prices, heavy taxation, unemployment, the intensification of speed-up. In a moving speech, Grete Lund, delegate from the unemployed women metalworkers of Copenhagen, described the distress of unemployed women, often mothers of families. One of them had said at the meeting where she was elected, "We cannot go on living like this any longer, we must take an interest in these questions even if it costs a great deal to send a delegate to Oslo."

Above everything there was the will to achieve unity for the defence of peace.

The speech most applauded was certainly that of Knud Kristiansen, the Vice-President of the Oslo plumbers.

"I am a Social Democrat," said Kristiansen, "and I came to the conference with certain reservations. I have heard some attacks against the Social Democrats from the platform, but I do not want to reply to them. For the working class movement must be imbued with one central idea which overrides political fractions—to ensure peace for all peoples of the world. At the present time, the working class movement here is often passive. But in my trade union there is a Peace Committee which is working effectively and of which I am President. Let us therefore go to the work places. Let us not ask the workers if they are Social Democrats, Communists or anything else, but let us ask them if they want to follow a policy which will guarantee peace."

It should be noted that unity has spread from the rank and file of the working class. Representatives of other organisations, other social sections, peasants, delegates from associations of the disabled, tenants' associations, and women's organisations all took part in the Conference, giving eloquent proof that the working class of the Scandinavian countries is not isolated in its action against war.

The Decision

THE decisions taken by the Conference show that positive work was accomplished.

The general resolution, after pointing out the dangers and denouncing the effects of rearmament on the workers' living standards, declares:

"Peace can be won if we succeed in bringing the peace forces together . . . War cannot be waged without us, and peace cannot be ensured without us.

"For us, who want to be able to raise our living standards, and who wish to give our children the possibility of receiving education and training, the principal task is the fight to preserve peace. It is only under peaceful conditions, and only if rearmament is stopped and armaments reduced, that we shall be able to benefit from our work, that our wages will improve, that taxation will be lowered and that social achievements can be increased.

"Let us unite to demand from the governments of our countries a foreign policy which is aimed at the maintenance of peace. . . . Let us demand that the great powers solve their conflicts by negotiation . . . Let us demand that destructive rearmament be replaced by general disarmament. Let us demand peace in Korea and the exchange of prisoners of war according to international conventions. Let us demand the banning of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Let us support the forces fighting for a united, democratic Germany living in friendly collaboration with its neighbours. Let us demand the establishment of normal trading relations and free cultural exchanges between all countries, which would put an end to the cold war. . .

"Let us unite in the fight for peace. Let us set up peace committees in the trade unions and places of work, to broaden and increase our work for peace. . ."

In a second resolution, the Conference unanimously greeted the Peoples' Peace Congress, called on the workers of the Scandinavian countries to support it and elected nine delegates—two Danes, two Swedes, two Norwegians, two Finns and one Icelander—to take part in the Congress as representatives of the Oslo Conference. These delegates will not, of course, be the only workers from the Scandinavian countries present at the Conference.

Thus, the general resolution was immediately applied in a concrete manner.

A third resolution is of such importance to the international trade union movement that it should be quoted in full. Here it is:

"One of the objectives of our Conference is to achieve unity of the workers of the Scandinavian countries in the fight for a lasting peace. We consider that the Conference can contribute to this. But it is also desirable that unity be achieved among the workers of the whole world.

"That is why the Conference calls on all three International Trade Union Federations—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Christian Workers and the World Federation of Trade Unions, asking them to discuss methods of uniting all workers in the common fight for peace, and together to call on their members to unite their forces in this common struggle for the most vital need of humanity—peace."

At this stage, we should note that the World Federation of Trade Unions, through its proposals for united action between workers of all trade union affiliations, and by its unceasing fight for unity, is acting in line with this important appeal of the workers of the Scandinavian countries.

Finally, the Conference opposed the arrest of Alain Le Léap, General Secretary of the French C.G.T. and Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., and demanded his release. This is important evidence of international solidarity which will contribute to freeing Alain Le Léap, imprisoned for his activity for peace and for his support of the interests of the workers of France and the whole world.

In truth, the Peace Conference of the Workers of the Scandinavian countries has done useful and positive work. It will be followed by broad and intensive work which will considerably raise the level of the fight of the workers and peoples of these countries for peace and will contribute to the growth of the world peace forces.

THE PEOPLES' PEACE CONGRESS

As we go to Press, an event which will have an immeasurable bearing on the fate of mankind is already under way in Vienna, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

In our next issue we shall deal at full length with this great meeting.

Speech to Working Youth

by

BENOIT FRACHON

General Secretary of the French C.G.T. at the Metalworkers Congress in Lyons

IT is not easy to speak to young people, and to speak about youth, especially when it concerns the young sons and daughters of the people.

Not that there is any lack of people who will boldly tackle the job. You young people will always find plenty of advisers among older people who want to give you the benefit of their experience.

They are generally serious gentlemen who have made careers for themselves.

Satisfied Ministers who will speak to you of your duties, who will try to make you proud by depicting the glory of the battlefield. Not, of course, the glory of Valmy, Stalingrad or of the Maquis during the fight against the Hitlerite occupying forces, but the dirty war in Viet-Nam and of the killing of Korean women and children with napalm and germs.

Lovers of laurels gathered by others, laurels which they convert into gold, wet with the blood of the youth.

There are also the worthy moralists who learnedly remind you of your duties to society, without a thought for the sufferings and cares which this society of rich against poor inflicts on you from your earliest years.

Then there are the employers. Those who call themselves good, and those who are not afraid to state that it is necessary to be severe with you who are starting out in life. They talk to you of your duties to the exploiters, and quote the example of some old worker who, after thirty, forty or fifty years of good and loyal service, has been awarded a labour medal seasoned with superfluous and sentimental words—before being thrown on to the street, with or without an old-age pension, like a used up thing from which all the strength has been extracted.

Is it surprising then, that these insipid and self-centred bores can reach neither your hearts nor your minds?

You are sons and daughters of working men. Your fathers and mothers were born into and have lived a life of suffering. Their labour has scarcely permitted them to raise you, but it has served to accumulate immense fortunes for

those who pretend to teach you and dictate to you your duty.

In their eyes you are destined to replace on the assembly line the old medallist, I mentioned, who will miserably drag out the last few years of his existence.

How can they imagine that your young heads are filled with great plans, and that your hearts are overflowing with hope and love of humanity, and that you are capable of conceiving a world different from theirs?

All they are interested in is to tame your young energies and to keep them to the straight and narrow path of the past.

Your generous dreams must be killed at birth; the wings of your youthful imagination must be clipped.

Your enthusiasm, which these learned word-spinners call the illusions of youth and dangerous dreams, must be destroyed and turned to despair from the time you leave school.

And they do their best to bring this about.

In most cases you cannot choose the road you would like to take with a song on your lips.

Not only can you not choose your calling, the one you would like to pursue, but very often you cannot even learn a trade.

You sometimes join the ranks of the unemployed before having worked, and you are in worse straits than the other unemployed, for you will be refused unemployment benefit.

When the time comes for you to set up a home, you will not find a place in which to live and build happiness. Castles and spacious houses are built for the rich, but there are no homes for you.

You will, however, be offered inept and demoralising literature and gangster films, whose object will be to divert your youthful energies from a creative life towards that of immoral adventure, theft and crime.

They will try to make you young girls, who they will either refuse the joy of having a trade, of earning your living and attaining social, economic and political equality with men, or whom the boss will shamefully exploit, paying you a scandalous wage for monotonous, dull and harassing work—they will try to make you forget your misfortunes through stupid and false novels, stories and films.

They will never speak to you of your difficult life, even less of ways of changing it.

To you and millions of your comrades, for whom each day brings new troubles, they will show you a woman's life as one of permanent luxury, and you will be shown the little typist marrying her rich employer.

They will lull you in your poverty with dreams, as formerly they lulled the misery of serfs and slaves with superstition, miracles and the promise of a better life in the hereafter.

All this leads us to that distressing spectacle—which brands with dishonour and marks the approaching end of the system which is responsible for it—that of the increasing number of crimes committed by young people, many of them still children, and the recur-

rence of suicides among young boys and girls of from fourteen to seventeen years of age.

They, however, like yourselves, had dreams of better things, and hoped for a different fate.

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THERE are youth in the world who live these splendid dreams as reality, and who are building their own radiant future.

That is for you, young friends, a great hope.

The fact that millions of boys and girls are no longer going through the sufferings which youth are experiencing in France today means that those sufferings are not an inevitable part of human destiny—as people try to make you believe—and it means that they are lying to you in order to discourage you when they tell you "It was like that in your father's and mother's days, and it will always be the same."

Can these things be changed?

Here is a further reason for living and fighting, for killing the despair which your enemies are patiently instilling into your hearts, for transforming this despair into creative struggle which will make each of you into men and women who will not bow to a fate determined by others, but who will look the future full in the face and forge their own future with their own hands.

The strictest precautions and the biggest lies can no longer hide today what the Soviet Union has made of its youth.

The young people of all the capitalist countries know it, just as it is known by, or being learned by, the youth of all races and colours in the countries in which the people are subjected to the domination and savage exploitation of the colonialists.

The most beautiful and the freest youth in the world!

Young people who are learning and learning continuously, and who are working with enthusiasm.

Boys and girls who do not have to ask themselves what will become of them after they leave school.

They are fully occupied with work and study.

They do not have to worry about the disgusting way in which an unscrupulous employer will exploit their difficulties and their need to work. That race of men no longer exists in their country.

Instead, there are boys and girls who sing of life and love; who work joyfully to build a new world, to turn the age-old dream of men into reality, and to build Communism in which there will be both bread and roses for all.

Young men and women workers who are not satisfied with just being skilled workers at the bench, but who study without respite to become engineers and agronomists, who erect gigantic buildings and tackle the most daring transformations of nature, of which man had never even dared to dream before.

What was and remains a dream for the youth of so many countries in the world has become reality for tens of millions of young people.

And because this reality exists, the certainty of a way out has become greater for all young people on earth.

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HOW many of our young men and women workers in France are already overburdened with daily cares!

There are three and a half million young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one working or seeking work in industry and commerce.

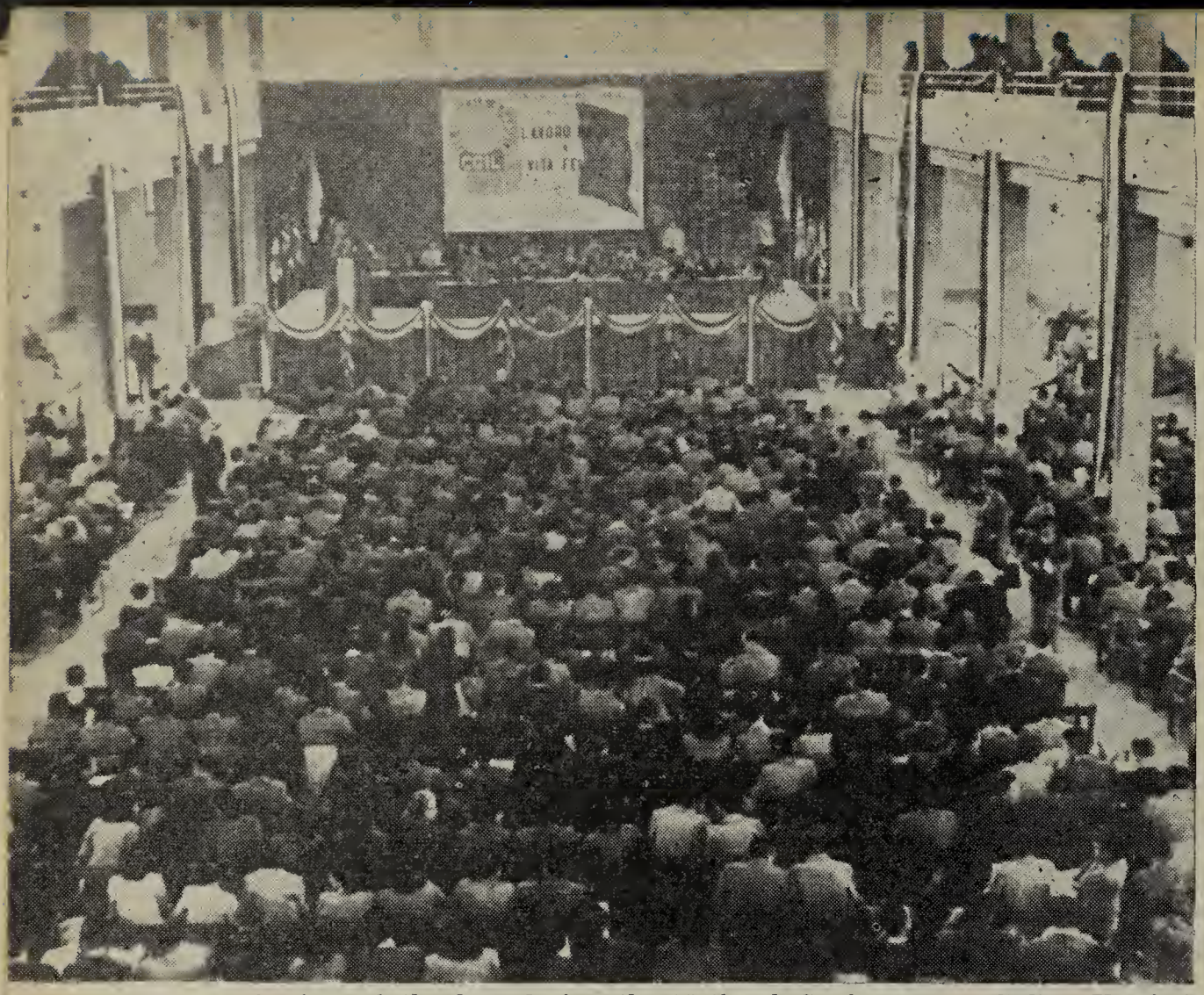
In a well-balanced society, in the right kind of world, they would all be welcomed into apprenticeship schools and technical schools.

With the development of technique and the progress of science in production, there arises the problem of acquiring a solid knowledge for those who do not wish to remain workers at one trade or ordinary labourers. That is where innumerable difficulties arise for young people leaving school and for their parents.

These difficulties are of all kinds, the first of which is the father's difficulties in making ends meet.

If the child enters a trade school or an apprenticeship centre, he will become a burden to his parents for

In the "paradise" of the United States countless children are obliged to work, and work hard, because of the poverty of their parents. Here is a boy emptying his pick-sack of cotton into a waggon trailer.



A view of the hall during the National Conference of Italian Youth in Parma, organised by the Italian General Confederation of Labour. The W.F.T.U. was represented at this conference.

another three years. This is not always possible.

But even in those cases in which this is envisaged, a great many young boys and girls find that there are no places for them in the schools. The State is constantly reducing its already inadequate financial support for technical instruction and training.

Official statistics for the Seine Department for 1950 show that 30 per cent. of young people over fourteen wishing to enter apprenticeship centres were unable to do so. The situation is no better, but even worse, in other Departments.

Since 1950, this situation has become still worse. The government plan (on paper) for the provision of schools stipulates that 8,307 classrooms need to be built for technical education.

There is nothing, however, to lead us to believe that such a programme will be applied to any appreciable degree by the government.

In fact, although the Ministers are marvels at making speeches about youth, they are considering them for purposes other than that of making them into technically equipped capable workers and technicians.

The budget items which are constantly being inflated are not those devoted to education, but those for war. For ends which have nothing to do with the interests or security of the country, our present rulers are more anxious to turn young men into long-term soldiers in the service of foreign interests and under the command of American generals, and perhaps tomorrow under the command of German fascists, than to teach them a trade.

For them, it is more urgent to prolong military service, which they have already extended to 18 months, and which they will further extend to 2 years if we let them get away with it, than it is to build schools and apprenticeship centres.

If we wish to serve youth, we must wage a continual campaign to win for them the chance of learning a trade.

If they want other prospects than those of vegetating all their lives or dying in the service of imperialist greed to satisfy the desire for world domination of the American millionaires, youth must take part with us in the fight to defend peace, change the allocation of credits destined for war and force the allocation of a part of this money to the building of schools and apprenticeship centres.

EVEN that is not enough. Parents must be provided with the means to enable them to send their children to apprenticeship centres for three years.

To open schools without arranging to provide these means would automatically exclude the children of the largest and poorest families.

That is why the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) proposes to you, young workers, to join with it in the struggle for the following demands:

(1) Free canteens and school equipment—the provision of free canteens, which was voted by the National Assembly during the discussion on the 1952 budget, but which has not been applied.

(2) A maintenance bursary of 5,000 francs (£5 or about $14.00) per month, paid for each of the 12 months of the year to each apprentice.

(3) Extension of travel allowances to all apprentices and students.

(4) Annual free allocation of working overalls or smock.

(5) Guarantee of a job at the end of apprenticeship through official organisations with full powers.

In apprenticeship schools and centres run by the employers, the C.G.T. demands first of all a real training in a trade, and not the use of apprentices as errand boys, etc. It demands a wage of 40 per cent. of the trade rate for the first year, 60 per cent. for the second and 80 per cent. for the third.

As you see, these demands and a number of others contained in the programme which you will study tomorrow are quite modest.

It must not be thought that because of this they will be easy to achieve.

A struggle will be necessary to force the government and the employers to accept them, and all your forces, united with those of the adults, will be required in order to gain your ends.

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UNTIL it is possible for all young people to learn a trade, it is necessary to defend those

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On the appeal of a very broad committee set up by young workers of all viewpoints in the Somua automobile and lorry plant in the Paris region, the youth in this factory have signed a letter to their Members of Parliament protesting against the two-year military service.

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young people who become from the age of 14 years the prey to an exploitation which is even more savage in that it is subject to no control.

What happens to these young people, without a trade or any prospect of learning one? Hundreds of thousands of them every year are caught up in blind alley work at ridiculously low wages.

It is not possible to leave so many youths in this situation without both you and us doing something about it, without defending them from the ogres who drain their young strength and coin gold from their young lives.

Young growing men and women cannot be left to the mercies of employers for whom only profits count. We must defend their health and their development.

There are many laws which protect the work of young people, but besides being inadequate, they are far from being enforced.

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A column of young engineers on strike for wage increases marching through the streets of Glasgow.

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We must win our long-standing demand for six hours' work and two hours' paid study for young workers.

To those of you who might think that it is impossible to win this, we would recall the long struggles which we older ones have carried on, for the 10-hour day at first, then for the 8-hour day, then for the 40-hour week and for paid holidays, and the successes which crowned our perservering efforts.

We must defend the youth, and you young people, together with us, must defend yourselves against the tragic consequences of work on the assembly lines, of American-style productivity, and demand periodic rest-periods in the course of the day's work.

You young lads and girls have the right to leisure and to sport.

The C.G.T. proposes to you that we fight together to obtain this for you, and that this should not be given as a favour, as charity from the employers who exploit you, that during your hours and days of relaxation you should not still be under the eye of the employers' inquisitors, but that your sports and leisure organisations should be yours, run by you and for you, and that these organisations should not be chains which tie you even more closely to the machine.

Tomorrow, you will be able to examine and study at your leisure the programme which the C.G.T. has drawn up with the help of its young militants.

There are still a number of things needed in order to complete it and perfect it. We depend on you for suggestions and ideas which will enable us to make it into a good and complete programme.

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WE shall not tell you that it is enough for this programme to be well drawn up in order for it to become a reality. Your young experience has already taught you that nothing is achieved without effort and struggle.

We say to you, on the contrary, that the adults of the C.G.T. cannot help you without your co-operation.

Young miners from Yenakievo in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the Recreation Room of their magnificent Palace of Culture.

You cannot resolve your problems merely by learning a trade. You must also learn to fight. You must learn to unite, to organise, in order to be stronger and to win.

You must serve both these apprenticeships at the same time. That is why the programme which we are submitting to you, and which puts forward the means which will enable it to be won, cannot stop short at your demands.

It must also deal with the organisation of the youth in the C.G.T., the unity of the youth, and their unity with the adults.

I would not like to fall into the trap of the lesson-givers of whom I spoke at the beginning of my speech. You would not like that, and you are quite right.

I know that in our own organisations there are many adult militants who have forgotten what youth is.

We have to make even greater efforts in order that all our trade unions, all C.G.T. militants, understand the importance of the youth problem, and above all, learn to work with the youth.

You are not always understood. There are some who overwhelm you with the superiority of their experience and their knowledge, and naturally you don't like that—it annoys you.

Others look at you with a certain apprehension. Your youthful enthusiasm and your boisterousness frightens them. They either bar the way to you or they do nothing to open up the road for you.

You may be sure that we find people who are afraid of your gaiety. Yes, I assure you it is so. A short while ago, one of our women militants, not very old, was giving her opinion of a young girl worker under twenty years of age who had started in a brilliant way to organise her workmates.

Do you know what she said?

That this young worker was full of good qualities, but that she had one failing. And what was this failing? She was a little light-hearted in her work. **She had been seen to laugh during the course of meetings!**

So laughter and gaiety, the attributes of youth, were imputed to her as a crime.

Yes, of course youth laughs, even in the midst of the worst difficulties.

Doubtless not all young people do laugh. Those who have been overcome by despair no longer laugh. But those who laugh are precisely those whom the struggle

has given reasons for life and hope. They it is who fill the ranks of our organisations.

Among us there is nothing to make young people morose. They can be young, they can be serious, they can take part enthusiastically in the struggle, engage in the sternest battles, be prepared for the greatest sacrifices, and still laugh, be uplifted by the healthy joy of a youth which knows what it wants and where it is going.

We don't want to give you gloomy mentors, sermonisers and bores. What you expect from us is fraternal help, examples, advice given without arrogance and pedantry.

And, above all, we do not want to destroy your initiative.

As you will see tomorrow when you study the programme, we want to leave you the greatest initiative in the organisation of the youth, to allow you within the C.G.T. to learn to fly with your own wings.

Who is better fitted than you to understand youth, its manner of thinking, its sorrows and joys, its desires and its struggles?

What is needed, and what it is indispensable to achieve, is that millions of young workers should have the same confidence in the C.G.T. as is shown by their elders.

No struggle can be carried on enthusiastically and successfully unless the youth take part.

So, young friends, off to work, to organise the working youth with the help of the trade unions.

Forge everywhere — in the schools, the apprenticeship centres, the factories, shops and offices—a real unity of the eager youth which wishes to go forward to life, and not to death, which wishes to learn, and not to allow itself to be dulled by the pernicious propaganda of its enemies, which wishes to work, and not remain unemployed, which wants to work for the good of mankind and to make life beautiful, so that young people may be able to sing and laugh in complete freedom.

Long live the working youth of our country!

Long live the unity of the youth for better conditions of life and for a radiant future!

Long live the unity of youth and adults in our great C.G.T.!

The Soviet Union Creates Happiness in Peace

Statements by British Trade Unionists

● Many trade union delegations composed of workers of various trade union affiliations, political and religious opinions, were invited to the Soviet Union by the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions on the occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Many of those delegates agreed to give our Review their impression on their stay in the country of Socialism.

Following our publication of statements by Australian and New Zealand workers, we now give our readers the interesting opinions of three members of the British delegation.

"If I were a Soviet Miner"

● By H. WATSON

Delegate from the Scottish Area, National Union of Mineworkers.

DURING my visit to the Soviet Union I have been deeply impressed by all that I have seen and there is no doubt in my mind about the Soviet people's desire for peace. Everywhere I talked to the people, whether it was in the factory or pit, theatre or Palace of Culture (and there were many among them who spoke English), their one main topic was peace. Having visited Moscow, Dnieproprętrovsk, Zaperozha and Odessa, the last three places having been occupied by the Germans during the war, I can understand this desire. Despite the vast reconstruction that has taken place in these cities and which is still continuing, the ravages of war are very much to the fore and much more has to be done by the peoples of this country before their towns and cities are completely restored.

It is very hard to compare such a small country as Britain with a large country like the U.S.S.R., but being a miner myself, I can't help comparing the conditions of work and standard of living of the Soviet miner with that of the Scottish miner.

Take my own case. I am a face worker at Devon Pit in Clackmannan, where there is a fair degree of mechanisation except at the coalface where hard manual labour is still required. I earn an average of £12 per 38-hour week. As a Soviet miner, I would be operating a coal-cutting and loading combine machine, in much better conditions, at a wage of 3,500 roubles per month for a 48-hour week, and would be one of the highest paid workers in the Soviet Union. My wife, who at present stays at home looking after our three young children, would, under the Soviet system, be enabled if she wished to work at her own job of cotton spinning to earn about 1,200 roubles per month without any worry about the care of the children, who would receive adequate attention at school or kindergarten. Our eldest son, at present training as a miner at a wage of £3 12s. per week, would be studying mining for 3 to 6 years at one of the magnificently equipped Mining Institutes, while being paid at the industry's basic rate of 600 roubles per month. His miner's clothes, like my own, would be supplied free of charge. The total family income would therefore be in the region of 5,300 roubles per month, from which approximately 200 roubles, about 4 per cent of income,

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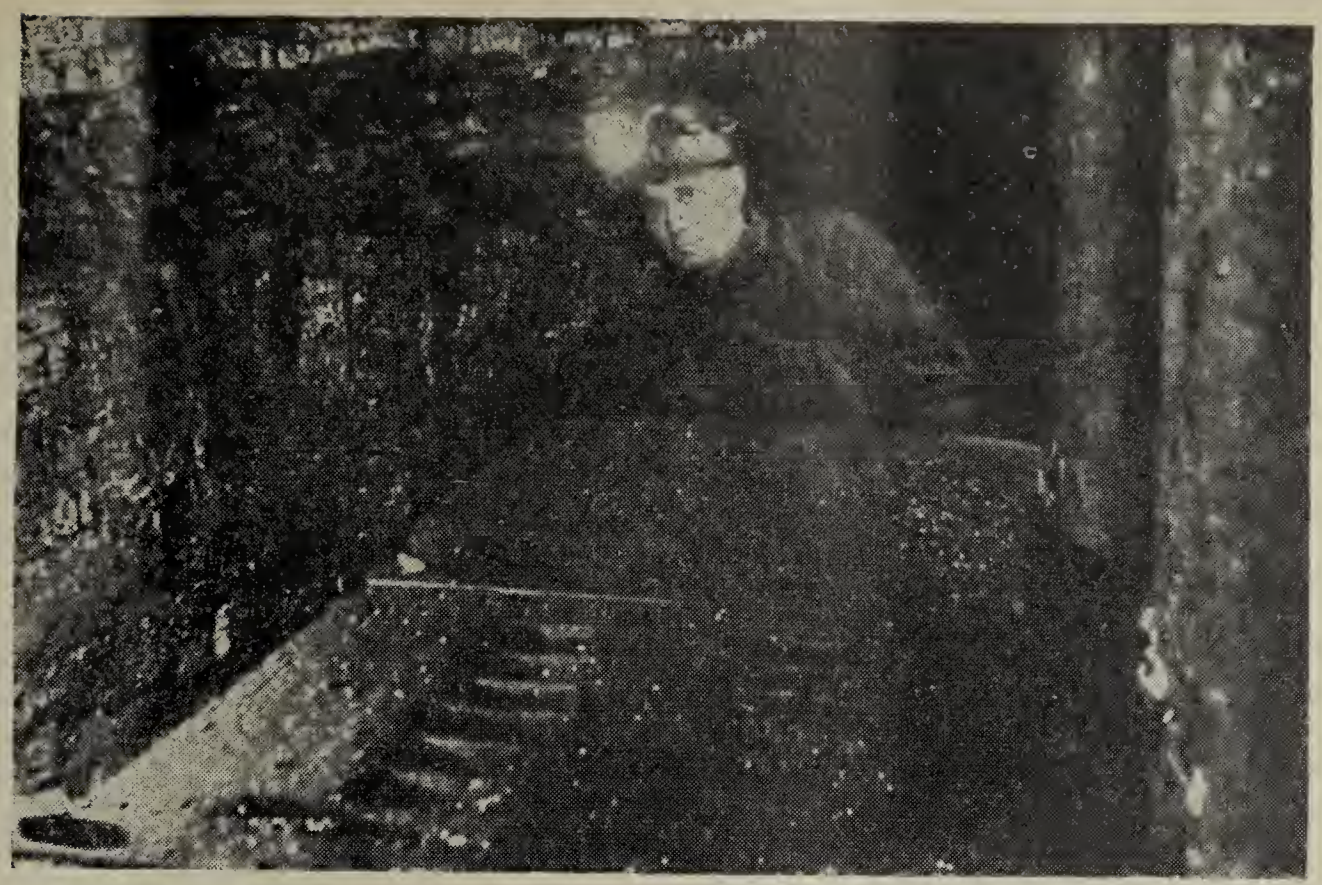

Foreign workers who have visited the Donbas mines have remarked how well they are supplied with superior technical equipment which economises and lightens enormously the work of the miners. Our photo shows a Donbas miner who achieves 200 per cent. of his norm, cutting coal.

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would go for rent, light, heat and gas. This compares with the 10 per cent of my income, which is at present required for these items.

Our other son, Hamish, who is 11 years of age, would be studying in a well-equipped school, and would have ample facilities for pursuing his hobbies of fishing and hunting at the local Palace of Culture (or Recreation Centre) and at the Pioneer Camps run by the trade union. Our 8-year-old daughter, Rose, would also be having the usual schooling, but her great interest in dancing would be encouraged and developed by the dancing and ballet teachers at the Palace of Culture, and who knows but that some day she might become a second Moira Shearer.

The baby of the family, 2-year-old Margaret, would spend most of her time sleeping, eating and playing in the finest conditions at the kindergarten attached to the factory, under the careful eye of fully qualified doctors, nurses and teachers. My wife would take her there in the morning on her way to work and collect her on

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The magnificent Palace at Sochi on the shores of the Black Sea is a sanatorium and rest home for Soviet miners.

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the way home at night. The feeding of the family would present no difficulties as most meals would be obtained in the restaurants at place of work or school. Shopping would be easy as all shops are open on Sunday, and the house cleaning, laundry, etc., is included in the rent of the flat.

For holidays, we would fly to a luxurious holiday home on the Black Sea, the cost being borne mainly by our respective trade unions, our contribution being only 30 per cent of the total cost. The older children could, if desired, go to a Pioneer Camp, similar to British Holiday Camps, but under adequate supervision and instruction and here again the trade union would foot the bill.

This represents a standard of living far beyond my present means and under capitalism only enjoyed by people like the ex-coalowners of our country, but under socialism, attainable by every worker.

"They Want Peace More Than Anything Else"

● By WILLIAM SKILLING

Member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, shop steward at Morphy Richards Ltd., St. Mary Cray, Kent, England.

WE have covered a great deal of ground by one form of travel or another, and I must say it has been an education to me. Everywhere one went one could feel the great and forceful call for peace and friendly relations with the rest of the world. In all establishments there are slogans calling for peace.

I am very pleased to say that during my stay here I have had complete freedom of movement. Wherever I wanted to go, whatever I wanted to see, my wishes were always granted. No obstacles were put in my way and this has meant a great deal to me.

I was very impressed by the very close relationship between workers and directors. Through their grievance committees and trade unions, each worker has the opportunity to say his piece.

I was very much impressed by the social services. They are excellent. They have all the scientific aids available for all kinds of sicknesses. They seem to have left nothing out. The young, the middle-aged and the old are all given the same extra care and attention.

Their sanatoria are places to be envied, where the workers of all industries, including doctors, teachers, directors, and so on are treated alike ; no class distinction enters whatsoever. They are most efficiently run, and each one has its first-clas staff of doctors, nurses and specialists.

Each one of these places has its club room, which I would rather call a miniature theatre, where they have cinema shows, amateur stage shows, dancing and so on.

Speaking of amateur shows, they are of a very high standard of entertainment, and it is quite amazing the number of people who take part in these shows, and they certainly seem to enjoy it.

The youth of the country have a great future. The Palaces of Culture dotted over the country make it possible for them to study practically anything they wish without having to worry about whether they can afford it. Everything is provided free of charge and they have the finest teachers at their disposal. These are places to be envied. Then there are the beautiful libraries of which they can also make use. I must say from what I have seen, they take full advantage of them. How I envy them.

We visited one of the kindergartens of the Stalin automobile works in Moscow. To our regret, the children were enjoying their rest period at the time. They certainly looked lovely, all tucked up in their beds in a nice airy room. Everything was spotlessly clean. They had trained nurses to look after them, all the toys that children like to play with were provided, each one had its own towel and comb with miniature wash hand basins provided.

The mothers can have them in the best of care at a very low cost.

I have been especially impressed by the large amount of reconstruction that is going on all over the country, in providing homes for the people. They have certainly done a marvellous job of work considering the amount of destruction their country suffered.

Odessa was a place that suffered much during the war. The amount of work necessary to reconstruct it must have been colossal, but they have practically finished the job.

I should like to say a few words about the mechanisation I have seen in the different factories I have visited. At all times I was on the look-out for some-

one working really hard, but in all the places I visited I couldn't find one. Mechanisation is of such a high standard that physical strain is reduced to the minimum.

Only today I visited the Polytechnic Museum and some of the things I saw there really amazed me. I saw a television set which is on sale to the general public at less than half the price of any television set on sale in our country.

I should like to say if this country carries on with its great call for peace, I feel quite sure that the world will realise that the people of the Soviet Union really do want peace more than anything else.

Gigantic Construction Works

● **By C. M. BALL**

Member of the Association of Building Technicians

THE British Civil Engineering and Building workers have been greatly interested in the gigantic construction projects of the Soviet Union for a number of years.

The scale of construction, and the high technical skill which has produced new and complex machinery for construction work, is only possible in a Socialist State. But to me, the most significant difference between building projects in the Soviet Union and similar work in a capitalist State is the detailed planning programming of every phase of work to ensure maximum economy of labour, and speed in construction. Unlike the house building programme in Britain, the Soviet programme does not suffer from the diversion of building materials to rearmament schemes. From the day the work starts, the builders know that every piece of material, machinery and equipment will be at hand when required. Factories producing prefabricated parts are working to the same schedule as builders on the site.

There is no doubt that Soviet people urgently require all the labour they can get, to rebuild and develop their country. Hence their demand for a stable peace and reduction of armed forces.

New Year Greetings to all our Readers

The Editorial Board and staff of "World Trade Union Movement" thank all readers for their support during the year which has ended and send sincere good wishes for the New Year now unfolding.

May our united efforts herald in every country decisive advances towards the achievement of improved living standards, national independence and peace in 1953.

After the Second Congress of the DGB.

The Task of the Workers of Western Germany

By EMIL OTTO

THE Second Congress of the D.G.B., which was held in Berlin last October, disowned and replaced its President, Christian Fette, and its "economic expert" vom Hoff. Both these gentlemen, supported by American and German monopoly capital, defend the American policy of the division of the country and the remilitarisation of Western Germany. They even hold posts in the Administrative Councils of banks and industrial trusts.

The dismissal of these trade union bosses, and especially the discussion which preceded it, revealed the extent of the great opposition of the workers to the policy of Fette and his stooges. The reactionary clique at the head of the D.G.B., well versed in the art of manoeuvre, managed, it is true, at the end of the Congress, to get a new President elected who is no better than his predecessor. Walter Freitag is an obedient servant of the employers' interests and unreservedly defends the "policy of co-operation" and the Schuman Plan. He proved his capabilities last year when he crushed the metal-workers' strike in the Hesse province. But the new leadership will not be able to force the "Atlantic" policy on to the trade union movement without coming up against the constantly growing opposition of the workers, of which they were given a foretaste at the Congress.

The Background of the Congress

THE American and German monopolies have imposed on Western Germany a policy of war, division of the country, unlimited exploitation of the workers and systematic reduction of general living standards. The role of the reactionary leadership of the D.G.B. is to smash the resistance of the workers to this policy.

The position of the mass of West German workers is as follows :

1. The workers' living standards have been continually falling, particularly during the last two years; the rise in prices has not been compensated by corresponding wage increases. The D.G.B.'s Institute of Economic Sciences admits that three-quarters of the wage-earners earn less than the minimum living wage.

2. Unemployment, in general, has remained at the 1949 level despite all attempts to conceal the real position. In addition, short-time work, that is partial unemployment, has become considerably worse as a necessary consequence of the priority given to war production. This is especially true for consumer goods industries. At the present time, there are about three million totally and partially unemployed.

3. American-style productivity (based not on the improvement of the technical means of production but exclusively on the physical efforts of the workers) has led to an appalling increase in the number of work accidents. During the first six months of 1952, the number of fatal accidents in the mining industry was greater than for the whole of 1951.

4. The right-wing leadership of the D.G.B., against the wishes of the workers, is supporting the policy of Adenauer's government, the American policy of war, remiltarisation and the "contribution to European defence." This is shown by the statements made by Fette in Milan and Hoff in Oberhausen (Rhineland). They are taking part directly in the operation of the Schuman Plan.

5. The fight against the new Factory Law is being systematically hampered by the right-wing leadership. This law, which replaces the former law on the rights of shop stewards, restricts workers' rights to a still greater degree than in the past. All that remains

Note : D.G.B.—Confederation of (West) German Trade Unions.

LEFT: **Hans vom Hoff, "economic expert," defender of American Policy.**

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RIGHT: **Christian Fette carries instead of a sword a pair of scissors for cutting coupons.**

of the joint management rights granted to the trade unions is still further whittled away by this law.

6. The right of the trade unions to administer Social Insurance has been almost wiped out and this right is even less than that which existed under Bismarck.

The Fette Group Tactics

IN a drastic and powerful attempt to ensure complete control of the Congress the Fette group used the most unprincipled trade union bureaucratic dictatorship. Disregarding every principle of trade union democracy, they tried to secure a hand-picked majority by laying down the following incredible election method in the nomination of delegates: one-third of the delegates were to be co-opted by the confederal leadership, one-third by the State and regional trade union leadership and one-third to be elected from local full-time officials and trade unionists in the factories. But. fearing that this procedure would still give them an insufficient guarantee, the leadership demanded that the number of delegates in the latter category should be doubled, reserving to itself the right to choose those who suited their purpose best. Thus, the leadership guaranteed that the full-time officials would form an absolute majority which it would manipulate in any way it chose. A good example of what happens to trade union democracy when American ideas are imported. But it is also a proof of the desperate fear felt by the D.G.B. leadership lest the real wishes of the workers should prevail at the Congress.

Walter Freitag, the new President of the D.G.B.

In the course of the Congress, it became apparent that the pressure of the rank and file was so strong that the majority of the delegates who had been picked with such care categorically refused to support the policy of Fette and Co.

To avoid discussion on the policy of the national leadership, attempts were made to rouse the feelings of the Congress by anti-Soviet agitation and the worst type of propaganda against the German Democratic Republic. This was the sole purpose of all the speeches made during the first day of the Congress. The aim was to secure the acceptance by the delegates of a policy of support for the General Treaty and rearmament and in this way avoid any discussion on the Factory Law, wages policy and the conclusion of a peace treaty. Quite openly, the representative of the American Federation of Labour, Henry Rutz said: "We are counting on the defence contribution of the Federal Republic,"—a clear call to take part in the anti-Soviet war preparations. Both Victor Reuther, representing the C.I.O., and Fette, spoke in the same sense. And Dr. Potthoff, representing the "High Authority" of the Schuman Plan, called on the West German workers to make sure that they "surpass the high level of production of the East."

This diversion completely failed. The theme of anti-

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Thousands of Hamburg residents demonstrate against the General Treaty. The German word "Massengrab" on the banner being carried by the demonstrators means "mass grave."

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Sovietism was scarcely mentioned in the subsequent discussion and most of the speakers protested sharply against this transparent manoeuvre on the part of the leadership.

The report of activity given by Fette revealed the complete bankruptcy of the confederal leadership's policy. Fette had to admit that "what the Constituent Congress of the D.G.B. had demanded in 1949 has not been achieved," and "in the field of labour rights, labour legislation and social insurance we have had to retreat." He admitted that the Adenauer government had not the slightest intention of granting concessions on the question of co-management. In the social insurance agencies, he said, the former relationship of 2/3 worker representation and 1/3 employer has been replaced by a 50/50 relationship. The most astute manoeuvering could not conceal these facts.

As for vom Hoff, his report fully corresponded to its title: "The Tasks of the Trade Unions in the

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Workers' demonstration in Frankfurt-on-Main. The first banner reads "We are fighting against the Factory Law."

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Economy." He waxed eloquent on the contribution which the workers must make to the economy of the trusts and to the prosperity of their worst enemies, as if the real tasks of the trade unions were not solely to defend the interests of the workers. He mouthed slogans such as "creative and progressive co-operation with economic groupings and the Adenauer government." (Adenauer is the brother-in-law of a Director of the Morgan Bank), and also "genuine emulation in which the wage-earner who is willing to work would collaborate on an equal footing with the employer who is prepared to adjust himself to the achievement of the great tasks of the future." In order to make these "great tasks" clear, he stated that the considerations which apply to the collaboration of the D.G.B. with the Schuman Plan should also apply to other problems of "European integration" (this integration, as State Secretary Hallstein said, would stretch as far as the Urals) and that it was necessary to ensure a "German contribution to the defence of Europe," and to support the adoption of the General Treaty.

Vom Hoff had very little to say on the wages question. He nevertheless found time to emphasise that demands for higher wages based on an increase in the cost of living should be abandoned and that the only factor to be considered in wage increases was the question of "productivity." This was open support for increased exploitation of the workers by the employers.

What emerges from all this verbiage is the classic fascist theory of "reconciliation of capital and labour" and imperialist expansion, both leading to the most savage exploitation of the workers. The Hitler Labour Front had nothing better to offer.

The Course of the Congress

ONE of the most striking facts was the inability of the leadership of the Congress to determine its character. The content and development of the Congress were determined by the delegates. Often replying to Fette and vom Hoff by boos and laughter, the delegates, nearly all members of the Social-Democratic Party, spoke on genuine trade union questions. They demanded no incitement to war, but the defence of peace; not protection of the employers' interests, but a fight for wage increases; denunciation of present contracts, better working conditions; against unemployment and super-exploitation; no compromise with the Factory Law, but a fight against this law; no "contribution to European defence" but a fight against the General Treaty and the Schuman Plan; no division between the West German workers and the workers of the German Democratic Republic, but negotiations with the F.D.G.B.

Another fact of paramount importance was that the Congress was faced with a great many motions *drawn up in the factories and local trade union organisations*: four motions against the General Treaty, three against the Factory Law, three for the re-establishment of trade union democracy, one for the development of trade with all countries, one for negotiations with the F.D.G.B. (Trade Union Federation of the German Democratic Republic), one against rearmament, one against the co-operation of the D.G.B. with the Productivity Council. And with these we have only given the most important.

In all, 120 motions and resolutions were presented. And it was against these that Fette and Co. brought out the whole bag of tricks and their art of manoeuvre. In order to gain time, or rather to lose as much of the delegates' time as possible, they endlessly dragged out their pontifical speechés and arranged a succession of receptions and sightseeing trips in town without permitting the delegates to catch their breath, until only a few hours remained to vote on the resolutions and motions presented. In the bewildering touchline sprint of the final vote, the delegates had to vote on amended resolutions emptied of all concrete, fighting content, tying the new leadership down to nothing. No time was provided for a proper examination of these motions. In this way, the motions dealing with the fight against the Factory Law were reduced to the formula: "The Confederal leadership pledges itself to do all in its power to obtain a progressive application of the Law." The motions on the fight for wage increases, for the co-management and nationalisation of key industries, in the final analysis, became: "The Confederal leadership will continue to try to achieve the basic demands drawn up at Munich in 1949" (during the D.G.B. Constituent Congress). But all the manoeuvres and compromise proposals failed to prevent the fall of Fette and vom Hoff. They succeeded, however, in securing the election of the President of the Metalworkers' Federation, Walter Freitag, in place of Fette, not that there was any fundamental difference between his ideas and those of his predecessor. He had even agreed to share power with Fette, had it been necessary. In manoeuvering the election of Freitag, who pretended to be Fette's opponent, the reactionary leadership succeeded in neutralising the opposition against him.

That Freitag will continue Fette's work goes without saying. But what is also true is that pressure brought to bear by the mass of the workers on rank and file and intermediate trade union cadres is so strong that the Confederal leadership will not be able to carry out its old policy so easily in the future as it has done in the past.

The Lesson of the Congress

ABOVE all, it must be stressed that the opposition shown by the delegates during the Congress was the reflection of the mass opposition of the workers of Western Germany to the whole policy of co-operation with capital and the entire war policy. The Congress had been prepared by countless meetings of trade unionists and by impassioned discussions on

the need for a change in trade union policy. A great many motions against Fette's policy had been sent to Congress by local organisations. Opposition is particularly strong among the workers in the chemical. mining and metal industries.

Millions of workers in Western Germany are ready to fight for their vital demands :

- A general increase of all existing wage rates
- Defence of trade union and democratic rights, and in particular opposition to the Factory Law.
- Withdrawal of trade union representatives from capitalist Administrative Councils and Schuman Plan agencies
- Fight against the General Treaty, for the unity of Germany and for peace
- Abandonment of the neutral attitude towards the Adenauer government, the government of the Factory Law, the General Treaty and the Schuman Plan.

But in order to win these demands, the trade unionists of Western Germany cannot and must not in any way count on their Confederal leadership under Freitag's presidency. Through the fight for the respect of trade union democracy they will have to force a change in the policy hitherto pursued.

Their job will be to achieve united action between all workers regardless of political viewpoints or affiliation, whether organised or not, in the fight for the smallest demands.

Their job will be to decide upon, prepare and carry out in a democratic way fighting actions in the work places in order to impose decisions democratically taken, and to win respect for trade union democracy at all levels.

Their job will be to pit against the German and American monopolies' policy of war and poverty the power of the German workers, united in defence of their common interests, their trade union and democratic rights and peace.

The German trade union movement has often proved in the past that it is able to wage great determined struggles. In 1920, in broad united action with all the workers, it was instrumental in saving the German Republic. In 1923, it brought down the Cuno government of poverty and inflation. Today, as well, the six million trade union members in Western Germany are a force capable of ensuring the development of democracy, the unity of Germany and peace.

Were the 11 million trade union members of the whole of Germany, united fraternally with the great mass of workers, to engage in the struggle, it would be the end of the plans of poverty and war instigated by the Wall Street imperialists and their German allies like the Adenauers, Krupps and their agents within the working class movement.

The period of apathy of the West German working class is irrevocably past. That is proved by the widespread struggle against the General Treaty, the ratification of which has been prevented until now by the people's pressure. It is shown beyond any doubt by the hundreds of actions organised in factories and by mass movements, such as the great metalworkers' strike of 1951 in Hesse province, the Hamburg dockers' large-scale actions against the Factory Law, and the many other actions for bread, democracy, a united Germany and peace.

Plantation Labour in Ceylon

by N. SANMUGATHASAN
Vice-President, Ceylon Trade Union Federation

THE majority of the working class of Ceylon is employed on the tea and rubber plantations. As such, they form the basic section of the working class. An important feature of this working class is that the overwhelming majority of it is immigrant labour from South India. According to the report of the Commissioner of Labour on the 31st of December 1951, there were 460,131 Indian workers employed on the plantations, while the number of Singhalese amounted to 153,063. This has naturally created many problems for the labour movement. The reactionary government and the employers have not been slow to take advantage of this fact and create a division between the Singhalese workers and the Indian workers on communal lines. Whenever unemployment is on the increase, we find reactionary politicians and employers calling for repatriation of Indian workers on the ground that they are taking the place of Singhalese workers. This policy of repression of Indians both as workers and as a national minority has naturally tended to create disunity between the working class and has also led historically to the formation of a separate trade union, called the Ceylon Workers' Congress, for Indian workers.

Immigrant Indian labour was first brought to Ceylon in the latter part of the nineteenth century by the British planters when they opened up the tea and coffee plantations in Ceylon. They did this for two reasons; in the first place they did not trust the Singhalese peasants who had revolted against the British in 1848. Secondly, they wanted a docile labour force which owned no land so that they would have them for work at all times of the year.

Unemployment and conditions of starvation in South India induced many Indians to come over to Ceylon where they were promised a golden future. Many were the number who died in the process of transportation. Those who survived helped in the pioneering work of opening up the forest and of planting the new tea, rubber and coffee plantations. The conditions under which these workers lived have always remained sub-human. Although their conditions were regulated by agreement with the Indian government, they were practically left at the mercy of the British planters, particularly before the advent of trade unions. The unrestricted flow of labour from South India was used as a weapon by the planters to crush all signs of the growth of trade unions. Whenever workers attempted to form trade unions, they were forthwith repatriated to India and fresh labour brought instead. This state of affairs changed only after the Madras government banned all movement of labour from India to Ceylon after 1940. Consequently, the planters lost their weapon of forcibly repatriating recalcitrant labour, no longer being able to replace it with immigrant labour. This immediately led to a rapid growth of trade unions in the plantations and very soon a good section of the labour employed in the plantations was organised in trade unions and workers began putting forward demands for better conditions through them. There are at present three unions catering for these workers. The biggest of these is the Ceylon Workers' Congress, formerly called the Ceylon-Indian Congress Labour Union. The other two are the Ceylon Plantation Workers' Union, affiliated to the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, and the All-Ceylon Estate Workers' Union.

The workers in the plantations, of which the great majority are even now owned by British capitalists (70 to 80% in tea and about 50% in rubber), have always been paid the lowest wages in Ceylon. Wages Boards were appointed for the first time for these workers in 1940, and under these Boards the basic wage for a day of eight hours was fixed at 58 cents for a man, 46 cents for a woman, and 41 cents for a child (100 cents to a rupee).* In addition to this, a special allowance of 67, 54 and 47 cents respectively was fixed. This allowance was related to the cost of living index. Subsequently, as a result of many struggles, there have been increases in these rates, and the wage today stands at 1 rupee and 10 cents, 90 cents, and 65 cents for men, women and children respectively on tea estates, and 1 rupee 10 cents, 1 rupee, and 75 cents respectively on rubber estates. In

* A rupee is worth about one shilling and sixpence.

addition, a special allowance of 1 rupee, 76 cents and 69 cents respectively was paid in both industries according to the cost of living index in November 1950. According to the Wages Boards' decision, workers are entitled to 12 days paid holiday annually provided they have worked a certain number of days per year. Very often, the workers, having no means of spending this leisure, request work from the employers on these days at overtime rates, and thus add to their meagre earnings.

These workers live under very primitive and insanitary housing conditions. The workers are provided with what are called "line rooms" inside estates. They are like barracks. The lines consist of rows of rooms each with a floor space of 12 feet by 10 feet and 9 feet high, with a six-foot wide verandah in front. A line consists of about 6 to 12 rooms, and in a double set twenty rooms, with a long verandah running right along the length of the line. Usually one family occupies one room, but sometimes two families have to occupy one room. A good part of the floor space is taken up for storing their personal belongings while the rest of the room is used as kitchen, bedroom, parlour and everything else. It is hardly necessary to imagine the type of life that is led by these workers who have to live all throughout their lives in these stuffy and smoky rooms.

Not only are they housed in insanitary conditions, but they also do not possess the right of tenancy to these rooms. As the rooms belong to the planter, no person is allowed to visit the workers without the prior consent of the planter. This means that trade union officials cannot visit their members without obtaining the permission of the planter. It also means that workers' meetings cannot be held inside estates (there being no other place) without permission of the planter. Where workers have forced their employers to grant recognition of the union, the permission is normally given. But where the planters decide to refuse recognition of any particular union, they find this an easy means to paralyse its activity by refusing permission for officials to visit members. For instance, the Ceylon Plantation Workers' Union has been refused recognition by the Estate Employers' Federation and as a result our officials cannot enter the estates to meet our members—leading thereby to a paralysis of union activity.

Any worker or trade union official entering estates without permission is prosecuted under the Criminal Trespass Law, and many are the workers and trade union officers who have gone to goal as a result. Similarly, the worker has no right to stay in his room once he has been dismissed from his job. On many occasions, workers have been given twenty-four hours notice of dismissal and asked to quit immediately. This operates particularly harshly against the Indian worker because he has no other home or village in Ceylon to go to. In case the worker stays in the room after his dismissal, he is prosecuted, not under Civil Law relating to landlord and tenant, but under the Criminal Trespass Law. Hundreds of workers have gone to goal on this score. The trade union movement has all along been agitating for 1) the right of entry of trade union officials into the estates, and 2) for payment of rents by workers so that they have the right of tenancy, or the construction of these houses outside estates from which workers could go to work in the estates.

Not only are these workers exploited economically, they are also denied political rights by a government which tries to bolster up its falling prestige by artificially fostering an anti-Indian agitation in the country. Thereby the government hoped to deal a blow not only at the Indians, but also at the working class, of whom they constitute a majority. Under British rule, the Indians had the right to vote as they were British citizens along with the Singhalese. They possessed this right at the general elections of 1947 and they used it not only to return seven of their members to Parliament in areas where they constituted a predominant majority, but also helped to return left-wing candidates in other electorates. Their elected members worked with the opposition in Parliament. This was natural because they were not only an oppressed minority, but also formed an important section of the working class. The reactionary United National Party decided to deal a blow to stem this rising movement against them. Therefore, under the pretext of defining Ceylon citizenship, they also brought in an amendment to the Elections Ordinance by which only citizens of Ceylon could have the right to vote. At the same time they made it very difficult for these Indian workers to obtain citizenship. As a result, during the last elections held in May-June 1952, the vast majority of the Indian workers, including the 225,000 who have applied for Ceylon citizenship, were deprived of the right to vote. Thus, at one stroke, the U.N.P. dealt a serious blow to the working class movement under cover of anti-Indianism. But several Indian capitalists who had donated large sums of money to the U.N.P. election fund had no difficulty in getting their citizenship and also the right to vote.

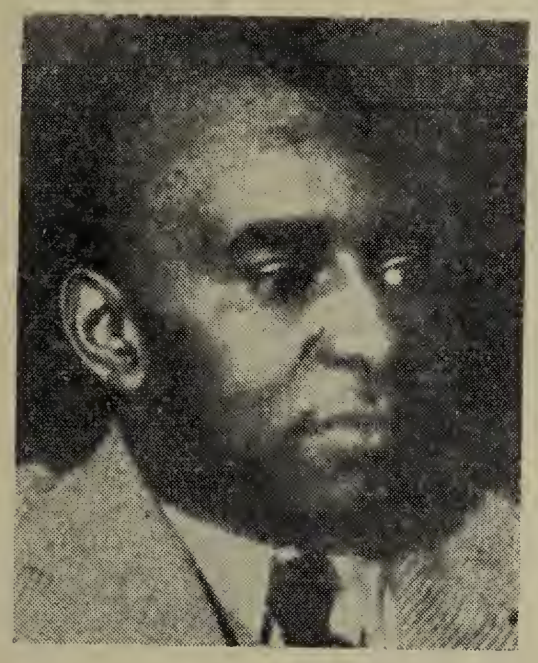
Under the leadership of the Ceylon Indian Congress and supported by all left parties, trade unions and other mass organisations, these Indian workers are at present engaged in a big campaign to obtain their just demands. We of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation have always championed the rights of the Indian workers. We have always realised that without a solution to this problem our working class movement cannot be unified or become effective. We have therefore always demanded the controlling of all immigration from India to Ceylon, the granting of the right to vote to all who are normally resident in Ceylon, and the right of citizenship to those Indians who have resided for five years in Ceylon and who wish to become citizens. We are sure that with the growing strength and unity of the working class movement, this campaign for the just political rights of these workers will be victorious and will contribute to the forward march and success of the entire Ceylon working class movement.

LIBERIA—

America's African Colony

By DESMOND BUCKLE

THE United States government is making strenuous efforts today to conquer the African people. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are being spent in order to induce the African people to embrace the American Way of Life—while care is taken to conceal the brutal lynchings in the States and to present American penetration as "benevolent disinterested aid" to Africa.



The aim of all these efforts is to oust Britain and France from their positions on the African continent, not in the interests of the African people and their struggle for national independence, but in the interests of U.S. monopolies who are trying to secure maximum profits by increasing the exploitation of the African people.

One of the main ideological arguments advanced by U.S. imperialism in its struggle with the older imperialisms of France and Britain is the phoney pretence that "the U.S. possesses no colonies." This false claim ignores the fact that possession can take various forms. The essence of imperialist possession of colonies is economic control, backed, if necessary, by military operations. In Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam, Wake and Midway, U.S. possession takes the form of direct control. But the presence of official American administrators in colonies is not always necessarily essential for such control. Thus the Philippines, though formally "independent," is completely controlled by the U.S. financially and economically. These economic interests are protected by U.S. bases in the country, and by political control over the Philippine puppet government. Similarly, many "independent" Latin-American States are economically dominated by the U.S., which rules via local puppets. And in many parts of Europe and Asia, the United States is making every effort to bring about the same kind of imperialist control.

Liberia is of special importance, not only as a striking revelation of an American colony which possesses formal "independence," but also as a warning to the peoples of Africa as to the real character of American "benevolence." To change from French or British imperialism to American is like jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Independence from British, French *and* American imperialism is the only guarantee that the peoples of Africa will be able to develop their resources in peace in the interests of their own social, industrial and cultural advance.

When the American Colonisation Society sent a white man, Jehudi Ashman, in 1822, to settle freed American Negro slaves at Cape Mesurado bordering on the Gulf of Guinea on the west coast of Africa, it was no doubt actuated by the very best of motives. The Society, with the support of American liberal philanthropists, sought to make some amends for the white man's crimes against the Negro people and it could see no better way of doing this than by taking freed Negro slaves back to the very shores from which their forefathers had been abducted and sold into slavery.

Birth of a Colony

FROM the small settlement at Cape Mesurado, the Negro Republic of Liberia (the name was adopted in 1824) grew until today it extends along the coast of northern Guinea for 350 miles between Sierra Leone, a British colony on the north-west, and the French Ivory Coast on the south-east. Liberia covers an area of 43,000 square miles and has a population of 1,500,000.

Although the "independence" of Liberia was proclaimed in 1847, formal recognition by the United

States did not come until 1862. Ever since then the myth of "independence" has been maintained; but subsequent events have shown the West African Negro Republic to be one of those countries to which the grant of "independent" status by imperialism has in actual fact meant the loss or denial of sovereignty. Despite their recognition of Liberia, France and Britain have seized portions of its territory on their respeective frontiers.

While Liberian governments have formally exercised autonomy in internal matters, in international relations they have "traditionally" followed the lead of the United States.

Property owners in the coastal area, and, in the interior, those who own a hut or pay poll tax, are entitled to vote. At the Presidential election in 1951 there were 320,000 registered voters. Women were enfranchised in 1947.

The Constitution has ensured that 20,000 Afro-Americans—as the descendants of the freed slaves style themselves—continue to exercise overlordship over the Vai, Mendi, Gbandi, Kpwesi, Buzi, Mandingo, Kru and other indigenous tribes. The attitude of most of the Afro-Americans, half of whom live in the capital, Monrovia, towards the indigenous people, differs little from that which the white settlers of Kenya and the Rhodesias adopt towards the Africans of those territories. Afro-Americans are also in the habit of referring contemptuously to the indigenous Liberians as "natives." And military expeditions have from time to time been organised from Monrovia against up-country "natives" who were refusing to pay poll tax.

U.S. Style Elections

CONSIDERABLE light was shed on the dictatorial character of the Liberian administration during the course of the Presidential election in May, 1951.

Liberia has, in effect, only one party, the True Whig Party, which has been in power continuously for nearly 100 years. There is another Party, the Reformation Party, which exists merely in name and represents nothing more than formal opposition. When the True Whig Party put up their candidate, President William V. S. Tubman, for re-election for a further term of office in 1951, they counted on the usual walk-over. But a group of progressive Liberians had other ideas and they formed the People's Party. They came largely from the Kru, a coastal tribe, Their leader is Didwho Twe, a Kru rubber plantation owner and former member of the House of Representatives. Alarmed by this threat of opposition, the government ruled Didwho Twe's People's Party out of the election on the pretext that it was late in registering. Twe immediately joined the Reformation Party, which put him forward as their candidate.

Denouncing Twe and his followers as "a little group of malcontents" whose aim was to be merely "subversive," the True Whig Party promised that Twe and those who supported him would not be allowed to hold public meetings or, indeed, to vote. Eighteen Reformation Party leaders were jailed for supporting Twe and in different parts of the country Party offices were raided and funds and office equipment seized. Twe was forced to go into hiding and finally to flee the country. His promised reforms included the election of local government officials (at present appointed by the President), the election of judges by the people, and the freeing of the judiciary from pressure and control by the Executive.

The government requires all civil servants to be members of the True Whig Party. They are considered to be indebted to the Party for having given them jobs and are expected to make a "voluntary" contribution of at least one month's salary to Party funds. In March 1950, when the Party was for some reason in a hurry to get these contributions, the pay of the civil servants was collected without even the formality of asking for their signatures on the cheques.

U.S. Monopolies Grow Rich—Liberia Stays Poor

LIBERIA is a poor country, but with great economic potentialities. It produces rubber, coffee, palm products, piassava, rice and sugar-cane. There is also some gold mining and a deposit of good quality iron ore, estimated at 130-140 million tons, has been discovered at Bomi Hills. Although Liberia has always been regarded as within the U.S. orbit, it had little commercial dealings with America before World War II. And if it appeared that Liberia was being neglected by U.S. monopoly capital, then it was neglect similar to that to which British monopoly capital has subjected, for instance, British Guiana, or French monopoly capital has subjected Cambodia. Liberia was merely being allowed to lie fallow.

The exception to this was the Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company which entered the field of Liberia's exploitation as early as 1925. It received that year from the Liberian government a concession of one million acres, primarily for the establishment of rubber plantations, in return for a loan. The concession rights, which were granted for 100 years, involved the building of a harbour, railways and roads. After just over 25 years' operations in Liberia, the Firestone Company has every reason to be satisfied with the deal. A *Federated Press* news release (1.8.52) quoting the company's report for the fiscal year ended October 31, 1951, said that its sales were within 25 million dollars of the billion-dollar mark and were 41 per cent higher than the previous year. Profits after taxes leaped 45 per cent in one year to 48,398,950 dollars. Profits before taxes and special reserves had been deducted were over 139 million dollars. The financial report, said *Federated Press*, frankly admitted the importance of the company's Liberian holdings, which are worked by a force of about 20,000 men and women conscripted from the tribes. They increased the production of natural rubber in the plantations during the year by 72,588,225 pounds. But what of those whose toil has made all this profit possible? They are still paid the miserable wage of 18 cents a day!

The Firestone deal was only the beginning, for much more has happened since then, particularly in the post World War II period.

One name stands out above all others in the execution of the monopolistic plan of exploiting Liberia. It is that of the late Edward R. Stettinius, former U.S. Secretary of State. From directorships with U.S. Steel, General Motors, General Electric and Metropolitan Life, Stettinius became Lend-Lease Administrator (1941-1943). It was in that capacity that in 1943 he approved arrangements whereby an allocation of some 20 million dollars was made from lend-lease funds to the U.S. Navy for the improvement and modernisation of the port facilities of Monrovia and the transformation of the whole area into a permanent military, air and naval base for the exclusive use of the U.S. Armed Forces. The way for these developments had been prepared a year previously, on March 31, 1942, by the terms of the U.S.-Liberia Agreement. Article 7 of this agreement, relating to the port of Monrovia, is especially revealing as to the sovereignty of the Liberian government. It reads:

> "The government of the Republic of Liberia, upon request, will grant to the government of the United States of America the right to establish, use, maintain, improve, supplement, guard, control, in part or their entirety, at the expense of the government of the United States of America, such naval, air and military facilities and installations at the site of the port, and in the general vicinity thereof, as may be desired by the government of the United States of America for the protection of the strategic interests of the United States of America in the South Atlantic."

This "agreement" also provides for a five-man U.S. Military Mission to "supervise" the "defence" of Liberia. An "agreement" such as this, whereby a powerful State assumes the unilateral right to occupy and control for an unlimited period of time the territory, of a much weaker State, is one that is usually imposed by imperialist powers on a subject colonial country.

In 1944, a Geological Mission was sent from the United States to survey the mineral resources of the whole of Liberia, and a Mission of the U.S. Foreign Economic Administration arrived to advise the Liberian government. It is still there. And who endorsed the sending of these missions but Stettinius, at that time having attained the post of U.S. Secretary of State. After resigning from the U.S. government the following year, he founded the Stettinius Associates-Liberia Company which obtained from the Liberian government rights running until the year 2027.

On the original Board of Directors of the Liberia Company, presided over by Stettinius, were Phillip D. Reed, Chairman of the Board of General Electric; Admiral William F. Halsey, war-time Commander of U.S. Naval Forces in the South Pacific; Joseph C. Grew, former Ambassador to Japan; James D. Mooney, President of Willys-Overland Motors; a vice-President of Metropolitan Life; and the President of Culpepper Steel. There were altogether 21 U.S. directors in addition to whom were four Liberian officials appointed by the President of Liberia, and two Negro Americans, Channing H. Tobias, Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Claude A. Barnett, President of the Associated Negro Press.

The stated aim of the Liberia Company is to increase the production and export of such raw materials as cocoa, lumber, iron ore and other minerals so as to raise the value of Liberia's exports from the 1947 figure of 13 million dollars to 100 million dollars annually within twenty years.

The terms of the agreement by which the Liberia Company was founded provided for a division of the shares as follows: 25% to the Liberian government; 10% to a Liberian Education Foundation to be set up by the Company for the promotion of public health, education and welfare; and the remaining 65% to U.S. subscribers. There was one unique provision in the agreement which required that should a dispute arise between the Company and the Liberian government and it should be impossible for arbitrators appointed by both sides to settle matters or to decide on a third arbitrator, this final arbitrator would be appointed by the President of Columbia University. It is interesting to note that in 1948, the year after the conclusion of the agreement, this oracle was none other than General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Another American "big business" group, the Liberia Mining Company, acquired in 1946 a concession to exploit the iron ore deposits at Bomi Hills. The rights of this company, which is financed by the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the Republic Steel Corporation, hold good until 2026. An indication of the extent to which the Liberia Mining Company is virtually looting Liberia of its iron ore is given by a report in the *New York Times*, October 12, 1952, in which, under the blatant heading LIBERIA ASSURED AS U.S. IRON SOURCE, this paper states: "Liberia, previously a non-supplier of iron, became last year the tenth largest exporter of such ore to the United States. In the first seven months of this year, the West African country (Liberia) jumped up to sixth position—and is still moving up." It is to those above-mentioned companies, together with two American Oil (Socony-Vacuum and Texas Oil) and two shipping corporations, that the U.S. State Department has now turned over the operation and management of the newly constructed port installations and facilities at Monrovia.

Liberian Workers Struggle Against Colonial Poverty

LIBERIA now has in Monrovia one of the best ports and, in Robertsfield 50 miles away, one of the largest airfields in West Africa. The development of strategic road and rail communications is going on at a brisk rate. Last year, the U.S. Export-Import Bank granted a loan of 5 million dollars to be spent on road making and 32 million dollars more was promised for various "development" schemes. Just how these roads are being built is revealed in an article by Didwho Twe, appearing in the Liberian journal, *The Annals* (July 1952). Twe says: "Compulsory human labour without compensation still exists in Liberia. Motor road making has disorganised the economy of the people and has

caused depopulation of town after town. The Sinoe motor road on the Liberian coast is a typical example. All the communities along the beach within the county are taxed so many men per month ; yet these men must supply their own tools and food while working on the road. Men collected by their chiefs to work on the road are relieved by a new set at the end of every two weeks. In addition, from five to ten or more men are kept in readiness every day in every town to carry the loads of any officials or soldiers who may be passing."

The Tubman government is far more concerned with protecting the profits of the American monopolies than with safeguarding labour. *New Africa* (Feb.-Mar. 1950), the organ of the Council on African Affairs, New York, reported that when in February 1950, the 20,000 African workers on the rubber plantations of the Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company went on strike for an increase in their 18 cents a day wages, the Liberian government sent riflemen and machine-gun squads to shoot them down. The workers had gone on strike only after two months of patient negotiation had resulted in the employers offering to advance wages by a miserable two cents per day.

That same month, 350 workers employed by the Liberia Mining Company at its iron mines in the Bomi Hills also struck for higher wages. They cut communications with Monrovia and set up road blocks around the company's property. The government smashed this strike with similar ruthlessness.

The Liberian government is equally intolerant of adverse criticism and comment. A newspaper editor, C. Frederick Taylor, who criticised the granting, on such a generous scale, of economic concessions to U.S. monopolies and the handing over of Liberia to U.S. military control, was arrested and jailed. In a letter to the *New York Times* in October, 1951, exposing Tubman's rule of terror, Karl Parker Hanson, who headed the first U.S. economic mission to Liberia and later served as special assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to that country, said: "In Liberia, it is sedition, punishable by death, to write a critical letter to the President and to expose the country to criticism from outside."

The Liberian people, like all other African people, are desperately in need of education and other social amenities. Yet in 1950, the government spent only 123,177 dollars, representing about 3% of total revenue and less than 10 cents per head of the population, for all public, private and mission school education. This sum compares with the 128,702 dollars spent that year on salaries alone for the enlarged and reorganised police force, which was needed, said Tubman, because "there must be security and safety for development and investment." Tubman was only acting as talking doll for the representative of the U.S. State Department who had told him that he "fully recognised the need for basic security forces" in Liberia as protection against "Communist agitation."

Venality, corruption and inefficiency in Liberia have often been cited by imperialists as an awful warning as to what happens when Africans become self-governing. The fact is that the Liberians have never had a share in governing themselves. Today, Liberia only testifies to the scope, insatiable appetite and utter ruthlessness of American imperialism.

Italian Food Workers Successful Tactics

By GAETANO INVERNIZZI

General Secretary, Italian Federation of Food Workers (F.I.L.I.A.)

IN the course of the struggles which are being waged by the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.) to raise the Italian people's living standards, the workers of the food industry, organised in the F.I.L.I.A., have recently won an outstanding victory by gaining substantial wage increases for about 125,000 workers. It is now possible to draw several useful lessons from the experience gained during a year of struggles, even though, because the food industry is divided into numerous sections (canning, brewing, flour milling and baking, etc.), the struggle is still in progress in some sections.

This was the situation at the beginning of the struggle in June 1950, when we started out to expose the national collective agreement for the food industry, which was due to expire.

It is sufficient to examine the official statistics of the Ministry of Labour and the Central Institute of Statistics to appreciate the seriousness of the wages position in the food industry at that time :

	Average monthly income per worker in lire		
	1948	1949	1950
General Average in Industry	21,523	22,636	24,050
Metal and Engineering Industry	24,903	26,307	28,220
Electrical Industry ...	33,496	35,053	36,840
Various Industries ...	21,488	22,472	23,950
Food Industry	*16,994*	*19,307*	*19,590*
Textile Industry	17,609	18,092	18,900

As can be seen, the wages of the workers in the food industry were well below the national average for wages paid in industry, an average which was itself 50 per cent below the minimum wage necessary for a typical Italian family, estimated by the National Joint Commission[1] at that time to be about 60,000 lire a month.

Under these conditions, wage increases for the workers in the food industry had become an absolute and immediate necessity; all the more so as there had been a continual speed-up in the enterprises to the exclusive profit of the industrialists.

During the negotiations we brought out these facts and the tragic situation of the workers. The trade union and daily Press gave a great deal of publicity to these facts, and no one dared to question their accuracy. The employers replied by making a very feeble attempt at explanation by arguing that the precarious position of the food industry ruled out any improvements. At first the opinion of the employers' associations in the various sections of the food industry was divided as to the actual possibilities of resisting our offensive, but, basically, all were perfectly agreed and united in refusing any demand or the renewal of the national contract. This was the general line of the employers which had been suggested to them by the *Confindustria,*[2] counting on the presumed weakness of organisation of the workers in the food industry, divided into several branches of production, subject to seasonal and intermittent work and the pressure of growing unemployment.

But we saw things quite differently. The higher rates of pay in some other industries (metal, chemicals, printing), were not the result of the greater prosperity of these industries, but of a number of struggles during which the workers, by their militancy and their capacity for organisation, had

1 The agency which records variations in the cost of living every two months. Workers, industrialists and the Central Institute of Statistics take part in it on a parity basis.

2 Largest organisation of Italian industrialists.

succeeded in establishing strong positions in their favour.

There was a very strong desire among the workers in the food industry to obtain one contract for all categories in the industry, and it was in this sense that the responsible leading bodies mandated the National Secretariat and the delegation which carried through the negotiations.

For a year there was a constant succession of actions and attempts to reach a general agreement, but no practical results were achieved. Whereupon, our Federation, realising the need to make a radical change in its tactics, decided to approach the various employers' associations separately at the most favourable moment for the workers.

The best proof of the correctness of this new tactic was the fact that the employers' associations, which had up to then refused to take part in negotiations for one general agreement, now opposed separate negotiations, encouraged in this by the *Confindustria.*

Then, in October 1951, we launched the great food workers' struggles. During these struggles the workers showed that in any industry, even when it is split into several branches of production, often of a seasonal character, the possibility always exists for the workers to fight and win their demands if they know how to find the appropriate forms of organisation and remain united and militant. Even more, they showed in a concrete way that the different situation in the various sections of the industry did not necessarily constitute a handicap, but on the contrary, in certain circumstances seasonal factors (harvest time, the fishing season, etc.) could be turned to strong and favourable advantage.

It was therefore necessary to devise tactics which took into account all these particular factors, and especially the fact that in certain periods of the year the employers are, each in turn, particularly vulnerable. And this is precisely what the workers in the food industry did.

Above all, we tried to achieve united action in each enterprise and in each province. We even succeeded in achieving united action between the trade union centres.[3] Our Federation then launched the struggle by increasing the pressure on the most sensitive sections of the industry at the places where the relation of forces made this impossible. In view of the fact that for many years the food workers had not been accustomed to waging long-drawn-out struggles, we proposed that, instead of deciding the forms and duration of the struggles from above, we should organise a meeting of the various local organisations in each province to study with all the workers the concrete situation in each province, area and enterprise. This was also accepted by the other trade union organisations.

The fact that the workers themselves took part in working out the tactics of struggle contributed powerfully, although still not to a sufficient degree to making general trade union life more democratic—which was later to bear fruit.

3 In Italy there are three trade union centres—the C.G.I.L., affiliated to the W.F.T.U., the C.I.S.L., under Christian-Democratic leadership, and the U.I.L., under Social-Democratic control.

In the enterprises, the workers of all viewpoints, and also those without any particular political sympathies, learned to unite fraternally and to understand that success depends on their unity. They learned to have confidence in their own strength, a mature confidence which was later to be proved fully justified.

A veritable "agenda" of activities to be waged was drawn up, setting out where, and at what intervals, the actions were to take place. Action in the big concerns with factories in several regions was co-ordinated in such a way that the employers were unable to parry the blow by transferring production from one factory to another.

After having started with elementary forms of struggle, a small demonstration, a unity meeting in a hall, a work stoppage of only two hours, and still confined to certain enterprises, the struggle reached a more advanced form as the fight continued and as the mass of the workers became more steeled in the struggle. This took the form of 24 and 48-hour work stoppages and strikes launched throughout the country by the National Secretariat.

Naturally, the industrialists immediately felt the effects of the blow. Several of them agreed to enter into discussion in various ways, recognised the justice of certain demands and granted advances on future wage increases.

But the *Confindustria* strongly opposed any attempt by the industrialists to negotiate with us, and only the danger that the various employers' associations might slip from its control under pressure of working class action forced it at a certain stage to enter into contact with the three workers' Federations.

Of course, the *Confindustria* had not the slightest intention of concluding any agreement whatsoever and was simply seeking to gain time. It attempted to sabotage the negotiations by means of pretexts and diversions and to divide the workers by declaring its readiness to sign an agreement for seven of the fourteen categories of workers in action.

Obviously we vigorously rejected such a discriminatory proposal. The struggle became more bitter and the industrialists replied, under pressure from the *Confindustria,* with lock-outs and dismissals.

The struggle continued in this way up to June 1952, when we decided, with the aim of breaking the employers' national front more easily, to concentrate our trade union action against those sections of the employers which were at the particular moment most vulnerable : beer and malt; meat canning, milk products, flour milling, spaghetti, rice, mineral waters. The first break-through, after many vicissitudes, took place among the beer and malt industrialists. An agreement was signed giving the workers of this category substantial improvements in their agreements :

(a) An increase of about 66 per cent in payment for overtime, night work and holidays.

(b) An extra annual day's holiday with pay.

(c) Increased wages for all not employed in a permanent capacity.

(d) Fixing of a bonus of at least 25 per cent of wages where piece work existed.

(e) Provision of seniority bonus, including seasonal workers.

(f) Introduction of a special annual bonus representing in practice a 12-15 per cent wage increase.

The agreement for the workers in the beer and malt industry opened the way to other agreements, mainly because it heartened the workers to continue the struggle. But it would be a mistake to believe that the road still to be travelled was an easy one.

However, after massive and highly diversified trade union action, employers in almost all categories of the industry were forced to capitulate, one after the other, on the basis of the agreement signed by the beer and malt section.

As the Vice-Secretary of the C.G.I.L., Luciano Lama, wrote in *Lavoro*:[4] "The new tactic devised and applied by our Federation has given, and continues to give, excellent results by hitting each one of the industrial sections, even the most stubborn, during the crucial period of busy seasonal work. The disadvantage of these tactics is that improvements are won at various times, but this is amply compensated by the importance of the victories which can be won."

On the whole, through their struggles and their successes, the food workers have managed to raise their position in the scale of official statistics and to approach the national average of workers throughout industry. This is a first important success. The struggle is now being carried forward, as we have already said, in order to extend the same agreement to the workers of some sections in which the employers have not yet capitulated.

The experience of the struggle of the Italian food workers confirms once again the great value and effectiveness of united action by the workers. They are continuing to fight, with all the other Italian workers, in line with the C.G.I.L. directives for an economic policy which, by expanding the production of consumer goods, will make it possible to raise the Italian people's living standard and make an effective contribution to the revival of the national economy.

4 C.G.I.L. weekly newspaper.

Note : During November, after two months of united struggles, three new national collective agreements were signed in the chocolate and confectionery industry which employs 30,000 workers, in the liquor and aperitif industry which employs about 12,000 and in miscellaneous food production (coffee roasting and dietetic foods) which employs 3,000 workers.

These struggles have already achieved success for 175,000 workers, and they will be carried on until not a single category of workers is without its national collective agreement.

Confidence in the WFTU

Letter from a Polish Woman Worker

● To conclude our series of articles devoted to the 7th anniversary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, we publish below a particularly moving message which has come from a world in which the workers are building their own happiness. Among the large number of letters and telegrams received from the Soviet Union, People's China, the Peoples' Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, we have chosen this letter from a woman clothing worker in Warsaw, who, in her simple and sincere language, perfectly reflects the thoughts and feelings which are shared by all the workers in a world freed from capitalist exploitation:

"THE formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, born out of the need to struggle for the improvement of the workers' living conditions, was welcomed by the working class of the whole world with exceptional warmth.

"The workers of clothing factory No. 2 in Warsaw where I work, and the Polish working class as a whole, recognise the need to establish this powerful organisation which unites all workers, regardless of race, nationality, political opinion and religious conviction, in common struggle for a common cause.

"The whole of our factory always fully approves the decisions and appeals of the W.F.T.U., for we see it as a weapon for the improvement of the living conditions of our fellow workers in the capitalist countries as well as a weapon for extending the ranks of fighters for complete national and social liberation.

"There are no longer any capitalists in our country, our work is the work of free men, no longer subjected to exploitation, who are establishing a system of social justice—Socialism.

"My personal experience can testify to the opportunities which peoples' power gives to the working people. Before the war, when power was in the hands of the big capitalists and land-owners, I was only an ordinary home worker in a branch of the clothing industry and could scarcely earn enough to buy a loaf of bread. Very often I was out of work, especially in the years of crisis.

"No one showed me the slightest consideration, nor was the slightest interest shown in my health, education, rest or cultural life.

"In People's Poland, I have become a citizen in the real sense of the word and I have personally witnessed the concern shown by the State for its citizens. I started to work at Clothing Factory No. 2 in Warsaw as an ordinary worker. Later I was put in charge of a work team, then I took an industrial course for supervision. Subsequently I became a foreman and was at the same time elected chairman of the Factory Committee.

"Thousands of men and women workers in People's Poland have gone along the same path of social advancement. Many workers have secured posts as factory directors, engineers, and technicians while many others hold important positions in the various State agencies.

"The People's State surrounds us with the greatest care. We enjoy free medical services, we have the opportunity to learn any subject, we spend our holidays in places which formerly were available only to the rich.

"Our country is now an enormous building site. The increase in our forces is leading to the weakening in the position of international capital and making the W.F.T.U.'s struggle for the defence of peace and a happy future for the mass of workers throughout the world, still more effective.

"In my day to day activity, I am making still greater efforts to explain to the workers of my factory the importance which the existence of the W.F.T.U. and its struggle has for us and for all workers. On the occasion of the W.F.T.U.'s 7th anniversary I wish all success in its struggle."

IRENA SAMOCKA,
Woman Clothing Worker of No. 2
Warsaw Clothing Factory.

New Imperialist Manoeuvre in Central America

Fascist Coup in El Salvador

EL SALVADOR, a small Central American country with two million inhabitants and with an area hardly greater than that of Belgium, bounded by Guatemala, Honduras and the Pacific Ocean, was recently the scene of a fascist coup, the repercussions of which affect the working class of the whole of Central America.

We may remind our readers that for two years, El Salvador has been subjected to the military dictatorship of Colonel Osorio, a former pupil of Mussolini's military schools and an ardent admirer of Franco. Osorio took power following a "coup d'etat," organised and financed by the American imperialists, in order, as he said, "to carry through the democratic revolution." The regime which he established and the recent events in El Salvador, show how American in fact is his conception of democracy.

Here, first of all, is an eye-witness account of the events, as given by a group of workers:

"At dawn on September 26, agents of the judiciary police of San Salvador proceeded to arrest many workers, trade union leaders, students, members of university staffs and intellectuals. Within a few hours all the prisons and lock-ups in the capital were filled to bursting point. Then began the interrogation of those arrested. Scores of workers and students, men and women, were tortured by the most refined fascist methods. There was a very tense atmosphere in the town, with police continually patrolling the streets.

"That same day, after a declaration by the Minister of the Interior, according to which 'a dangerous Communist plot' had been discovered, the National Legislative Assembly, which for two years had only met in order to ratify the decisions of dictator Osorio, decreed martial law throughout the territory for a period of 30 days.

"Since that time, the terror has spread over the whole country. All democratic organisations, independent trade unions, etc., which previously had more or less been allowed to function were dissolved, their headquarters ransacked and their leaders imprisoned and tortured."

This is fascism in all its savagery!

The pretext given by Osorio to justify his coup, as we have seen, was not original: "The discovery of a Communist plot." It is the same old pretext which has been used again and again almost everywhere in order to cover up attacks on the working class and democracy. Let us try to see what are the real motives for this switch to fascism by Osorio, the dictator who prided himself on his "democracy."

In order fully to understand this affair, it is necessary to take into account the situation in Central America as a whole. The characteristic features are, on the one hand, the economic domination of these countries, through a single-crop system, by great agricultural trusts, led by the American monopoly, the United Fruit Company, which in fact monopolises not only production but also domestic and foreign trade. The other feature is the existence of Guatemala, a country which occupies a key position in this region, with a democratic regime—a country which has successfully undertaken a struggle against the American monopolies and for its national independence.[1]

Under these conditions, it is clear that the American imperialists have two main objectives in this part of the continent—to crush the whole democratic movement in Latin America in order to prevent a repetition of their experience in Guatemala, and to try by every possible means to destroy the democratic regime in the latter country.

The recent events in El Salvador are in line with this double aim.

First of all, the coup by Osorio, faithful watchdog of the United Fruit Company, is intended to behead the democratic and anti-imperialist movement which is developing among the workers and students of El Salvador, who are strongly influenced by the gains made by the democratic regime in Guatemala.

Further, it is concerned with creating a base for struggle against its democratic neighbour, Guatemala. After the defeat of all their efforts in that country to overthrow the government of Dr. Arbenz with the help of the internal enemies of the regime, that is, the reactionary and feudal forces of Guatemala, the imperialists are adopting a new tactic—to divide the national forces which, led by the trade union movement, and particularly the General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (C.G.T.G.), are supporting the present government. They have chosen anti-communism as their slogan to carry through this operation.

Thus the "sensational revelations" made by the Minister of the Interior of Osorio's government following the "discovery of the Communist plot" in El Salvador were intended to bring about an hysterical atmosphere which would create favourable conditions for the unleashing of a general reactionary offensive throughout Central America, mainly directed against Guatemala, under the banner of the "fight against Communism."

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1 See article: "Agrarian Reform in Guatemala" in No. 23 of **World Trade Union Movement.**

To this end, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador, Canessa, has already announced that he will place before the next meeting of the Organisation of Central American States (O.D.E.C.A.) a draft resolution calling upon the member-governments to "defend the Central American States against the Communist threat." The adoption of this fascist-type resolution by O.D.E.C.A. would be the signal for the launching of this offensive. The imperialists' manoeuvre is thus clear. Guatemala being a member of O.D.E.C.A., its government would be obliged, in the midst of a witch-hunt atmosphere in the best American style, to opose the position of the other member-States of O.D.E.C.A. The democratic government of Guatemala would then become the target of the concentrated attacks of the whole of Central American and United States' reaction. The refusal of Guatemala to approve Canessa's fascist resolution would be presented by the rabid reactionary forces of Guatemala as proof of the "Communist" character of Dr. Arbenz' government. In letting loose this mass campaign of lying propaganda against Guatemala, the imperialists hope to disintegrate the broad united democratic front upon which the regime is based.

They are mistaken, however. These new attempts will fail in the same way as all the machinations which imperialism has conjured up against Guatemalan democracy.

Understanding the full scope and significance of Osorio's coup, the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.), the trade union organisations of Guatemala, and a large number of trade union and democratic organisations throughout the whole of Latin America, have called upon the workers and all democrats to join forces against the fascist offensive.

Hundreds of letters, telegrams and resolutions passed by the workers on the job have already been sent to dictator Osorio from all Latin American countries, demanding the release of imprisoned workers and democrats and respect for the Constitution which Osorio himself proclaimed when he seized power.

The campaign against the adoption by O.D.E.C.A. of Canessa's fascist resolution is also developing at an increasing rate in all the Central American countries. The trade union and progressive Press and the workers' and progressive organisations of these countries are denouncing in vigorous terms the imperialist manoeuvres within O.D.E.C.A.—manoeuvres which are attempting openly to transform that organisation into an instrument for the American policy of the establishment of fascism throughout Central America and the destruction of the democratic regime in Guatemala.

The united workers and the democratic forces of Central America, supported by the active solidarity of the broad masses of the Latin American peoples, will defeat the plans of the United States imperialists. In this they will render invaluable service to the cause of peace and democracy.

P.A.

Defence of British Children Against U.S. Comics

"CRUSHING the skull of a big man gives me pleasure." So runs the opening caption of a story in "Famous Crimes," one of the American-type 'comics,' rarely seen in England before the last war, but now spreading rapidly throughout the country.

These comics constitute at the present moment one of the main methods whereby the American ruling class spreads its debased ideas throughout the world. The fight against them is, therefore, one of the main fields of the struggle of the British people against American ideological invasion.

There are plenty of English comics, but they are designed and written, as any comic-strip should be, for children, and to a great extent are about children. But the American comics imported into this country, or printed and published here from imported material, do not deal with children. Unfortunately they are read avidly by children and adolescents, and from this fact stems the present campaign, now in progress for over a year, to clear these vile and degrading publications out of the shops and bookstalls.

What are their characteristics? Crudely and boldly drawn in black and white or colour, they fall into several groups. First there are the "Western," "Superman," and "Jungle" comics. These are most akin to traditional themes in children's cheap reading, cowboys, pseudo-science, "Tarzan" stories and the like, and while the emphasis on violence is monotonous and unrelieved, they are not the worst specimens. The worst are the crime, 'horror' and war comics. The crime comics deal with every form of adult crime, murder, torture, arson, beating-up, robbery with violence, fraud, blackmail, sabotage and the like. Every mean and dirty trick is portrayed with slick rapidity. While it is piously proclaimed from cover to cover that crime does not pay and virtue will win, the actual message drummed home is very different—crime is exciting, violence is normal, "law and order" must meet the underworld with its own weapons, knock-out blows and the ability to crack your enemy's jaw before he lands that kick in the stomach. To add a little spice, luscious blonde spies and gangsters' molls flaunt their curves under skin-tight sweaters and strapless evening gowns.

In the past three to four months, more and more 'horror' comics have appeared. Their stock-in-trade are vampires, walking corpses, digging-up of graves, and diabolical monsters. They read like the nightmares of a lunatic, and of all types of 'comics' under review, portray most clearly the mental corruption of their authors.

The war 'comics' now appearing deal with the Korean War, with Korean and Chinese villains.

★

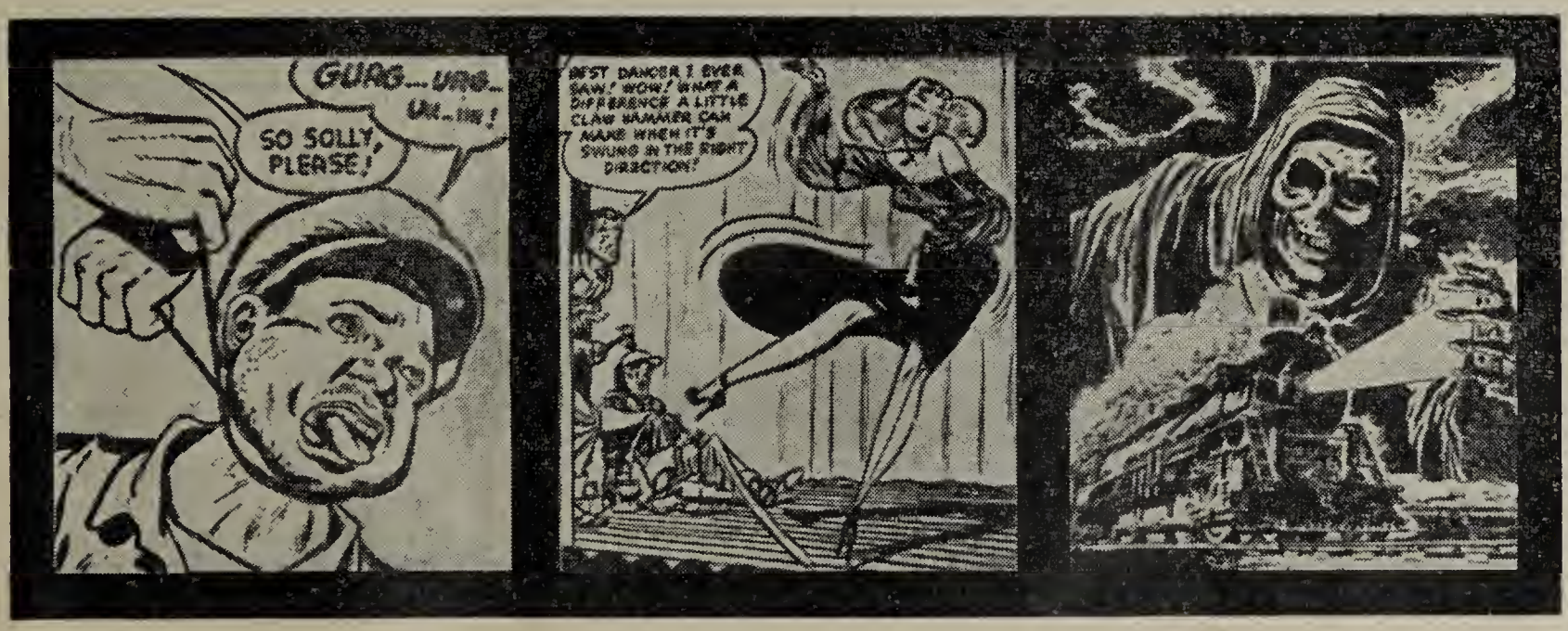
This British schoolboy is being exposed to the dubious advantages of a highly commercialised form of American "cultural" infiltration which exalts violence, sadism, crime, sex, racial hatred and which glorifies war and bestiality. Here is a random selection of illustrations taken from a number of American "comic" books.

★

A growing number of organisations are calling for action to defend the children. The first step has been to bring to public notice precisely what these 'comics' are like. In September 1951, the Child Care Commission of the International Women's Day Committee ran a conference, partly devoted to the problem. A small portable exhibition prepared by them has been widely used. It shows the perversion of the comic strip from an acceptable young child's medium to an obvious bait for the semi-literate adolescent and adult. The International Women's Day Committee has now published a pamphlet calling attention to the menace of these American comics.

Teachers have been active in the campaign from the beginning, for in school they meet plenty of specimens, and were early in voicing their disgust and protests through their own organisations and at Parent-Teacher meetings. Branches of the National Union of Teachers have passed strong resolutions condemning them.

Co-operative Guilds have also been active in the campaign, and



a strong resolution from the Hampstead Guild was passed last year at the Congress of Co-operative Women's Guilds. Other women's organisations are discussing the problem. The whole matter has also been discussed in Local Councils, and is receiving attention from the Magistrates Association, which has begun an inquiry into them.

Some schools have banned these comics, and some newsagents have been persuaded not to stock them.

Action by the trade union movement has also been taken. Trade union branches and Trades Councils have discussed the question, with the result that during the past twelve months resolutions protesting against the publication, importation and sale of American comics have appeared on the agendas of trade union annual conferences. It is true that the trade union movement is not fully alive to the need to fight these comics, but the battle has begun and it can be expected that more vigorous protests will be made in the coming months.

Very powerful financial interests are involved in the production of these comics, and nothing less than the whole power of the labour movement is needed to have a real effect on them. This is increasingly important at the present time, for the point is being reached at which decisive action is a possibility. A large number of people are now aware of the menace of the comics and are considering how they can be fought.

The attack on "comics" has roused such widespread support simply because they offend in so many directions. But it is important that the main attack should concentrate on the social degeneracy of the contents, the denial of progressive human principles, and the emphasis on war and racial hatred. It must be made clear why such papers have a wide and growing market among people who see no hope in the future. The "comics" must be exposed as part of the process by which superstition and violent prejudice are replacing the power to think and judge, and young people are being taught to accept beastly crime and violence as normal, war as inevitable, and to take the worst kinds of war weapons as a matter of course.

Two questions arise at once—how the "comics" came into the country, and what are the possible ways of removing them.

Most of the material is American in origin. Some are printed and published in the U.S.A., but many are printed in other countries, notably Canada, France and Britain. "Soldier," is one of the war "comics" which can be cited as a typical example of international collaboration. Published and distributed by *L. Miller and Son Ltd.* in London, it is edited by *Agence Francaise de Presse*, in Paris, and printed in Paris by *S.N.E.P., Imprimerie Chateaudun*. Stories and illustrations are copyright of the publishers by agreement with *Fawcett Publications Inc.*, U.S.A.

Much investigation is still needed on exactly how the material comes into the country, since there appears to be no general Board of Trade licence for the 'comics.' One method is by the import of 'matrices' from which blocks are made. Publishing thus becomes an easy matter. The question of dollar drain needs to be investigated, and also that of paper supplies. Teachers in particular feel bitter when their teaching is held up by lack of elementary necessities like paper, while there appears to be plenty for the 'comics.' Questions are being asked in the House of Commons on how the 'comics' come into the country, and those involved in the fight against them are determined not to accept evasive answers. One body is drawing up a list of all possible 'comics' with a short description and an 'evaluation' of each as fit or unfit for children. It is hoped to get strong and influential backing for this list which will be circulated widely among publishers and wholesalers, pointing out in particular those which are condemned as wholly unfit for public sale.

There is a direct link between the cuts in education and the popularity of 'comics.' Small classes, well stocked school libraries and teachers unharried by bad conditions can end the semi-literacy which is all many children are able to acquire, and which leads them direct to the comic strip. In every school it is possible to train children to love good books and demand them. The fight for full education in decent conditions is part of the fight against this vicious cheap reading matter.

But the fight for full education comes sharply up against the education cuts which themselves are a direct product of the preparations for an American-directed war. The fight against American "comics," the fight for better education, the fight against the burden of war preparations—all are part of the same common fight for national independence and a lasting peace.

D. Simmonds.

The Maori in the Welfare State

ALONGSIDE the legend that New Zealand is a social demi-paradise is another and misleading legend, namely that there is no race problem in New Zealand, and that the Maori (the indigenous people) live on terms of equality with the Pakeha (European).

In fact, the Maori people today are "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in New Zealand economy. They are under-privileged economically, socially and culturally.

The Maori in rural areas, still living partially under tribal conditions, is largely dispossessed and landless, or retains a share in communal lands which are too small or poor to render him an adequate living. The process of divorcing the Maori from his land, which continued after the Maori wars, through every kind of legal trickery, still continues today, although at a slower pace and under different conditions. Consequently, the rural Maori either ekes out a living by casual labour on roads, farms and similar "unskilled" occupations, or works on a more or less permanent basis on public

works, freezing works, mines or as pastoral workers, shearers, etc.

During the last three decades of the 19th century, the Maori population declined steeply. Its ancient culture was undermined, and, with the shock of defeat and dispossession, nothing was built to replace it. The prosperous economy and skilled crafts which had been built up prior to defeat in the wars vanished, and it seemed as though the Maori people were destined to extinction.

After the turn of the century, however, the tide turned, and the Maori population increased steadily, and during recent years their numbers have increased at an accelerating rate. There are now 116,000 Maoris —a number still lower than the estimated population 150 years ago.

This rapid growth of the Maori population is due to a birth rate much higher than that of the Europeans. A big proportion of the Maoris today are children and young people, this is in spite of the infantile death rate which is nearly four times as high as that of the Pakeha (85.82 per 1,000 live births in comparison with 23.78 for the Europeans.)

This increase in Maori population combines with general economic factors to bring about a fresh crisis in the Maori community and to stimulate a drift to the towns. This drift from the rural, and still partly tribal, existence, gathered momentum between the two world wars, and reached its climax during the second world war, when the Maori population of the Auckland metropolitan district reached the 10,000 mark.

This drift to the towns was accompanied by serious consequences. The housing shortage was, and is, acute, and the incoming Maoris were, for the most part, forced into the worst and most over-crowded city areas.

The tuberculosis rate amongst the Maori people is very high, both in town and in country—about ten times as high as among Europeans.

When we look at the economic and social position of the Maori, we find that he is largely confined to unskilled occupations. This is partly due to lack of education and partly owing to social factors, of which actual race discrimination is one.

There are only an insignificant number of Maori professional men. Very few Maoris, even now, have secondary education.

Discrimination against Maoris is common in various types of jobs including shop assistants, office workers, some government departments. It is said that discrimination exists even in the Maori Affairs Department itself, as far as responsible positions are concerned.

It may be mentioned here that the Maori is not taught in primary schools, even in those predominantly Maori schools officially classified as "Maori schools."

It is forbidden even to talk Maori in the playgrounds of some of these schools, as it is considered they will not learn English if they do so.

Under these circumstances, Maori culture, once very vigorous and individual, has deteriorated, despite the Maori's efforts to preserve it.

In recent years there has been a growth and extension of racial hostility. While this has not attained the proportions it has reached in such countries as South Africa and the U.S.A., it is sufficient to constitute a danger signal to the trade union movement. The practice of refusing accommodation and service to Maoris in hotels, boarding hotels and apartment houses has spread from certain provincial areas to towns, including Auckland, where some hotels refuse to serve Maoris with liquor, and numerous cases of refusing accommodation are reported.

The Maoris in rural areas, frustrated economically and socially, and with lingering grievances of Maori war land confiscations and other memories, possess no clear picture of the class origin of their troubles. Although in general in trade union activities in which they have been involved they have shown a high degree of solidarity, in some cases they are potential ground for reactionary organisations.

The trade union movement, therefore, is confronted with the task of winning the Maoris to progressive trade unionism, and to participation in the labour and progressive movement generally.

A few years ago, when the Auckland Trades Council was led by progressive trade unionists, some good work was done in co-operating with the Maori people to prevent their ejection from the Orakei village near Auckland. Trade unionists gave both material and moral assistance to the Orakei Maoris, and a basis was laid for cordial relations between the trade union movement and the Maori people. Unfortunately, this lead was not followed up, and practically nothing is being done to develop relations between the Maori and the labour movement.

Much could be done, however, by the Trades Councils, and by such unions as the New Zealand Workers' Union, the Freezing Workers' Union, the Miners' Union and the Timber Workers' Union. What is chiefly needed is an appreciation of the important part that could be played by Maori working people, and the dangers of letting reactionary influences utilise the situation to their own advantage.

The New Zealand "Welfare State" so-called has little room for complacency as far as its treatment of the Maori is concerned.

Since the Maoris are a weak link in the working class movement, an effective means of winning them for the struggle for social progress is to secure their participation in trade union life.

Sid Scott.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW

U.S.S.R.

The New Industrial Revolution

A GREAT growth of scientific education at all levels and the development of research workers, specialists and technicians goes hand in hand with the breaking down of the barriers separating scientists, workers and peasants. This is possible for the first time in history in a country where there are no longer economic classes, as in the Soviet Union, or in those countries where there is conscious co-operation for a common aim, as in China. The interests of workers and employer, to which the scientist is bound to conform, are no longer contradictory.

In such conditions, as the machine is perfected as it becomes more complex and more costly, so the workers, instead of being simply the controllers of the machine, tend to become the equals of the engineer or the scientist who invented or perfected it. This is how the new industrial revolution can everywhere, on an intellectual and a social plane, bring about improvements for the workers; the logic of automatic production is to raise men and women from the level of controllers of machines to that of engineers and scientists. And where this does not come about, this revolution would be going contrary to its real aims. To give an example: the enormous new excavators used on Soviet building sites, and which do the work of thousands of men, are handled by university-trained engineers. It is only by uniting an essential knowledge of the science of mechanics with practical experience of machines that it is possible in the first place to find the most economical way of working, and then to suggest improvements in technique in order to find a quite new way of working, perhaps turning the original machine into something obsolete.

The use of science for social well-being and for raising the intellectual level of all classes and all races in the world are united objectives—two aspects of an identical common effort. No people can be cultured or can take a full part in scientific research, while others are kept in ignorance. The cause of science in one particular country is the cause of science in the entire world.

Professor J. D. Bernal
of London University in *Défence de la Paix,* Dec. 1952.

SPAIN

Unemployment in the Countryside

WINTER has set in. In the countryside this means, among other things, an increase in unemployment, with its tragic accompaniment of poverty and hunger. Millions of young men wander through the villages looking for a day's work, hoping that "something will turn up."

The overwhelming majority of agricultural workers live under inhuman conditions, being unable for months to find work, and there are quite a number of them who have to feed on grass and roots.

The Falangists proclaim with their characteristic insolence that there is no unemployment in our country! Unemployment exists in terrifying proportions. We could remind them of the official statistics from the province of Badajoz, where unemployment is so great that it affects half the population of the province. More than 60,000 agricultural workers, 40,000 drovers and 10,000 other workers who, with their families make up 450,000 of the approximately 800,000 inhabitants of the province, are without work . . .

And Badajoz is not exceptional or unique in this respect. There is the terrible situation of hundreds of thousands of workless agricultural labourers in the provinces of Jaen, Sevilla, Córdoba, Cádiz, Málaga and Cáceres, as well as in the Castilian provinces.

Millions of men and women, children and old people are suffering untold privations. They are living—if it can be called living—under conditions of the most terrible hunger. That is what the Franco fascist regime has given to the people . . .

These starving agricultural workers are an implacable condemnation of the barbarous Franco regime. They are an outright condemnation of Franco's "social security," which is a shameless deception of the exploited, out of which the Falangist bandits are making fabulous fortunes.

While the great majority of the agricultural workers have neither work nor unemployment allowance, while their homes are the scene of the utmost poverty and hunger, thousands of millions of pesetas stolen from the sweat and labour of the workers are divided by the regime to the preparation of war.

The agricultural workers must not resign themselves to enduring this terrible situation to which Falangism has condemned them. They will not permit their families to continue to live under insupportable conditions, while the big landowners are amassing huge fortunes and the Falangists are spending thousands of millions of pesetas on war preparations. They will demand work and decent wages with which to buy bread for their families.

The agricultural workers will demand unemployment allowances until work is assured them . . .

The agricultural workers must understand that in order to win work or unemployment allowances, to do away with poverty and hunger, they must unite to demand that their claims be met. Only by their struggle in the villages and the countryside, united with the working class and the whole people, will the agricultural workers be able to improve their situation and meet the pressing needs of their families.

Mundo Obrero, 1.11.52.

FRANCE

Boussac's "Little Nest-Egg"

I'M in a bad way, friends. I find myself about to demoralise the nation.

It's because I'm thinking of the glory of the Pinay Republic, thinking of Boussac, of whom I can only say

that he is a textile and clothing industrialist, given that the term "industrialist" means that he knows something about manufacturing without having any hand in it.

* * *

Boussac, with his top hat and his racehorses, is about sixty years old. Sixty years, and 63,000 million francs of personal fortune. Take good note of that: 63,000 million for himself alone, for his "little nest-egg." He is the offspring of a small clothing merchant, and he was about twenty years old when he went "into business" on his own account.

* * *

Sixty-three thousand million means nothing to you. You can run your eye over a pay-packet of 20,000 francs a month—and what's left of it at the end of the month—but 63,000 million!

Spread over forty years, it makes 1,600 million a year. Does that still mean nothing to you? It means 4 million a day, 200,000 francs an hour, 3,000 francs a minute, 50 francs a second day and night.

During the forty years that Boussac has been in business, each breath, one per second, is thus worth 50 francs, and you can weigh that up now, boys and girls, and that is without counting pocket money—another several thousand million a year.

* * *

Boussac has, or rather keeps busy, 25,000 working men and women in his factories, spread over the country.

Twenty-five thousand who do not earn enough to eat their fill, and who breathe in dust in order to enable Boussac to live at the rate of 50 francs per breath.

* * *

Let us assume that there may be ten Boussacs in France on this level, which makes an accumulated fortune of 630,000 million.

Let us assume that there may be, in addition, a thousand little Boussacs, with only a mere 5,000 million of accumulated fortune each. That makes 5,630,000 million for their "little nest-egg," without counting the millions, and even thousands of millions, which are added every year.

This is Pinay France.

* * *

I continue, and I begin to demoralise the nation. Look at the Boussac-style Ministers, rummaging around in the social security laws, looking for the best way to cut slices out of the funds, raising the pensionable age, squeezing away the rights of the insured and preparing to pump away money from the contributions—at Pétain did—in order to plug the holes in the budget.

See how they swoop down on liberties and against militants, and think of Alain Le Léap, their hostage.

* * *

So I tell you: unite and fight against this, defend your wages against this, defend your right to work, defend social security and don't allow the funds to fall into their hands. This money that they want (and which is yours) is for war.

Unite and fight to release Alain Le Léap and to break the plot of the Pinays, Boussacs and company. It is a plot against your daily bread, against your liberties, against France and against peace.

G. Monmousseau

in *La Vie Ouvriére,* official journal of the C.G.T., November, 12-18, 1952.

FORTNIGHTLY RECORD

November 14

NORWAY.—Workers in the Oslo tram repair workshops, following the example of the municipal workers and employees declare their opposition to interference by the Arbitration Tribunal in their wage negotiations.

FRANCE.—The Economic Commission of the French Parliament unanimously adopts a resolution calling on the government to trade with all countries without discrimination.

MEXICO.—Workers of the "Fundidora de Bierro y Acero" in Monterrey are preparing to fight for their new collective agreement. Problems concerning them most are spreading unemployment and falling wages.

November 15

NORWAY.—Opening of the Peace Conference of Workers of the Scandinavian Countries in which 434 delegates take part (see our article).

AUSTRIA.—A Conference of members of the Trade Union Committees of big Austrian enterprises, held in Linz, decides to call a broad conference of representatives from the factories to work out methods for fighting against taxation on wages.

EGYPT.—During a powerful anti-fascist demonstration, in which a large number of workers and students take part, the police intervene causing many casualties.

KENYA.—Colonialist repression against the African population of Kenya results in 31,450 Africans being "examined" or questioned, and 8,500 Africans held under arrest.

November 16

UNITED STATES.—After an 86-day strike, 22,000 workers of the International Harvester Company (one of the biggest concerns producing agricultural equipment in the United States), return to work.

SOVIET UNION.—A relay team of Czechoslovak workers reaches the Soviet frontier carrying a message "of peace and friendship to the Soviet people."

TURKEY.—In the region near the town of Sivrihassar, peasants seize the land of a big landowner and disarm police sent against them.

ITALY.—Throughout Italy a powerful workers' protest movement is now developing against the government's reactionary electoral bill.

SWEDEN.—The Building Labourers' Union in Stockholm decides to demand an increased hourly wage and piece-work bonuses in their next collective agreement.

November 17

FRANCE.—At 29 conferences and Departmental Congresses, thousands of delegates welcome the Peoples' Peace Congress and undertake to broaden and strengthen preparations for it.

DENMARK.—The entire crew of the Danish ship "Lotto Skau" anchored in the port of Kiel, refuse to transport munitions intended for Indo-China.

JAPAN.—For the thirteenth time since September 24, electricians go on strike. The strike of the miners, who are demanding wage increases, has now lasted for 32 days.

ALGERIA.—The miners of Bou Caid, Timezrit and El Halia continue their strike. Miners from the Zaccar and Sidi-Marouf mines also join in the movement.

ITALY.—At a huge rally, thousands of Liverno dockers adopt a resolution condemning the government's electoral bill.

FINLAND.—A delegation representing 6,500 workers of the State metal factories in Valmet, approaches the leadership of the trade union centre and parliamentary groups to demand energetic measures against unemployment, and in particular the extension of trading relations with the Soviet Union within the framework of existing trade agreements.

November 18

TRANSJORDAN.—Strikes and demonstrations take place in Nabulus and Remallah for democratic reforms and the liberation of the country from imperialist domination.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Seventy delegates have so far been elected to the Congress of the Peoples. The great majority are members of the Labour Party.

November 19

FRANCE.—Three thousand miners from the Pas-de-Calais go on strike in protest against the dismissal of a C.G.T. trade union branch secretary.

JAPAN.—The strike movement for wage increases spreads throughout the country. Thirty trade union organisations of workers employed by privately-owned railways give strike notice for the end of the month.

November 20

PAKISTAN.—More than 10,000 people take part in a demonstration in Karachi demanding the complete independence of Pakistan, agrarian reform, repeal of anti-democratic laws and reduction in food prices.

UNITED STATES.—Several hundred workers, members of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, demonstrate before United Nations headquarters demanding an immediate end to the Korean war.

U.S.S.R.—A Finnish workers' delegation arrives in Tashkent to study features of the textile industry in Uzbekistan.

ITALY.—130,000 peasants from the Bologna province launch a 24-hour strike demanding the introduction of agrarian reform.

November 21

MOROCCO.—In the port of Casablanca, warehousemen strike in support of their economic demands.

November 22

DENMARK.—Learning that their length of service was to be extended to 18 months, a group of airmen in Alborg start a hunger strike. All the soldiers in this important base sign a letter protesting against the 18 months' service.

November 23

FRANCE.—After four years of discussion and despite last minute manoeuvres of the government and reactionary sections in Parliament, the Labour Code for the Overseas Territories is finally adopted by Parliament. This represents an important success in the ceaseless struggle waged by the African workers for their social rights.

— With tremendous enthusiasm, 50,000 delegates, guests and observers make the Congress of the People of Paris into a unique meeting of men and women of all viewpoints, united by their determination to save peace.

IRAQ.—Powerful anti-imperialist demonstrations take place throughout the whole country, forcing the Mustafa Elomari government to resign.

WESTERN GERMANY.—During a congress held in Kannstadt, near Stuttgart, 800 delegates representing all sections of the people of Western Germany study the results of the recent International Conference for a Peaceful Solution to the German Problem and proclaim their determination to continue the work of this Conference.

TUNISIA.—Sixty fighters for the cause of Tunisian national independence, who have been detained on Djerba Island, are transferred to the desert in the extreme south of Tunisia, in Bordj-Leboeuf.

KENYA.—British colonial repression against Africans continues. In the Fort Hall reserve, police open fire on the crowd, killing 15 people and injuring about 30.

November 25

ITALY.—The C.G.I.L.'s National Confederal Institute for Assistance (the body which deals with the social activities of the Italian General Confederation of Labour) terminates its Congress in Naples, at which problems concerning social assistance and future activities of the N.C.I.A. were examined.

UNITED STATES.—A Federal judge refuses a stay of

execution requested by the lawyers of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Their lawyers are asking for the quashing of the sentence, which was obtained on the basis of false evidence.

SUDAN.—The World Federation of Trade Unions congratulates the Sudanese workers on their important victory in securing the release of four leaders of the General Confederation of Workers' Trade Unions of Sudan who had been condemned to long terms of imprisonment following the general strike of last April.

GREAT BRITAIN.—One thousand five hundred workers of one of the important textile mills in Oldham (Lancashire) strike for 24 hours to protest against the mill's threatened closure.

November 26

ITALY.—Civil servants and clerks in the Finance Ministry and Treasury go on strike throughout the country. The strike is planned to last for 24 hours.

FRANCE.—The S.I.O.P. automobile factory suddenly closes its doors. The 1,400 workers and clerks of the factory demonstrate all day long in the centre of Paris against this harsh decision of the factory management which has thrown them all out of employment.

U.S.S.R.—It is announced in Moscow that during the 30 years of the Socialist system the same number of houses have been built in Moscow as were in existence under Czarism. That is, the number of houses in the capital have been doubled during this period.

NORWAY.—The workers of the A/S Trondheim Mekaniske Verksted metal plant, in a resolution to Parliament, strongly protest against the establishment of American military bases in Norway.

November 27

JAPAN.—Thirty thousand automobile workers go on strike for 24 hours for wage increases and the improvement of their working conditions. The miners' strike continues.

KENYA.—The British colonialists deport 3,000 Africans, including 2,200 women and children, after totally destroying their homes.

WESTERN GERMANY.—By an overwhelming majority of 97 per cent., Ruhr miners go on record in favour of strike action if their demands for wage increases, a reduction in the working day, etc., are rejected.

U.S.S.R.—A delegation of Soviet artists and writers, including the novelists Fedin and Simonov, leave for Great Britain at the invitation of the Anglo-Soviet Friendship Society.

ALBANIA.—A large military parade and demonstration of workers takes place in Tirana on the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the liberation of the country. On this occasion, the World Federation of Trade Unions sends congratulations to the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions.

SWEDEN.—Following a special conference the Federations of Foundry Workers and Metalworkers decide to ask for the abolition of the new American time and motion study methods.

IRAN.—The Iranian Parliament asks all Moslems to support Iraq in its struggle against imperialist forces. Sunday, November 30, is proclaimed as a day of solidarity with the Iraqi people struggling for their liberation.

November 28

FRANCE.—The 14th Congress of the Postal Trade Union Federation (C.G.T.) finishes. Special attention was paid to the problem of unity and intensified exploitation which particularly affects women employed in the Postal, Telephone and Telegraph services.

ERRATUM

On page 19 the author's name which appears as C. M. BALL should read C. M. HALL.

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